

# SCOTICHRONICON

by  
WALTER BOWER

New edition in Latin and English  
with notes and indexes

General Editor: D E R WATT

- Vol 1 Books I-II
- Vol 2 Books III-IV (1989)
- Vol 3 Books V-VI
- Vol 4 Books VII-VIII
- Vol 5 Books IX-X (1990)
- Vol 6 Books XI-XII
- Vol 7 Books XIII-XIV
- Vol 8 Books XV-XVI (1987)
- Vol 9 Critical Studies and  
General Indexes

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Volume 5

Books IX and X

Edited by  
SIMON TAYLOR and D E R WATT  
with BRIAN SCOTT

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## Preface

Responsibility for preparing this volume of the series has been divided as follows: Simon Taylor has produced the whole of the Latin text and has translated Book IX cc.1–45 and Book X cc.21–44; he has also contributed substantially to the editorial notes and compiled the index to Book IX; Donald Watt has translated Book IX cc.46–63, and produced the bulk of the notes, the index to Book X and the introduction; Brian Scott has translated Book X cc.1–20. There is no particular reason behind this division of labour: it is just what has proved most convenient over more than seven years of gestation, during which we all have had other obligations.

We are particularly grateful for the pioneering work done some years ago by another member of the *Scotichronicon* editorial team, Norman Shead. He it was who pioneered the trail towards the *Speculum Historiale* of Vincent of Beauvais, on the hunch that Walter Bower was much more indebted to this source than he acknowledged, and identified for us in detail nearly all of the many places in Book IX where passages from Vincent were silently taken over into this chronicle. This piece of basic scholarship has revolutionized our understanding of how Bower constructed his work.

Thanks are due as usual to the Master and Fellows of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge for giving us access to their MS 171, for their hospitality to the general editor on his visits to Cambridge to consult it, and for their permission for the reproduction of the two splendid illustrations contained in this volume. The cost of printing them in a manner suitable to their quality has been borne by the University of St Andrews through its Committee on Research in Arts and Divinity. The continuing financial support of the British Academy is also gratefully acknowledged. In St Andrews the facilities of the Centre for Advanced Historical Studies (St John's House) and the services of the Computing Laboratory are regularly provided with a sympathetic understanding that is much appreciated, since they are vital for the viability of this long-drawn-out project for a new edition of the whole of the *Scotichronicon*.

Simon Taylor

Donald Watt

Brian Scott

## Introduction to Books IX and X

### *The Manuscripts*

The section of the main manuscript used for this edition (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 171) which contains Books IX and X survives in a complete state, without loss of parts of the Latin text from the destructive work of rodents such as characterise some of the other Books. It is therefore seldom necessary to fall back on the Donibristle MS for readings where the Corpus MS fails us. As usual it is the aim to produce a text as near to Bower's intentions as possible, looking to the Coupar Angus MS (and others related to it) for corrections and additions only when they clarify or amplify Bower's purpose. Any material not found in the Corpus MS is clearly distinguished in either the textual notes or the editorial notes, so that the kind of unheralded composite text which Goodall produced in 1759 (see Introduction to Volume 8, p.xiii) is avoided. In this case Goodall introduced words or phrases from the Coupar Angus MS, with or without editorial brackets, in his second volume at pp.36, 39, 42, 110, 112, 113, 121, 123, 130, and also quite long passages at pp.18–19 and 119.

As usual the lists of Latin rubrics in the Corpus MS are not printed here. They come at the beginning of each book immediately after the end of the previous book (on fos.182–182v and 205–205v), and are followed by more than half a page blank in each case before the first chapter of the book is started on a fresh page. Presumably space was left because it was not known when the MS was being written how much space would be needed for the lists of rubrics. At the start of the text of Book X the top half of the page (fo.206) was uniquely left blank by the scribe, so that at a later stage an illustration of the inauguration of King Alexander III could be inserted—it does in fact slightly obscure the start of the text (see illustration no.1 after p.288 below). At the end of Book X the text irregularly ends in mid-chapter on fo.244v, with the rest of the page blank and no *Explicit* note such as appears at the end of most chapters; and the list of rubrics for Book XI does not immediately follow in the usual way, but starts at the top of a new page (fo.225). This list is contained within one page, and fo.225v was originally left blank; then in the bottom half was inserted an illustration of the funeral of King Alexander III (see illustration no.2 before p.289).

The text of these two books is regularly written in a similar style. Exceptionally a few lines are emphasized in a larger bookhand at X c.13. Two reflective passages borrowed from Avicenna and Robert Holkot respectively (X cc.5, 23) have their message set out by Bower in schematic rather than literary form. It should be noted that at present (1990) some of the folios of Book IX occur out of their proper order, having been misplaced when the MS was last rebound in 1980; but it is intended to return them to their correct sequence in accordance with the published catalogue of the Corpus Christi College MSS in the near future.

There are comparatively few scribal corrections in this section of the MS. Attention is drawn to the following places where there was probably an author's change of mind rather than just a scribal error: Book IX c.49, text l.41 (fo.200); Book X c.18, l.35 (fo.213); cf. c.21, ll.44–47 (fo.214); c.38, l.21 (fo.220v). Then cc.45–47 at the end of Book X (see notes to X c.44, l.78) should be studied. Here material relating to Ireland occupying nearly two whole folios has been copied under a misapprehension about its proper date. Work was then suspended at the end of a sentence in mid-chapter and these chapters marked for deletion. The same material was then inserted at its proper chronological place (ca 1318) in Book XII cc.26–27 and 33. These deleted chapters must surely have been initially an author's error in a previous draft now lost, which was corrected on the author's instructions only after the scribe of this MS had proceeded thus far.

The major marginal additions to the basic text in the Corpus MS occur as follows:

Book IX cc.2 (fo.183v), 13 (fos.186v–187), 16 (fo.188v), 21 (fo.190), 27 (fo.192), 29 (fo.192v), 30 (fo.193v), 33 (fo.194), 36 (fo.195v), 38 (fo.196), 41 (fo.197), 48 (fo.199v), 53 (fo.201), 58 (fo.203), 61 (fo.204), 62 (fo.204v).

Book X cc.9 (fo.209v), 16 (fo.211v), 17 (fo.212), 20 (fo.213v), 21 (fo.214), 26 (fo.216), 27 (fo.216v), 31 (fo.218), 36 (fo.220), 38 (fo.220v).

Some of these additions were selected by Bower for inclusion in the Coupar Angus MS, and some were not. This is a matter which deserves further study in detail throughout the whole work.

### *Content and Sources*

The date-limits of this volume are 1214–1286, with each of the books covering the span of one Scottish king's reign—Book IX for Alexander II and Book X for Alexander III. But the first striking feature is the quantity of non-Scottish material which Bower has introduced.

This is particularly true of Book IX, where more than half the content is non-Scottish. This is explained by the continuing easy availability to Bower of the *Speculum Historiale* by Vincent of Beauvais, which he had frequently used in earlier books, and which is now a major source for material right up to the end of Book IX in 1249. In both Books he falls back occasionally on the *Chronicon Pontificum et Imperatorum* of Martin of Troppau, but on nothing like the wholesale scale of the borrowings from Vincent.

From these sources Bower's selection of information about events on the Continent covers a wide range. He is interested in the Emperor Frederick II, who is portrayed as a tyrant figure, and in some of the leading popes of the century. Philip Augustus, Louis VIII and St Louis IX receive a great deal of attention as kings of France, with the first of these seen in a particularly favourable light. And there are successive accounts of various crusades to the Middle East—notably the Egyptian expeditions of 1219 (IX c.33) and 1249 (IX c.62–63) and the Tunis expedition of 1270 (X c.26)—with an exotic interest in some related activities among the Georgians, Armenians and Tartars (IX cc.36, 55, 57). Bower tells also about the crusades in Southern France against the Albigensians, an interest which reflects his 15c concern with the problems of heresy (IX c.21). St Dominic (IX cc.22–23), St Francis (IX c.24), Cardinal James de Vitry (IX cc.25–26) and St Edmund of Abingdon (IX cc.48, 56, 62) are given particular attention among churchmen of the period.

Early in Book IX he pays considerable attention to King John of England as another tyrant figure in the context of a hostile account of the whole Plantagenet family. It is clear that he had access to sources with an English origin in addition to Scottish sources which described Scottish contacts with England; but so far few of these English sources have been identified among the published chronicles. From somewhere Bower obtained a full text of King John's submission to the pope in 1213 (IX c.20), which is the only complete documentary text in this volume. He is also one of the earliest writers to mention the legendary activities of Robin Hood (X cc.20–21), partly apparently because he believed that this outlaw was a devout attender at mass.

It is suggestive that at least one piece of information involving the Mortimer family in 1279 must have been derived from a chronicle kept by the Augustinian abbey at Wigmore HRE (X c.37, ll.12–18 note). On the one hand his membership of the same religious order may explain a contact with this part of England—just as his use of the chronicle kept at the Augustinian priory at Guisborough YON may imply the same thing. And on the other hand it is at least possible that he had access to a MS kept at Pershore Abbey OSB WOR for the poem with which he ended Book X (X c.44, ll.227–78).

note). Yet another poem was possibly found by Bower somewhere around Shropshire, which is the earliest traceable provenance of the only earlier copy of it now known (IX c.48, l.44 note). These hints of contacts with England near the Welsh Border should be considered along with his known access to information about Anglo-Welsh affairs in the early 15c (see below Vol.8, pp.xvii, xix).

Three other specific sources used by Bower are of interest. For his appreciation of King Louis IX he states that he was much helped by a *Life* of this saint which he found in the library of the Dominican friars at Edinburgh (X c.27). Though this work is not now known, it is a rare event for Bower to tell us so specifically where he found his information. For church affairs he clearly had available a detailed report of the decisions of the Second General Council at Lyons in 1274 (X c.34), and he claims to have seen papal bulls issued by Martin V and Eugenius IV in his own day touching the indulgences associated with the celebration of the annual festival of Corpus Christi (X cc.12–13).

Throughout the chapters of these books which are devoted to Scottish topics, Bower makes full use of the fragmentary 'Gesta Annalia' collected by Fordun for this period. He does not show the same respect for these oddments of information and opinion as he showed for Fordun's more developed work, when (as for example in Books III and IV above) he reproduced Fordun's text piece by piece, adding his own contribution separately. Now he feels free to adjust and re-arrange Fordun's materials at will, sometimes incorporating the same words as they stood or within a new framework, sometimes omitting or correcting details as his reading of other sources led him to believe that Fordun's annals were erroneous. In this part of the work there is no sense of pious respect for Fordun as a particularly reliable authority—his annals provided Bower with just one convenient source to be considered along with others. Thus it is not practicable here to identify by some convention of printing the passages in these books which are derived from Fordun's annals, for all too often it would be a matter of words and phrases cattered through Bower's text, which would be meaningless because the grammatical structure has been changed. But in the introductory editorial note to every chapter where Fordun material has been used, it is identified in detail, and significant changes made by Bower are indicated along the way. It is in the study of these changes that we can see Bower's critical mind at work. Whilst in taking over long quotations from Vincent of Beauvais or other works of a literary character into the *Scotichronicon* he could be crude or even careless in his adaptations (see Vol.2, p.xx. and Vol.8, p.xx), his treatment of Fordun's annals earns respect. While the alternative information or opinion which he presents may or may not be more trustworthy for the historian than

the Fordun material, it emerges from this study that it is rare (and usually quite obvious) for him to intrude a personal prejudiced opinion about events or a guess about what may have happened: Bower is an author who normally sticks close to what he has found in written sources and tries his best to make sense of the contradictions.

It is in this context that it is best to judge the authority of his information about Scottish affairs in the thirteenth century which is not derived from Fordun. There are many items which have some similarity with entries in the *Chronicle of Melrose*. Though it has been thought that he used this source for earlier periods (see Vol.2, pp.xvii, xxi), detailed study here suggests that Bower did not use it in his usual way for direct quotation. The same goes for the *Chronicle of Lanercost*, which also contains similar or parallel passages which are only slightly different. On the other hand he clearly did have available at least one source of the same general type as these two chronicles i.e. comprising a series of disjointed entries arranged chronologically on a variety of disparate topics. It may be suggested that this source itself contained versions of the parallel entries in the *Chronicles of Melrose and Lanercost*, and this is what Bower copied. Such entries therefore are now primary evidence for this lost chronicle and deserve to be taken seriously, even if they have been handed down only as copied in the fifteenth century. It is suggested in some of the editorial notes that the most likely place for Bower to have found a chronicle (or chronicles) of this type was in the cathedral priory library at St Andrews to which he must have had access after living there as a young Augustinian canon. It may or may not have been identical with the 'Historia' of forty-one folios copied into the Great Register of the priory which has been lost since the seventeenth century (see *Fordun*, i, p.xxxvi); but this suggestion that Bower's chronicle-source was at St Andrews is strengthened by the fact that Andrew of Wyntoun in his *Original Chronicle* for this period selects many of the same items (and no additional ones) for inclusion (e.g. IX c.59). Bower apparently did not make use of Wyntoun's work as a source in this period (cf. Vol.2, p.xxi and Vol.8, p.xvii); but the fact that the two writers who had both been canons of St Andrews have so many similarities in approach (illustrated in this edition by the provision of cross-references) indicates that St Andrews was the place where they both found much of their information. That could also have been the place where records were kept of events affecting other Augustinian houses in Scotland (such as Scone, Holyrood and Jedburgh) which Bower chooses to include, though his own house at Inchcolm may have had similar records available to him. It would be there anyway that he found the information which he inserts about various bishops of Dunkeld under whose jurisdiction Inchcolm Abbey lay; and he also must have had access to records kept at the



nearby Benedictine monastery at Dunfermline for events affecting that house.

Besides factual history Bower offers also four tales of a legendary character. There is a highly imaginative story of an encounter between the Picts and some Norsemen in the neighbourhood of Perth, which may perhaps relate to a real battle fought in the later ninth century, but which is highly embellished with literary allusions (X cc.16–17). There is an account of the appearance of the saintly Queen Margaret in a vision to a John Wemyss foretelling the battle of Largs against the Norwegians in 1263, which led to his miraculous recovery from disability (X c.15). And there are accounts of visionary appearances by the Virgin Mary to the Cistercian monk Adam de Kendal of Holm Cultram which foretold his deserved punishment in the afterlife (IX cc.9–12), and by the Devil to Radulf the Cistercian abbot of Kinloss (IX c.35). There is no hint of where he got hold of these tales, which had presumably been handed down from earlier generations, and which it interested him as a preacher to preserve as an encouragement or warning to future generations.

As in other sections of his work, Bower chooses here and there to introduce *exempla* or stories with a moral point (cf. Vol.2, pp.xix–xx). Collections of these were in circulation for the benefit of preachers. Some of those included by Bower have not yet been traced to their origins (e.g. X cc.13, 33, where the background is French in both cases). But three groups attract special notice. (1) Four stories critical of the activities of papal legates (X cc.35–36), which may have been copied together from a collection of such stories which Bower had come across. They appealed to him, for (presumably as a result of his experience when a legate visited Scotland in 1437 for the first time for nearly 200 years) we find him quite often passing critical comments on the behaviour of legates in England or Scotland in the thirteenth century (e.g. IX cc.31–33; X c.22; but see IX c.54). (2) No less than eleven stories about King Philip Augustus of France 1180–1223, whom Bower praised for the quality of his kingship (IX cc.39–41), probably with an eye to the education of the young King James II in his own day (cf. Vol.2, p.xix). These have nearly all been identified as in circulation by the mid-thirteenth century in various collections of *exempla*, though the precise collection which Bower used is not known. (3) A total of eight stories taken from the book by Thomas de Cantimpré called *Bonum Universale de Apibus* (IX cc.26, 54–55; X cc.13, 31–32). This author was born near Brussels about 1200, and as a native of what was then the duchy of Brabant came to be commonly known as Brabantinus, a name form which Bower renders as 'Barbason'. After some years as an Augustinian canon (which would have appealed to Bower), he became a Dominican friar in 1232; and following a spell of study at Paris he spent

the rest of his life back in Brabant. An author of various works, in 1262–3 he produced this moral treatise on the proper behaviour of prelates and subordinate clergy, in which their ideal relationships as a clerical community were compared with those of bees, and his argument was illustrated by a collection of no less than 317 *exempla*. It is these which were known to Bower, and he quotes his selected stories word for word, sometimes acknowledging his source, and sometimes not. Perhaps this book too was available to him in the Dominican library in Edinburgh.

One of the themes on which he found *exempla* to quote from Cantimpré was the ecclesiastical offence of holding more than one benefice i.e. pluralism. Here we find an illustration of another side to Bower's interests, where he takes space to expound and reflect on general subjects. There are five other such themes explored in these two books. On the ecclesiastical side he expounds in extracts from the writing of Helinand de Froidmont the perils of monastic apostasy (IX cc.50–52), in extracts from Robert Holkot the qualities of a good prelate (X c.23), and with detailed knowledge of papal pronouncements the scope of various indulgences (X c.13). In the area of politics he includes long extracts from St Bridget of Sweden on how good counsel should be given to a king (X cc.5–8), again probably for the benefit of the young James II. In a more general vein he explores the need for relaxation and recreation in a man's life-style—a discussion which he has apparently put together himself (IX cc.14–15). The scope and scale of these discourses is a measure of their importance to Bower in his conception of the *Scotichronicon*.

The range of other authors mentioned in the course of these two books is listed in the Index of Authorities Cited. Bower refers briefly to the chroniclers William of Malmesbury, Henry of Huntingdon and Ranulf Higden. In addition to authors listed in volumes of this edition already published we may note in this volume references among classical writers to Sextus Julius Frontinus, and among medieval writers to Avicenna and Thomas Aquinas. There are also occasional quotations from the corpus of the Canon Law (IX c.15; X cc.13, 34), whilst biblical references continue to occur frequently. Substantial passages of verse in criticism of the legate Guala (IX c.32), and in praise of Alan of Galloway (IX c.48) and King Alexander III (X c.44) have an interest of their own.

### *Methods of Editing*

See Volume 8, pp.xx–xxiv for the methods followed in this edition. These apply to this volume too. It should be noted that the decision when to print longer quotations in small type can be an arbitrary

one when the distinction between literal quotation with some variants (small type) and summary in the author's own words (normal type) is a fine one. In the introductory note for each chapter priority is given to identifying the links with *Fordun* or *Vincent* where relevant, and parallel passages in *Phuscarden* and *Extracts* are noted regularly; but in this volume any cross-references to *Wyntoun* are kept for the notes on the particular lines within the chapter.

## Lists of Abbreviations

### I. Sigla

- B: Scottish Record Office, GD.45/26/48 (Brechin MS)  
 C: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 171 (Corpus MS)  
 CA: National Library of Scotland, Adv.MS 35.1.7 (Coupar Angus MS)  
 D: Darnaway Castle, Forres, Donibristle MS  
 E: Edinburgh University Library, MS 186  
 FA: Wolfenbüttel FRG, Cod-Guelf.538 Helmst.  
 FB: British Library, Cotton MS Vitellius E.XI  
 FC: Cambridge, Trinity College, MS 0.9.9  
 FD: Dublin, Trinity College, MS 498  
 FE: British Library, Harleian MS 4764  
 FF: Edinburgh, Scottish Catholic Archives, MM2/1 (Scots College MS)  
 FG: British Library, Add.MS 37,223  
 G: Goodall's printed edition of Bower  
 P: National Library of Scotland, Adv.MS 35.6.7 (Perth MS)  
 R: British Library, Royal MS 13.E.X  
 S: Skene's printed edition of Fordun

### II. Words

- |                                |                               |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| app. appendix                  | lac. lacuna                   |
| art.cit. (article cited)       | MS/MSS manuscript/manuscripts |
| bk. book                       | n. note                       |
| c century (e.g. 12c)           | no./nos. (number/numbers)     |
| c./cc. chapter/chapters        | O.Cist. Cistercian Order      |
| ca circa (about)               | OFM Order of Friars Minor     |
| cf. (compare)                  | om. omitted                   |
| col./cols. column/columns      | OP Order of Preachers         |
| d. died                        | OSA Order of St Augustine     |
| dau. daughter                  | OSB Order of St Benedict      |
| del. deleted                   | O.Tiron. Tironensian Order    |
| dép. département               | p./pp. page/pages             |
| ed. edited                     | para. paragraph               |
| edn edition                    | pt. part                      |
| ff. and following (pages etc.) | sect. section                 |
| fo./fos. folio/folios          | s.v. (under that head)        |
| FRG (West Germany)             | trans. translated             |
| GDR (East Germany)             | ut cit. (as cited)            |
| ibid. (in the same place)      | vol. volume                   |
| interlin. interlineated        | + add after word signalled    |
| l./ll. line/lines              |                               |



### III. Names of Counties

In the Notes places in English, Welsh and Scottish counties (as defined between the 1890s and the 1970s) are identified by the following abbreviations for these counties:

ABD Aberdeenshire	KCD Kincardineshire
ANG Angus	KNR Kinross-shire
ARG Argyllshire	KNT Kent
AYR Ayrshire	LAN Lanarkshire
BDF Bedfordshire	MLO Midlothian
BNF Banffshire	MOR Morayshire
BRK Berkshire	NTB Northumberland
BWK Berwickshire	NTP Northamptonshire
CAI Caithness	NTT Nottinghamshire
CHE Cheshire	ORK Orkney
CLA Clackmannanshire	PEB Peebles-shire
CMB Cumberland	PER Perthshire
CRN Caernarvonshire	RNF Renfrewshire
DEN Denbighshire	ROS Ross and Cromarty
DMF Dumfriesshire	ROX Roxburghshire
DNB Dunbartonshire	SSX Sussex
DOR Dorset	STL Stirlingshire
DRH Durham	SUT Sutherland
ELO East Lothian	WAR Warwickshire
FIF Fife	WIG Wigtownshire
FLI Flintshire	WLO West Lothian
HNT Huntingdonshire	WML Westmorland
HRE Herefordshire	WOR Worcestershire
HRT Hertfordshire	YOE Yorkshire (E.R.)
INV Inverness-shire	YON Yorkshire (N.R.)
KCB Kirkcudbrightshire	YOW Yorkshire (W.R.)

### IV. Publications

*Aberdeen-Banff Illustrations* *Illustrations of the Topography and Antiquities of the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff* (Spalding Club, 1847-69).

*Aberdeen Registrum* *Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis* (Spalding and Maitland Clubs, 1845).

*Acta Sanctorum* *Acta Sanctorum*, ed. The Bollandists (Antwerp and Brussels, 1643-, cited by month and volume).

Alberigo, *Decreta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Decreta*, ed. J. Alberigo and others, 3rd edn (Bologna, 1973).

AMW *Annals of the Reigns of Malcolm and William, Kings of Scotland*, ed. A. C. Lawrie (Glasgow, 1910).

APS *The Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, ed. T. Thomson and C. Innes (Edinburgh, 1814-75).

*Arbroath Liber* *Liber S. Thomae de Aberbrothoc*, i.e. Arbroath (Bannatyne Club, 1848-56).

*Ayr Friars Chrs.* *Charters of the Friars Preachers of Ayr* (Archaeological and Historical Collections relating to the Counties of Ayr and Wigton, 1881).

Bagliani, *Cardinali* A. P. Bagliani, *Cardinali di Curia e 'Familiae' Cardinalizie* (Padua, 1972).

Baldwin, *Government* J. W. Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus* (California, 1986).

*Bannatyne Misc.* *The Bannatyne Miscellany* (Bannatyne Club, 1827-55).

Bannerman, 'King's Poet' J. Bannerman, 'The King's Poet and the Inauguration of Alexander III', *SHR*, lxiii (1989), 120-49.

Barrow, *Bruce* G. W. S. Barrow, *Robert Bruce*, 3rd edn (Edinburgh, 1988).

Barrow, *Kingdom* G. W. S. Barrow, *The Kingdom of the Scots* (London, 1973).

*Beaully Chrs.* *The Charters of the Priory of Beaully* (Grampian Club, 1877).

BNB *Biographie Nationale de Belgique* (Brussels, 1866- ).

Boece, *Vitae Hectoris Boetii Murthlacensium et Aberdonensium Episcoporum Vitae* (New Spalding Club, 1894).

*Brechin Registrum* *Registrum Episcopatus Brechinensis* (Bannatyne Club, 1856).

*Cal. Docs. Ireland* *Calendar of Documents relating to Ireland preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office* (London, 1875-86).

*Cal. Fine Rolls* *Calendar of the Fine Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office* (London, 1911- ).

*Cal. Pat.* *Calendar of the Patent Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office* (London, 1891- ).

*Cambuskenneth Registrum* *Registrum Monasterii S. Marie de Cambuskenneth* (Grampian Club, 1872).

Cantimpré, *De Apibus* Thomas de Cantimpré, *Liber Apum aut de Apibus mysticis sive de proprietatibus Apum* (Paris, 1516).

CDS *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland*, ed. J. Bain and others (Edinburgh, 1881-1986).

Cheney and Semple, *Selected Letters* C. R. Cheney and W. H. Semple, *Selected Letters of Pope Innocent III concerning England (1198-1216)* (Edinburgh and London, 1953).

*Chron. Guisborough* *The Chronicle of Walter of Guisborough*, ed. H. Rothwell (Camden Series, lxxxix, London, 1957).

*Chron. Holyrood* *A Scottish Chronicle known as the Chronicle of Holyrood* (SHS, 1938).

*Chron. Picts-Scots* *Chronicles of the Picts, Chronicles of the Scots, and other Early Memorials of Scottish History*, ed. W. F. Skene (Edinburgh, 1867).

*Close Rolls* *Close Rolls of the Reign of Henry III preserved in the Public Record Office* (London, 1902-38).

*CMH* *The Cambridge Medieval History*, ed. H. M. Gwatkin and others (Cambridge, 1911-36).

*Coupar Angus Chrs.* *Charters of the Abbey of Coupar Angus* (SHS, 1947).

*Coupar Angus Rental* *Rental Book of the Cistercian Abbey of Cupar Angus* (Grampian Club, 1879-80).

*Cowan, Parishes* I. B. Cowan, *The Parishes of Medieval Scotland* (Scottish Record Society, 1967).

*CP* G. E. Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage*, ed. V. Gibbs and others (London, 1910-59).

*CPL* *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Papal Letters* (London, 1893- ).

*DBF* *Dictionnaire de biographie française* (Paris, 1933- ).

*DBI* *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Rome, 1960- ).

*DDC* *Dictionnaire de droit canonique* (Paris, 1935- ).

*DHGE* *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques* (Paris, 1912- ).

*Diplom. Norv.* *Diplomatarium Norvegicum* (Kristiania, 1849- ).

*DML* *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources* (Oxford, 1975- ).

*DNB* *Dictionary of National Biography* (London, 1885-1900).

*Dowden, Bishops* J. Dowden, *The Bishops of Scotland* (Glasgow, 1912).

*Dowden, Church* J. Dowden, *The Medieval Church in Scotland* (Glasgow, 1910).

*Dryburgh Liber* *Liber S. Marie de Dryburgh* (Bannatyne Club, 1847).

*DTC* *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique* (Paris, 1909-72).

*Ducange* Du Cange, *Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis*, new edn (Niort, 1883-7).

*Duncan, Kingdom* A. A. M. Duncan, *Scotland: The Making of the Kingdom* (Edinburgh, 1975).

*Dunfermline Registrum* *Registrum de Dunfermelyn* (Bannatyne Club, 1842).

*Dunkeld Rentale* *Rentale Dunkeldense* (SHS, 1915).

*EHR* *English Historical Review* (London, 1886- ).

*Emden, BRUO* A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500* (Oxford, 1957-9).

*ER* *The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1878-1908).

*ES* *Early Sources of Scottish History 500 to 1286*, ed. A. O. Anderson (Edinburgh, 1922; republished Stamford, 1990).

*Eubel, Hierarchia* C. Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica Medii Aevi*, 2nd edn (Munster, 1913-23).

*Extracta* *Extracta e Variis Cronicis Scocie* (Abbotsford Club, 1842).

*Ferguson, Papal Representatives* P. C. Ferguson, *Medieval Papal Representatives in Scotland: Legates, Nuncios and Judges-Delegate, 1125-1286*, Columbia University thesis (University Microfilms, 1987).

*Foedera* *Foedera, Conventiones, Litterae et Cuiuscunque Generis Acta Publica*, ed. T. Rymer (Record Commission edn, 1816-69).

*Fordun* *Johannes de Fordun, Chronica Gentis Scotorum*, ed. W. F. Skene (Edinburgh, 1871-2) [all references to vol.i unless otherwise stated].

*Fraser, Douglas* W. Fraser, *The Douglas Book* (Edinburgh, 1885).

*Friedberg* *Corpus Juris Canonici*, ed. E. Friedberg (Leipzig, 1879-81).

*Gerald of Wales, Opera* *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera* (RS, 21, 1861-91).

*Glasgow Registrum* *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis* (Bannatyne and Maitland Clubs, 1843).

*Glorieux, Répertoire* P. Glorieux, *Répertoire des maîtres en théologie de Paris au XIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1933).

*Goodall* *Joannis de Fordun Scotichronicon cum Supplementis et Continuatione Walteri Boweri*, ed. W. Goodall (Edinburgh, 1759).

*Gransden, Historical Writing* A. Gransden, *Historical Writing in England* (London, 1974-82).

*Gratian, Decretum* In Friedberg, q.v.

*Great Cause* E. L. G. Stones and G. G. Simpson, *Edward I and the Throne of Scotland 1290-1296: An Edition of the Record Sources for the Great Cause* (Oxford, 1978).

*Guillaume le Breton* *Oeuvres de Rigord et de Guillaume le Breton historiens de Philippe-Auguste* (SHF, 210, 224, 1882-5).

*HBC* *Handbook of British Chronology*, 3rd edn, ed. E. B. Fryde and others (London, 1986).

*Hearne* *Johannis de Fordun Scotichronicon Genuinum, una cum ejusdem Supplemento et Continuatione*, ed. T. Hearne (Oxford, 1722).

*Higden, Polychronicon* *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden monachi Cestrensis* (RS, 41, 1865-6).

- HMC Reports of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts* (London, 1870– ).
- Holstein, *Lyon II* H. Wolter and H. Holstein, *Lyon I et Lyon II* (Paris, 1966).
- Holt, *Northerners* J. C. Holt, *The Northerners: A Study of the Reign of King John* (Oxford, 1965).
- Holyrood Liber Liber Cartarum Sancte Crucis*, i.e. Holyrood (Bannatyne Club, 1840).
- Hystoria Albigensis Petri Vallium Sarnaii Monachi Hystoria Albigensis* (SHF, 412, 422, 442, 1926–39).
- Inchaffray Chrs. Charters, Bulls and other Documents relating to the Abbey of Inchaffray* (SHS, 1908).
- Inchcolm Chrs. Charters of the Abbey of Inchcolm* (SHS, 1938).
- Inquis. Retorn. Abbrev. Inquisitionum ad Capellam Domini Regis Retornatarum, quae in publicis archivis Scotiae adhuc servantur, Abbrevatio* (Record Commission edn, 1811–16).
- Isenberg, *Stammtafeln* W. K. Prinz von Isenberg, *Stammtafeln zur Geschichte der Europäischen Staaten* (Marburg, 1965).
- Kelso Liber Liber S. Marie de Calchou*, i.e. Kelso (Bannatyne Club, 1846).
- KKES* M. O. Anderson, *Kings and Kingship in Early Scotland*, revised edn (Edinburgh and London, 1980).
- Knowles and others, *Heads The Heads of Religious Houses, England and Wales 940–1216*, ed. D. Knowles and others (Cambridge, 1972).
- Laing Chrs. Calendar of the Laing Charters 854–1837*, ed. J. Anderson (Edinburgh, 1899).
- Lanercost Chronicon de Lanercost* (Maitland Club, 1839).
- Lavissee, *Histoire* E. Lavissee, *Histoire de France depuis les origines jusqu'à la Révolution*, vol. III, parts i and ii (Paris, 1901–2).
- Lawrie, *Annals* See *AMW*.
- Le Neve, *Fasti 1066–1300* J. Le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1066–1300* (London, 1968– ).
- Lewis and Short* C. T. Lewis and C. Short, *A Latin Dictionary* (Oxford, 1886).
- Lindores Chartulary Chartulary of the Abbey of Lindores* (SHS, 1903).
- Lunt, *Financial Relations* W. E. Lunt, *Financial Relations of the Papacy with England* (Cambridge, Mass., 1939–62).
- Macquarrie, *Crusades* A. Macquarrie, *Scotland and the Crusades 1095–1560* (Edinburgh, 1985).
- Malmesbury* William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum* (RS, 90, 1887–9).

- Martin Martini Oppaviensis Chronicon Pontificum et Imperatorum* (MGH, *Scriptores* [folio], xxii, 1872), 377–475.
- Mas Latrie, *Trésor* J. M. J. L. de Mas Latrie, *Trésor de Chronologie* (Paris, 1889).
- Melrose The Chronicle of Melrose*, ed. A. O. Anderson and others, facsimile edn (London, 1936).
- Melrose Liber Liber Sancte Marie de Melros*, i.e. Melrose (Bannatyne Club, 1837).
- Memoriale . . . B. Brigidae Memoriale effigiatum librorum prophetiarum seu visionum B. Brigidae alias Birgittae*, ed. O. Magnus (Rome, 1556).
- MGH *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (1826– ).
- Monmouth (Thorpe) Geoffrey of Monmouth, The History of the Kings of Britain*, trans. L. Thorpe (Harmondsworth, 1966).
- Moray Registrum Registrum Episcopatus Moraviensis* (Bannatyne Club, 1837).
- MRHS* I. B. Cowan and D. E. Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses Scotland*, 2nd edn (London, 1976).
- Myln, Vitae* A. Myln, *Vitae Dunkeldensis Ecclesiae Episcoporum* (Bannatyne Club, 1831).
- Nat. MSS. Scot. Facsimiles of the National Manuscripts of Scotland* (London, 1867–71).
- NCE New Catholic Encyclopaedia* (Washington, D.C., 1967– ).
- NEB The New English Bible* (Oxford and Cambridge, 1970).
- Niermeyer J. F. Niermeyer, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus* (Leiden, 1976).
- Nicholson, *Later Middle Ages* R. G. Nicholson, *Scotland: The Later Middle Ages* (Edinburgh, 1974).
- Norgate, *Angevin Kings* K. Norgate, *England under the Angevin Kings* (London, 1887).
- Norgate, *John Lackland* K. Norgate, *John Lackland* (London, 1902).
- OCD The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1974).
- ODCC The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 2nd edn with corrections (Oxford, 1983).
- ODP The Oxford Dictionary of Popes* (Oxford, 1986).
- ODS The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1987).
- OED A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles [later Oxford English Dictionary]* (Oxford, 1888– ).
- OLD Oxford Latin Dictionary* (Oxford, 1982).

- OPS Origines Parochiales Scotiae* (Bannatyne Club, 1851–5).
- Painter, *King John* S. Painter, *The Reign of King John* (Baltimore, 1949).
- Paisley Registrum Registrum Monasterii de Passelet*, i.e. Paisley (Maitland Club, 1832; New Club, 1877).
- Patrick, *Statutes Statutes of the Scottish Church*, ed. D. Patrick (SHS, 1907).
- PL *Patrologiae Cursus Completus Series Latina*, ed. J. P. Migne (Paris, 1844–55).
- Pluscarden Liber Pluscardensis*, ed. F. J. H. Skene (Edinburgh, 1877–80) [all references to vol.i unless otherwise stated].
- Poole, *From Domesday* A. L. Poole, *From Domesday Book to Magna Carta 1087–1216* (Oxford, 1951).
- Powicke, *Henry III* F. M. Powicke, *King Henry III and the Lord Edward* (Oxford, 1947).
- Powicke, *Thirteenth Century* F. M. Powicke, *The Thirteenth Century 1216–1307* (Oxford, 1953).
- Powicke and Cheney, *Councils* F. M. Powicke and C. R. Cheney, *Councils and Synods, with other Documents relating to the English Church*, vol.ii, 1205–1313 (Oxford, 1964).
- Prestwich, *Edward I* M. Prestwich, *Edward I* (London, 1988).
- PSAS Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1951– ).
- Raine, *North Durham* J. Raine, *The History and Antiquities of North Durham*, appendix (London, 1852).
- RCAHM Reports of the Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments and Constructions of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1909– ).
- RHF Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France* (Paris, 1738–1904).
- RMS Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum* (Edinburgh, 1882–1914).
- Robertson, *Concilia Concilia Scotiae: Statuta Ecclesiae Scoticae*, ed. J. Robertson (Bannatyne Club, 1866).
- Rot. Scot. Rotuli Scotiae* (Record Commission edn, 1814–19).
- RRS Regesta Regum Scottorum*, ed. G. W. S. Barrow and others (Edinburgh, 1970– ).
- RS *Rolls Series* (London, 1858–96).
- Runciman, *Crusades* S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades* (Cambridge, 1951–4).
- SAEC Scottish Annals from English Chroniclers 500 to 1286*, ed. A. O. Anderson (London, 1908).

- St Andrews Liber Liber Cartarum Prioratus Sancti Andree in Scotia*, i.e. St Andrews (Bannatyne Club, 1841).
- Salch, *Châteaux* C.-L. Salch, *Dictionnaire des châteaux et des fortifications du moyen age en France* (Strasbourg, 1979).
- Scone Liber Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, i.e. Scone (Bannatyne and Maitland Clubs, 1843).
- Setton, *Crusades* K. M. Setton, *A History of the Crusades*, vols.i–ii, 2nd edn (Madison, Wisconsin, 1969).
- SHF *Société de l'histoire de France*.
- SHR Scottish Historical Review* (1903–28, 1947– ).
- SHS *Scottish History Society*.
- SHS Misc. The Miscellany of the Scottish History Society* (SHS, 1893– ).
- Simpson, *Handlist* G. G. Simpson, *Handlist of the Acts of Alexander III, the Guardians and John 1249–1296* (Edinburgh, 1960).
- SP The Scots Peerage*, ed. Sir J. Balfour Paul (Edinburgh, 1904–14).
- Stevenson, *Documents Documents illustrative of the History of Scotland*, ed. J. Stevenson (Edinburgh, 1870).
- Stones, *Documents Anglo-Scottish Relations 1174–1328. Some Selected Documents*, ed. E. L. G. Stones (Edinburgh and London, 1965).
- Stringer, *Earl David* K. J. Stringer, *Earl David of Huntingdon 1152–1219* (Edinburgh, 1985).
- Stringer, *Essays Essays on the Nobility of Medieval Scotland*, ed. K. J. Stringer (Edinburgh, 1985).
- TDGAS Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society* (1862– ).
- Theiner, *Monumenta Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum et Scotorum Historiam Illustrantia*, ed. A. Theiner (Rome, 1864).
- TRHS Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th series (London 1951– ).
- Van Cleve, *Frederick II* T. C. Van Cleve, *The Emperor Frederick II of Hohenstaufen* (Oxford, 1972).
- VCH The Victoria History of the Counties of England* (London and Oxford, 1900– ).
- Vicaire, *Dominic* M.-H. Vicaire, *St Dominic and his Times* (London, 1964).
- Vincent Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum Historiale* (Nuremberg, 1483).
- Vulgate Biblia Sacra juxta Vulgatam Clementinum*, new edn (Madrid, 1977).

Walther, *Initia* H. Walther, *Initia Carminum ac Versuum Medii Aevi Posterioris Latinorum* (Göttingen, 1959).

Walther, *Proverbia* H. Walther, *Proverbia Sententiaeque Latinitatis Medii Aevi* (Göttingen, 1963–7, 1982– ).

Watt, *Fasti Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae Medii Aevi ad Annum 1638*, 2nd draft, ed. D. E. R. Watt (Scottish Record Society, 1969).

Watt, *Graduates* D. E. R. Watt, *A Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Graduates to A.D.1410* (Oxford, 1977).

Watt, 'Minority' D. E. R. Watt, 'The Minority of Alexander III of Scotland', *TRHS*, xxi (1971), 1–23.

Wyntoun *The Original Chronicle of Andrew of Wyntoun*, ed. F. J. Amours (Scottish Text Society, 1903–14).

*Yester Writs Calendar of Writs preserved at Yester House 1166–1503* (Scottish Record Society, 1930).

## Book IX

## Book IX

1

fo. 183;  
G ii, 3

### *De iniciis regis Alexandri ii et de imperatore Othone*

G ii, 4

"Mortuo<sup>b</sup> magnifico principe rege Willelmo oppido Strivelino, in crastino summo mane de prelatorum et procerum consilio circa funus excubare decreverunt dominam reginam lugubrem nimio et merore confectam, a quo, licet voluerunt, rapere non quiverunt, una cum episcopo Glasguensi Waltero et electo Rossensi Roberto necnon et Willelmo de Bosco cancellario cum aliis fidis familiaribus exequiali more insistere. Et raptim de Strathern, de Atholia, de Angusia, de Menteth et Buchania una cum episcopo Sanctiandr' Willelmo Malivicino<sup>c</sup> et aliis trium statuum in magna copia | ad transitum e corpore regis convolantibus, et electis assumptis nobilem et bone indolis adolescentem filium regis Alexandrum sedecim et semis annorum pubescentem<sup>d</sup> assumpserunt; et secum usque ad Sconam adducetes, sublimius et gloriosius quam eo usque quisquam, cum maxima leticia interpolata tristitia ob mortem patris, quasi diceret quia pium est gaudere Alexandro et pium est flere Willelmum, coronatus est feria vi<sup>a</sup>; et sabbato sequenti festo, scilicet Sancti Nicholai, necnon et imminenti<sup>e</sup> dominica apud Sconam festivitatem suam non tam honorifice quam regifice tenuit, ut decebat; et in sequenti die lune summo mane cum omnibus prelatis et satrapis,<sup>f</sup> necnon venerabili principe patruo suo David comite Huntynghdonie quamvis quam plurimum debili et egroto, funebri tamen patris<sup>gh</sup> cadaveri ad pontem de Perth processione percelebri obviavit, quod reverenter de Striveyne usque ad monasterium Baiocen',<sup>i</sup> id est Abirbroth', quod ipse a fundamentis construxit et regie satis dotavit, ferebatur. Ibidem honorifice sepultus [est], cuius anime propicietur Deus, Amen.<sup>j</sup>

Circa idem tempus Otho imperator invadens Patrimonium Petri et multas municiones in regno Apulie, quod totum est, ut premisimus, de feodo ecclesie. Missis propterea ab apostolico diversis nunciis, cum

- |   |   |   |  |
|---|---|---|--|
| a | initial M twelve lines high (ten lines D) with leaf ornamentation C,D | f | + regni CA                                 |
| b | + leone justicie CA   | g | D; -s apparently added later in same ink C |
| c | Mavesy CA   | h | regis CA                                   |
| d | + secum del.C   | i | C,D,CA; Badocen' P                         |
| e | CA; eminenti C,D,R  | j | cuius anime ... Amen om. Ca                |

## Book IX

1

### *The beginning of the reign of King Alexander II; the Emperor Otto*

After [the lion of justice] the splendid prince King William had died in the town of Stirling, early the next morning, on the advice of the prelates and nobles, they decided that the lady queen, who was in a state of extreme mourning and worn out with grief, should supervise the burial and press on with the funeral ceremony, along with Walter bishop of Glasgow, Robert bishop-elect of Ross, as well as William del Bois the chancellor and other faithful servants. Try as they might they could not bring the queen out of her grief. Meanwhile [the earls] of Strathearn, Atholl, Angus, Menteith and Buchan, along with William Malveisin bishop of St Andrews and other members of the three estates, hurriedly gathered in large numbers on the passing away of the king, and a select number of them were enlisted to get hold of the sixteen-and-a-half year old Alexander the king's son (a noble youth of good natural abilities) and bring him with them to Scone. There he was crowned on the Friday with more pomp and ceremony than anyone before him, amidst great joy mixed with sadness on account of the death of his father, so that you might say that it was right to rejoice for Alexander and right to weep for William. And on the following Saturday, that is the feast of St Nicholas, as well as on the following Sunday, he held his feast at Scone not simply in state but with regal lavishness, as was fitting; and early the following Monday Alexander, along with all the prelates and commanders [of the realm], as well as with that well-respected prince, his paternal uncle David earl of Huntingdon, very weak and ill as he was, met the body of his father [the king] at the bridge of Perth with a distinguished procession on its way to be buried. The body was being respectfully taken from Stirling to the monastery of 'Bayeux', that is Arbroath, which he himself built from scratch and royally endowed. There he was honourably buried – may God have mercy on his soul, Amen.

About the same time the Emperor Otto invaded the Patrimony of St Peter and many fortified places in the kingdom of Apulia; all these are fiefs of the church, as we have said above. On this account the apostolic see sent various messengers to the emperor; but when he would in no

imperator ea que occupaverat resignare nequaquam vellet – quin etiam a suis quos in castris posuerat spoliari Romipetas faceret – papa communicato fratrum consilio excommunicationis sententias<sup>k</sup> promulgavit in eum. Deinde cum nec sic resipiscere vellet sed magis ecclesie res occuparet ac Romipetarum iter impediret, omnes subditos eius a fidelitate ipsius absoluit papa, sub anathematis interminacione prohibens ne quis eum imperatorem haberet aut nominaret. Sicque recesserunt ab eo langravius Thuringie et archiepiscopi Maguntinus ac Treverensis, duxque Austrie et rex Bohemie, innumerabilesque alii tam seculares quam ecclesiastice persone.

<sup>k</sup> sententiam *D,CA*

## 2

*De creacione Frederici ii in imperatorem et aliis incidentibus*

Othone igitur cognato Johannis regis Anglie auctoritate Innocencii iii, qui eum creaverat, reprobato et imperii collati potestate privato, electores Philippi regis Francorum consilio mediante Fredericum Henrici quondam imperatoris filium elegerunt unanimiter imperatorem rogantes papam ut eius confirmaret electionem. | Qui licet satis vellet, quia tamen ecclesia Romana semper gravitatem et maturitatem in novis rebus observare consuevit, dissimulabat et ad tempus distulit. Idem itaque Fredericus huius nominis ii<sup>us</sup> cepit anno domini m<sup>oa</sup> cc<sup>o</sup> xi, mundi vero v<sup>o</sup> c<sup>o</sup> lxxiii<sup>o</sup>, et imperavit annis xxxiiii. Tandem de consilio regis Francorum a baronibus Alemannie vocatus Romam venit et a Romanis honorifice susceptus fuit. Inde discedens per mare venit Januam et ibi cum honore susceptus est; adjuvantibus Bonifacio marchione Montis Ferrati et civibus Papiensibus et Cremonensibus et omnibus fere Lombardie civitatibus, transiens quoque et Alpes, intravit Alemanniam et venit Constanciam. Cuius adventum sciens ymmo et<sup>b</sup> sciens Otho sequebatur eum cum ducentis milibus pugnatorum. Iamque premiserat famulos et equos suos in eandem civitatem ipsa die venturus. Itaque cum iam ab urbe per tres leuchas distaret, Otho cum suis viriliter repulsus est; deinde Brisach, | a quo etiam, quia Theutonici cives illius oppidi contumeliis et injuriis afficiebant eorumque filias et uxores violabant, non minore dedecore quam a Constanciis est propulsus. Fredericus autem ab hiis ipsis tamquam ab aliis imperii baronibus est receptus. Eodem anno celebratum est colloquium apud Vallem Coloris, mediante Methensi episcopo, inter Fredericum imperatorem et Philippum regem Francorum. Cui tamen non interfuit ipse rex sed Ludovicus filius eius cum regni magnatibus. Percusseruntque inter se fedus amicicie perpetuum, sicut fuerat inter predecessores eorum. Eodem

<sup>a</sup> + xi *del.C*

<sup>b</sup> sciens ymmo et *om.CA*

way give up what he had occupied – when in fact he even had his men whom he had stationed in the castles rob pilgrims on their way to Rome – the pope, after he had consulted with his brethren, pronounced a sentence of excommunication on him. Then when he still refused to repent, but rather occupied church property and prevented pilgrims from journeying to Rome, the pope absolved all his subjects of their oath of fealty, placing under eternal anathema anyone who treated him as emperor or styled him such. And so the landgrave of Thuringia and the archbishops of Magdeburg and Trier deserted him, as well as the duke of Austria, the king of Bohemia and countless other secular and ecclesiastical persons.

## 2

*The appointment of Frederick II as emperor and other events*

And so once Otto the kinsman of John king of England had been repudiated by the authority of Innocent III, who had appointed him, and once he had been deprived of his power over the empire which he had been granted, the electors, with Philip king of the French mediating in an advisory capacity, unanimously chose as emperor Frederick son of the late emperor Henry. They then asked the pope to confirm his election. The pope, although he was well enough pleased, concealed this fact and delayed matters for a time, because it has always been the custom of the Roman church not to rush lightly or prematurely into anything new. And so this same Frederick, the second of this name, began his reign in the year 1211, that is 5174 years from the beginning of the world, and ruled for thirty-four years. At length in answer to the call of the barons of Germany on the advice of the king of the French he came to Rome and was honourably received by the Romans. Then leaving there by sea he came to Genoa and was honourably received there as well; with the help of Boniface marquess of Montferrat, the citizens of Pavia and Cremona and almost all the cities of Lombardy he crossed the Alps as well, entered Germany and came to Constance. When Otto got word of his arrival, he eagerly pursued him with 200,000 fighting men. He had already sent his servants and his horses on ahead and was intending to enter the same city the very same day. But when Otto was three leagues from the city, he and his men were boldly driven back. Then [he went to] Breisach, from where he was also driven back no less unceremoniously than by the people of Constance, because the Germans had been abusing and insulting the citizens of that town and violating their daughters and wives. Frederick on the other hand was welcomed by these citizens as well as by other barons of the empire.

In the same year there was a meeting at Vaucouleurs between Emperor Frederick and Philip king of France, arranged by the bishop



anno rex Philippus totum Parisius in circuitu circumsepsit. Et licet de  
jure scripto propter publicum regni comodum in alieno fundo posset  
erigere muros atque fossata, ipse tamen juri preferens equitatem, ea 30  
que per hoc incurrerant homines de proprio fisco compensabat  
dampna. Hoc in anno rex quidam Sarracenus nomine Memmilinus,  
id est rex regum, exercitu collecto paganorum infinito fines Hispanie  
aggressus et in superbia magna contra Christianos loquens optulit eis  
bellum; qui paucissimi<sup>c</sup> ad modum<sup>d</sup> respectu paganorum pugnantes 35  
contra eum, in fide et nomine Christi vicerunt illum. Ubi fuerunt viri  
fortes de regno Francorum et miles probatissimus rex Arrogonum, qui  
eciam in signum victoriae lanceam et vexillum Memmilini Romam misit  
et adhuc in ecclesia beati Petri posita est in loco eminenti.<sup>e</sup>

<Fuit et alius Fredericus maximus tyrannus de quo quidam sic:<sup>f</sup> 40

Fre fremit in mundo;  
de deprimat alta profundo;  
ri res rimatur;  
cus cupide cuncta minatur.

Hic fuit rebellis pape, cui sic scripsit: 45

Luna refert, stelleque docent aviumque volatus  
malleus urbis ero, solus dominabor in orbe.

Cui papa:<sup>g</sup>

Fama refert, scriptura docet, peccata loquuntur  
quod tibi vita brevis, pena perennis erit. 50

Imperator:<sup>h</sup>

Fata canunt, stelleque docent aviumque volatus  
quod cito tocius malleus orbis ero;  
Roma diu dominans, variis erroribus acta, 55  
corruet et mundi desinet esse caput.

G ii,6

\* Papa:

Fata cadunt, stelleque tacent et nil sonat ales;  
solius est proprium scire futura Dei.  
Niteris incassum Petri dimergere classem –  
fluctuat et numquam desinet esse ratis. 60

De isto vide supra libro viii, capitulo xiii et libro ix, capitulo liii;  
hic ultimus Fredericus fuit pessimus de quibus ista ut libro ix, capi-  
tulo liii.>

<sup>c</sup> D,FF; paucissimi C,CA,R

<sup>d</sup> ad modum om.CA

<sup>e</sup> imminenti CA

<sup>f</sup> Propter intollerabilem eius tyrannidem qui-  
dam nominis eius diffinitionem dis-

criptivam sic ponit dicens: for Fuit ... sic:

CA

<sup>g</sup> + rescripsit CA

<sup>h</sup> + rursum CA

<sup>i</sup> + Ad quem CA

30 of Metz as go-between. However the king himself was not present at  
this meeting, but his son Louis attended along with magnates of the  
realm. They made a perpetual treaty of friendship between them, as had  
existed between their predecessors.

35 In the same year King Philip put a wall round the whole of Paris.  
And although it is written in the law that for the public good he could  
build walls and dig ditches on other people's ground, he nevertheless  
preferred fairness to the law and from his own treasury he compensated  
the people who had suffered losses in this undertaking.

40 In this year a certain Saracen king called Miramamolén that is king  
of kings, gathered a vast army of pagans and attacked the borders of  
Spain; and speaking out against Christians in his great pride, he waged  
war on them. And although they were few in comparison with the  
pagans, they fought against him, and in the faith and name of Christ  
they were victorious. At the battle there were valiant men from the [16 July]  
45 kingdom of the French and a very excellent knight the king of Aragon,  
who also sent the lance and standard of Miramamolén to Rome in  
token of the victory. The lance is still displayed in a prominent position  
in the church of the blessed Peter.

This second Frederick was also a very great tyrant, about whom  
50 someone wrote the following:

Frederick – roars through the world,  
– dashes the lofty to the depths;  
– he ferrets things out  
– and threatens all with his spear.

55 He rebelled against the pope, to whom he wrote as follows:

The moon relates and the stars teach, as does the flight of birds,  
that I shall be the hammer of the City, I alone shall rule the world.

To whom the pope replied:

60 Tradition relates, the scriptures teach and your sins proclaim  
that your life will be short and your agony eternal.

The emperor retorted:

The fates sing and the stars teach, as does the flight of birds,  
that soon I will be the hammer of the whole world;  
Rome has ruled the roost for a long time, but driven by all sorts of  
65 errors  
she will come to grief and will cease to be the head of the world.

To this the pope said:

The fates disappear, the stars fall silent and no wing-beat is heard;  
it is for God alone to know what is to happen.  
70 You may try in vain to sink Peter's fleet –  
it is driven hither and thither but it will never sink.



## 3

*De recessu comitum Bolonie et Flandrie  
a fidelitate regis Philippi*

Anno domini m<sup>o</sup> cc<sup>oa</sup> xii<sup>o</sup> Philippus rex, quia suspectum habebat Reginaldum comitem Bolonie de fidelitate eo quod per internuncios optulit se applicari Othoni deposito et Johanni Anglorum regi excommunicato, peciit ab eo ut ei<sup>b</sup> munitiones traderet. Quas cum ei contra jus et consuetudinem patrie denegasset, congregato exercitu rex ad quoddam castrum inexpugnabile Moritonium dictum in confinio Britannie Minoris et Neustrie accessit. Ipsumque preter spem infra triduum expugnans iiii<sup>to</sup> die per vim cepit et eo fidelibus munito inde aciem in Bolonie partes direxit. Videns autem comes fortitudinem regis, cui resistere non poterat, totum Bolonie comitatum omniaque castella Ludovico regis filio dimisit, a quo totum illud feodaliter tenebat. Rex vero iam totum comitatum Moretonii et Dompni Martini et Albemarne et Insulam Bonam et Dompnifrontem omniaque illis appendencia occupaverat. Que quidem omnia idem comes prius tam dono quam regis potencia possederat. In eo quidem comite nonnulla erant laudabilia sed plura etiam laudi contraria. Nam ecclesias deprimens fere semper excommunicatus erat, viduas et orphanos depauperabat, sed et vicinos suos nobiles odio persequens eorum municipia destruebat; et licet uxorem haberet nobilissimam et pulcram, cuius gracia Bolonie comitatum obtinebat, et cuius filia Philippo filio regis nupta erat, spretis tamen eius amplexibus cum aliis mulieribus<sup>c</sup> scortans, etiam concubinas publice circumducebat. Cum autem<sup>d</sup> excommunicatus esset ad excommunicatos se transtulit et confederatus est Othoni quondam imperatori ac Johanni Anglorum regi. Hos enim papa, ut predictum est, excommunicavit: Othonem quidem quia beati Petri Patrimonium occupabat; Johannemque vero quia Stephanum opinionis sancte virum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum ab ipso papa consecratum ad sedem suam accedere non sinebat; quin etiam omnes episcopos a regno suo eiecerat omnesque res ecclesiarum et beneficia monachorum fisco applicuerat atque in usus proprios iam per triennium convertebat. Idem autem archipresul et alii episcopi in regno Francorum exulabant a rege Philippo principe Christianissimo liberaliter recepti. Audita huiusmodi

<sup>a</sup> + xx del.C  
<sup>b</sup> sibi CA

<sup>c</sup> mulierculis CA  
<sup>d</sup> + propterea CA

## 3

*The counts of Boulogne and Flanders break  
their oath of fealty to King Philip*

For this see above Book VIII, Chapter 13 and Book IX, Chapter 53: this last Frederick was the worst of them, for which see Book IX, Chapter 53.

In the year 1212 King Philip, because he suspected Reginald count of Boulogne of disloyalty, since he had offered through intermediaries to join with the deposed Otto and the excommunicated John king of the English, asked him to hand over his fortresses to him. When he refused contrary to the law and custom of his country, the king gathered together an army and marched to a certain impregnable castle called Mortain on the border of Brittany and Neustria. And although it seemed hopeless he attacked this castle for three days, and on the fourth day he took it by force and garrisoned it with soldiers loyal to him. He then sent his troops into the Boulogne region. When the count saw the strength of the king, which he was unable to resist, he surrendered the whole of the county of Boulogne and all its castles to Louis the king's son, from whom he held them all in feudal tenure. And the king had already occupied the whole county of Mortain and of Dammartin and of Aumale, as well as Lillebonne and Domfront and all the land belonging to them. This same count had previously held all these lands by the gift and on the authority of the king. It is a fact that the count had few praiseworthy qualities – indeed he had many blameworthy ones; for he was almost always under excommunication for oppressing churches, reducing widows and orphans to poverty, and because he would viciously hound the neighbouring nobility and destroy their towns. And although he had a very noble and beautiful wife, thanks to whom he held the county of Boulogne, and whose daughter was married to Philip the king's son, he spurned her embraces and fornicated with other women – he would even parade his concubines around in public. But when he was excommunicated, he went over to the excommunicated party and allied himself to Otto the former emperor and John king of the English. For, as already stated, the pope excommunicated these men – Otto because he was occupying the Patrimony of St Peter, and John because he did not allow Stephen, a man of holy repute who had been consecrated archbishop of Canterbury by the pope himself, to occupy his see. Indeed he had even thrown out all the bishops from his kingdom and had seized for his treasury all the possessions of the churches and monastic incomes; and he had been diverting them to his own use for three years. Now this same archbishop and other bishops

[1211]

[19 Sept.]

[1212:  
4 May]

G ii,7

substraccione a rege Philippo per comitem Bolonie, occasionem sumpsit de huiusmodi faccione Ferrandus comes Flandrensis | petens sibi reddi duo castella – Ariam scilicet et Sanctumaudomarum – que Lodovicus filius eius tenebat. Rex autem obtulit ei scambium<sup>e</sup> ad estimacionem justam eorundem castrorum, at Ferrandus hac compensacione non accepta recessit, quia iam regi Johanni mediante comite Boloniensi confederatus erat, ut tunc primo regi Philippo apparuit.

fo.184

Et quia scriptum est: | 'Occasiones querit qui vult recedere ab amico', similiter comes Bolonie peciit restitutionem terre sue absolute; sed rex offerebat ei tantummodo sub condicione, videlicet si stare vellet iudicio regalis aule.

e excambium CA

## 4

*De tyrannide regis Johannis barones Anglie profligantis*

Anno premissio<sup>a</sup> circa Pascha novus propheta surrexit in Anglia agrestis quidam rusticus vir mire audacitatis et abstinentie Petrus nomine. Nescio quo spiritu futura predicens ipsi regi Anglie crudelitatem suam adversus ecclesiam de die in diem improperabat, et quia in proximo honorem regni et nomen regium esset amissurus, et quod nisi per annum regnaret et non ultra diem Ascensionis Domini<sup>b</sup> in anno futuro. Cumque constanter et plane hoc clamitaret, adductus est ad regem et de precepto eius arcte custodie mancipatus. Erat autem vir simplex et idiota rariloquus et sui negligens veste vili et cibis grossioribus ac aliis corporis necessariis mediocriter contentus. Et ut plerique testati sunt multis multa predixit que postea evenerunt; <de quo habentur metra:

Anno milleno biscenteno [duodeno]<sup>c</sup>  
predixit quidam sapiens cognomine Petrus  
illum post [annum numquam regnare Johannem.]<sup>c</sup>>

Interim vero Pandulphus quidam subdiaconus cardinalis, quidam eciam conversus camerarius domini pape Innocencii iii ab eo missi Angliam intraverunt mandatum ad hoc habentes ut si rex satisfacere vellet Deo et ecclesie super Cantuariensi negocio, absolveret eum

<sup>a</sup> + suggestum del.C  
<sup>b</sup> + post annum del.C

c D;lac.C

were in exile in France, where they had been warmly received by King Philip that most Christian prince.

When Ferrand count of Flanders heard of the defection of the count of Boulogne from King Philip, he took advantage of the situation and tried to recover for himself the two castles of Aire and St Omer which Louis his [Philip's] son held. The king offered him a fair exchange for these castles, but Ferrand retreated without accepting this compensation, because he had already allied himself with King John through the mediation of the count of Boulogne, as it only now became apparent to King Philip.

Because it is written: 'The person who wants to break off a friendship looks for suitable opportunities', the count of Boulogne at the same time demanded the restoration of all his land; but the king offered him it only on condition that he agree to submit to the justice of the king's court.

## 4

*The tyrannical King John crushes the barons of England*

In the above year around Easter there appeared in England a new prophet by the name of Peter, a certain rustic serf, and a man of amazing boldness and abstinence. Moved by goodness knows what spirit he was able to predict the future, and day in day out he reproached the king of England himself for his cruelty towards the church, saying that soon he would lose his crown and the name of king, and that he would reign for only a year and not beyond Ascension Day of the following year. And since he was constantly shouting this for all to hear, he was brought to the king, on whose command he was subjected to cramped imprisonment. He was a simple and foolish man, however, who rarely spoke and who made do with cheap clothes and rough food and other bodily necessities. And as many testified, he foresaw for many people many things which later came about. There is a verse about him:

In the year one thousand two hundred and twelve a certain sage named Peter predicted that in a year's time John would not be king.

Meanwhile one Pandulf a cardinal subdeacon along with a certain lay brother who was a chamberlain of the lord pope Innocent III arrived in England, having been sent by the pope with the following proposal: that if the king would make amends to God and the church regarding the Canterbury business, Pandulf himself would absolve

1212:  
25 Mar.1213:  
24 May1211:  
2 July

ipse Pandulfus a sententia excommunicationis et terram ab interdicto; sed cum induratum foret cor regis et ad hoc nequaquam posset induci, recesserunt apostolici nuncii vacui, nullo negotio consummato. Propter quod papa commotus tractabat de expulsionem eius a regno; propter quod relaxatum est interdictum in partibus Wallensium ea condicione ut in regem Anglie totis viribus insurgerent. Ipsi vero mandatum domini pape ut obediencie filii non segniter executi ab interdicto absoluti sunt. Et sic non solum propter substraccionem Wallensium sed magis propter Petri prophetiam rex pavidus et tremens rei quam de se predixerat prestolabatur adventum. Dissimulabat tamen metum in priori obduracione perseverans tam circa ecclesie statum quam circa optimates Anglie, quos novis cotidie et variis vexabat injuriis, filios eorum capiens obsides et tam quorundam terras et municiones sine iudicio et racione auferens; nulli fere suorum nobilium se vel consilia sua credens, sed balistarum et rutariorum alienigenarum et | advenarum globo constipatus. Ipse quoque cum eis die noctuque sepissime armatus paucissimos potentum Anglie ad suum admittebat colloquium. Suspectos enim eos habebat plurimum quia suggestum erat ei multos tam comites quam barones conjurasse de mandato domini pape quod ipsum caperent et tenerent quousque<sup>d</sup> Deo, ecclesie et ipsis de injuriis illatis et transgressione satisfacisset.

G ii,8

<sup>d</sup> -u- interlin.C

## 5

*De interfeccione Petri prophete et fuga  
baronum Anglie*

Dum hec itaque agerentur, anno sequenti senciens<sup>a</sup> rex Johannes se diem sibi a Petro prefixum, ut prefatum est, evasisse et nullam infirmitatem corporalem incurrisse, extractum de ergastulo Petrum pseudoprophetam nuncupavit. Qui constanter regi in facie restetit affirmans se vera fateri asserens ipsum regem eo tunc non regnare,

<sup>a</sup> + se del.C

him from his sentence of excommunication and would lift the interdict from the country. But since the king's heart was hardened and he could in no way be induced to do this, the apostolic envoys returned empty-handed, having failed to accomplish their mission. On account of this the pope was roused to considering the king's expulsion from the kingdom, so the interdict was lifted from the lands of the Welsh on condition that they rose up against the king of England with all their might. And indeed like the obedient sons they were they did not hesitate to carry out the lord pope's command and were [consequently] absolved from the interdict. [Aug.] [Sept.] [1212]

And thus not only because of the defection of the Welsh but more because of Peter's prophecy did the king wait with fear and trepidation for what Peter had predicted to happen. But he pretended not to be afraid and persisted in his former stubbornness towards both the state of the church and the barons of England, whom he would harm daily with new and various injurious measures: he took their sons hostage and snatched away the lands and fortresses of some without judgment or cause; he entrusted himself or his plans to scarcely any of his nobles, but surrounded himself with a troop of crossbowmen, foreign mercenaries and strangers. By day and by night also he would often put on his armour along with them before allowing a very small number of the men of standing in England into his presence to talk things over; for he was strongly suspicious of them, because it had been suggested to him that many earls as well as barons had conspired together by order of the lord pope to capture and hold him until he had made amends to God, the church and the conspirators themselves for the injuries he had done them and for his wrong-doing.

## 5

*Peter the prophet is put to death and [some] barons of  
England flee the country*

So in the following year, while all this was going on, King John realised that he had escaped the day which had been fixed by Peter, as already related, and that he had not suffered any physical harm. He dragged Peter out of prison and called him a false prophet. But he kept contradicting the king to his face, affirming that he was speaking the truth and maintaining that from then on the king was not ruling since in the meantime (as will be explained below) he had

1213

cum interim ut sequencia declarabunt regni sui dominium alterius subdiderit dicioni. Convicto igitur per iudicium tale quale Petro et ad suspendium condampnato, clara voce dixit regi se naturaliter in ecclesiam et eius membra deservire debere utpote ab eo qui <humana carne velatus a diabolo scilicet> processit; sed ad eum ne finaliter rediret caritative satis<sup>b</sup> misericordiam Altissimi precatus est. 'Hoc unum', inquit, 'tibi significans, O non rex hominum sed fex ac crux omnium, proprium cum cognato tuo diabolo possidere, cui competit laqueos tendere, lapsus parare, foveas fodere, ruinas aptare, stimulare corpora de animis ut salventur non curare, virtutes odire, vicia amare, errores serere, discordias nutrire, turbare pacem, affectum dissipare, violare humana, divina pertemptare.' Hiis succincte finitis sermonibus rex iratus in uno ligno e vicino iussit eum<sup>c</sup> vitam finire suspendio. Abhinc plusquam ante suos nobiles habens de conjuratione contra eum, ut premisimus, suspectos, principales et animosiores eorum clam capere disposuit, qui quamvis innocentes nominatim tamen fuerunt delati huiusmodi conspiracioni | interfuisse. Premuniti quidam, utpote in curia amicos habentes, furenti cesserunt regis ferocitati et malicie; terras opesque suas relinquentes, se cum uxoribus et liberis salvare cupientes, elegerunt potius ad tempus exulare quam regis indignacionem sustinere vel eius malicie assentire. Inter quos precipui erant viribus genere preclari et rebus opulenti duo barones, quorum alter Robertus filius Galteri non parva armatorum sequela comitatus mare adiit; et quoniam per omnes portus Anglie prohibita fuit transfretacio et asportatis velis et gubernaculis naves fuerant in siccam extracte, ipse prevalens viribus audacter naves quot sibi suisque fuerunt necessarie sufficientibus instruens armamentis impulit in profundum. Fecitque preconis voce clamari per totam Dover<sup>d</sup> ut omnes transfretare volentes naves ascenderent, sicque mari transito a rege Francorum Philippo et filio eius Ludovico honorifice susceptus est. Alter vero Eustachius de Vessy gener regis Scocie Willelmi cum ad curiam regis Anglie venisset et in crastino a rege capi sive decapitari debuisset, premunitus vespere Deo se protegente caute declinavit insidias et ad Scociam cum uxore | et filio salvus pervenit. Quem multi suorum dantes se discrimini e vestigio sunt secuti cum equis et armis et rebus aliis quas secum comodius poterant asportare; quorum rex Anglie terras et possessiones proprias convertit in usus, castella eorum diruens, parcos et pomaria extirpans et alia gravamina ultra modum exercens. Sed et regi Scocie scripsit ut felonem suum dictum Eustachium sibi transmitteret, qui sub suam proteccionem confugientem nulla causa felonie comperta nequaquam decipere voluit, prout non decebat.

fo.184v

G ii,9

<sup>b</sup> caritative satis om.CA  
<sup>c</sup> + rex del.C

<sup>d</sup> Dover CA

surrendered authority over his kingdom to the control of someone else. So Peter was convicted for such a judgment as this and was condemned to death by hanging. Then he said to the king in a loud voice that he must by his nature plunder the church and her members, since he was descended from him who was veiled in human flesh, that is from the devil; but out of charitable enough sentiments he begged God's mercy that the king would not go back to the devil in the end. 'You who are not a king of men but the dregs and the cross of everyone', he said. 'I suggest that you possess this one thing in common with your relative the devil, who knows well how to set snares, cause people to fall, lay pitfalls, reduce things to ruins, goad bodies from souls so they do not care about their salvation, hate virtues, love vices, contrive errors, nurture discord, disturb the peace, destroy love, do violence to human affairs and put God to the test.' When he had finished speaking these words clearly, the king angrily ordered him to be hanged on a nearby tree.

From then on even more than before he suspected his nobles of plotting against him (as we have already mentioned), and he ordered the more important and active of them to be secretly arrested, and, although they were innocent, they were individually charged with taking part in a plot of this nature. Some of them were warned in advance, since they had friends at court, and they escaped the raging cruelty and malice of the king. Leaving behind their lands and riches in their eagerness to save themselves, their wives and their children, they chose rather to go into exile for the time being than to suffer the king's displeasure or submit to his malice. Among these two barons were outstanding for their resources, their high-born status and their wealth. One of them was Robert fitzWalter. He went to the coast accompanied by a sizeable troop of armed men. Whereas crossing over the sea from all the ports of England was prohibited, and the ships had had their sails and gear removed and had been hauled up on dry land, Robert with his superior resources boldly fitted out as many ships as he needed with sufficient tackle and launched them. And he had a herald proclaim throughout the whole of Dover that all those wanting to cross the sea were to embark; and after he had crossed the sea in this fashion he was honourably welcomed by Philip king of the French and Louis his son.

The other was Eustace de Vescy, son-in-law of William king of Scotland. The day after he arrived at the court of the king of England he was to be arrested or beheaded. But he was warned of this the previous evening and under God's protection he carefully escaped the snare and got to Scotland safely with his wife and son. Many of his men exposed themselves to danger by following close behind him with horses and arms and other things that they could easily carry off with them. The king of England expropriated their lands and

[1212:  
July-Aug.]

Quod propterea magne partis tocius confederacionis et pacis pre-  
concepte inter reges nuper inite noverca fuit et discidii causa sine  
causa.

50

## 6

*Quomodo reges Anglie de genere sive generacione diaboli  
ex uno latere processerunt*

Rumore denique vaticinii Petri suspensi per ora quasi omnium divul-  
gato, ceperunt nonnulli de progenie<sup>a</sup> progeniem dicti regis inves-  
tigare, et tandem ad hoc deventum est quod postmodum auctor in  
Policronicon Anglorum clarius descripsit, quomodo videlicet quidam  
<Gaufridus> comes Andegavie volens matrimonio copulari fecit  
inquiri per nuncios a latere suo missos excellencioris pulcritudinis  
feminam, non habendo respectum qualemcumque ad progeniem vel<sup>b</sup>  
parentes, sed nec de ortu eius aliquatinus curare, dummodo eius  
corporalis species ceco suo amori complaceret. Qua post aliqualem  
indagacionem reperta et sibi cum placencia presentata, eam concito  
conjugio vinculavit. Ex quorum sobole Galfridus Plantgeneth comes  
ille Andegavie genuit ex imperatrice filia bone Matildis regine Anglie  
Henricum secundum nomine;<sup>c</sup> que post obitum imperatoris Henrici  
quinti<sup>d</sup> sponsi sui eidem Galfrido Plantgeneth fuerat matrimonialiter  
copulata. Policronicus;<sup>e</sup>

15

Ut autem lector quisquam tam regis huius quam filiorum suorum  
infaustos exitus minus obstupescat, consideretur origo huius regis ex  
parte utriusque parentis necnon et uxoris sue diabolice condicio, de  
qua filios suscitavit. Comitissa quedam Andegavie de cuius semine<sup>f</sup>  
Galfridus Plantgenet processit ob solam corporis speciem fuerat

20

<sup>a</sup> + in del.C

<sup>b</sup> + pro del.C

<sup>c</sup> + ex ipsa Matilde imperatrice del.C

<sup>d</sup> in darker ink filling a space that has been  
left C; vi D,CA; iiiii R

<sup>e</sup> underlined in red like the rubrics C

<sup>f</sup> semine C,CA; femine D,R

posessions for his own use, destroying their castles, ruining their  
parks and orchards, and causing other excessive damage. He even  
55 wrote to the king of Scotland requesting him to hand over his felon,  
the said Eustace. But he was not at all willing to betray someone  
who had sought refuge with him, having found the charge of felony  
to be groundless: it was not right. Because of this the alliance and  
peace-treaty recently planned and entered upon between the two  
60 kings to a large extent fell apart, and disagreement arose for no real  
reason.

## 6

*How the kings of England are descended on one side  
from the race or family of the devil*

When at length the words of the hanged prophet Peter were on  
everybody's lips, so to speak, some people began to investigate the  
family tree of the said king from generation to generation. Finally  
they came upon what later the author of the *Polychronicon of the*  
5 *English* has clearly described, namely how a certain Geoffrey count  
of Anjou, wishing to marry, sent messengers on his behalf to search  
for a woman of excellent beauty, regardless of her descent or her  
kin; they were not to worry too much about her background, as long  
as her physical beauty pleased his blind desire. When after some  
10 searching such a woman was found and was presented to him with  
pleasurable effect, he bound her to him in a hurried marriage  
ceremony. Their descendant Geoffrey Plantagenet the famous count  
of Anjou fathered Henry known as the Second by the Empress,  
daughter of the good Matilda queen of England. The Empress was  
15 married to this same Geoffrey Plantagenet after the death of her  
husband Henry V. *Polychronicon*:

So that no reader is surprised at the unfortunate deaths of this king  
[Henry II] or of his sons, the origin of this king on both his mother's  
and his father's side should be considered, as well as the character of  
his devilish wife, by whom he fathered his sons. One of the countesses  
of Anjou from whom Geoffrey Plantagenet was descended was married  
only on account of her physical beauty. Yet she rarely went to church,  
and even when she did she would barely remain until the Secret Prayers  
[in the middle] of mass. When this was noticed by the count her  
25 husband, she was one day forcibly kept in the church by four knights.  
But she threw off the cloak which she was wearing and, leaving behind



desponsata. Raro tamen ad ecclesiam accessit, sed et tunc vix usque ad secreta misse moram faciebat. Hoc dum a comite marito suo notaretur, die quadam detenta est in ecclesia a quatuor militibus. At illa rejecto pallio per quod tenebatur, relictisque ibi duobus filiis quos sub birro dextro pallii tunc fovebat, cum reliquis duobus natis quos ad levam tenebat, per fenestram ecclesie cunctis videntibus evolavit nec usquam comparuit. Istud postmodum Richardus rex Anglie frater huius Johannis regis referre solebat asserens non esse mirandum si de tali genere procedentes mutuo sese infestent, tamquam de diabolo<sup>g</sup> provenientes et ad diabolum ituri. Unde et clericus quidam famosus a rege Henrico ad filium suum<sup>h</sup> Gaufridum comitem Britannie fratrem dicti Richardi regis pro pace reformanda missus, hec a filio audivit: 'Ut quid me venisti exheredare de jure meo nativo? Num ignoras hoc nobis naturaliter fore proprium et ab attavis | insertum ut nullus nostrum alterum diligat. Noli | igitur frustra laborare ut naturam a nobis expellere presumas.' Mater enim huius regis Henrici vivente priore marito imperatore, scilicet Henrico, heremitice peregrinante ob culpam in proprium patrem commissam indebite nupsit altri, scilicet<sup>i</sup> Gaufrido Plantageneth premissa, de quibus iste rex H[enricus] processit.

G ii,10  
fo.185

g + proce del.C  
h + comitem suum del.C

i scilicet altri for altri scilicet CA

## 7

*Adhuc de nephandi generis premissa  
successione*

De hoc eciam<sup>a</sup> Galfrido<sup>bc</sup> descendit alter Gaufridus cognomento Martellus, qui dominum suum comitem Pictavensem aperto Marte cepit, ferreisque vinculis innodatum ad ignobilis pacis condicionem coegit ut Burdegali civitati cederet et finibus eius, et de cetero annum vectigal pensitaret. Qui comes Pictavensis per eum incarceratus pro ferri injuria et ciborum inopia post triduum defunctus est; cuius novercam Martellus duxit, fratres in tutelam suscipiens. Moxque Theobaldi comitis Blesensis ingressus limites urbem Turonicam obsedit et ipsum in eadem. Qui denuo captus et in ergastulo reclusus urbem sibi omnibusque suis heredibus imperpetuum abjuravit.

a + primo CA  
b CA; G<sup>o</sup> C; G D,R

c + Plantagemeth del.C

two sons who were wrapped in the right-hand fold of her cloak, she flew out of the church window in full view of everyone along with her other two children whom she was holding on her left, and was never seen again. Afterwards Richard king of England and brother of King John used to tell this story, saying that no one should be surprised if members of such a family hated each other, as they had come from the devil and they would go to the devil. For this reason also a certain well-known cleric who had been sent by King Henry to his son Geoffrey count of Brittany and brother of the said King Richard on a peace-mission heard this from the son: 'Why have you come to take my birth-right away from me? Surely you know that it is part of our nature inherited from our ancestors that there is no love lost between us. So don't labour in vain to presume to purge us of our nature.' For the mother of this King Henry, while her previous husband the Emperor Henry was still alive and living as a hermit because of a crime he had improperly committed against his own father, married another man, namely the above-mentioned Geoffrey Plantagenet, and they were the parents of this king Henry [III].

## 7

*More on the above-mentioned generations  
of the wicked family*

Furthermore, from this Geoffrey another Geoffrey was descended who was known as Martel. He captured his lord the count of Poitou in open war and putting him in iron chains forced him into an ignoble peace settlement to give up the city of Bordeaux and its territories, and to pay him an annual tribute in future. This count of Poitou whom he imprisoned died three days later from a sword wound and from lack of food. Martel married the count's step-mother and took his brothers under his protection. A short time later he invaded the territory of Theobald count of Blois and besieged the city of Tours with the count inside it. Again a count was captured and shut up in prison, where he swore an oath [giving up] the city, both for himself and all his heirs in perpetuity.

The blessed Bernard abbot of Clairvaux, in the presence of Louis king of the French, made the following prophecy regarding the above-

De premissis etiam Henrico Gaufridi et Imperatricis filio tunc infan-  
tulo in curia Ludovici Francorum regis nutrito beatus Bernardus Cla-  
revallis abbas presente eodem Ludovico sic de eo vaticinatus est: 'De  
diabolo', inquit, 'venit et ad diabolum tendit', notans per hoc tam  
tirannidem patris sui Gaufridi qua Sagiensem episcopum enecaverat 15  
quam etiam istius Henrici futuram atrocitatem qua in Sanctum Tho-  
mam Cantuar' deserviret. Hic Gaufridus pater huius regis <Henrici>  
Alienordem rapiens ea abusus est, quam iste Henricus filius suus post-  
modum duxerat in uxorem.

Que etiam interim propter transcendentem speciem suam prius<sup>d</sup> 20  
nupta fuit Ludovico Francorum regi patri nobilis<sup>e</sup> Philippi, de qua  
Ludovicus suscepit duas filias, scilicet Ahelidem et Mariam. Cumque  
cum eadem uxore sua Alienorde perrexisset ultra mare, audit eam  
ut fertur a Salahadino crebra munuscula suscepisse. Unde post redi-  
tum suum in Franciam non solum ob causam predictam sed etiam 25  
ob ipsius mulieris incontinentiam voluit eam repudiare, quia, ut dicit<sup>f</sup>  
Helinandus: 'Non tamquam regina se gerebat sed fere tamquam  
meretrix.' Quod illa intelligens, ab eo penitus declinavit et ad pre-  
fatum Normannie ducem Henricum postea Anglorum regem se  
transtulit, qui eam, ut dictum est, in uxorem duxit. Propter quod 30  
inter ipsum et Ludovicum regem Francie nutricium eius inexplicabilis  
discordia suborta est. Qui quidem Henricus dux, mortuo Stephano  
Anglorum rege, Angliam intravit et integritate regni potitus. Ex  
ipsa Alienorde quatuor suscepit filios: Henricum, videlicet, regem  
premortuum patri, Richardum et Johannem, qui tres ibidem regna- 35  
verunt successive; Gaufridum quoque comitem Britannie; insuper et  
iiii<sup>or</sup> filias, quarum una est uxor regi Castelle, unde orta est Blanca  
regina Francie; altera vero Constantinopolitano imperatori nomine  
Alexi; tertia vero Saxonie duci, unde natus est Otho imperator  
excommunicatus, | qui supra; quarta comiti Tholosano, unde ortus 40  
est Reymondus eiusdem postea comes, qui etiam hoc eodem anno,  
scilicet domini m<sup>o</sup> cc<sup>o</sup> xii, hereticus iudicatur et super hoc con-  
dempnatur.

<sup>d</sup> interlin. C  
<sup>e</sup> + regis CA

<sup>f</sup> scribit CA

15 mentioned Henry son of Geoffrey and the Empress, when Henry was  
still a baby being fostered at the court of the said Louis: 'He came from  
the devil', he said, 'and he will go to the devil.' With this he was alluding  
both to the tyranny of his father Geoffrey, who had brought about the  
death of the bishop of Sées, as well as to the future atrocity which this  
20 Henry in his rage was to commit against Saint Thomas of Canterbury.  
This Geoffrey father of this King Henry carried off Eleanor and had  
his evil way with her – this same Eleanor whom his son Henry later  
married. [1152]

Because of her extraordinary beauty she had in the meantime also  
25 been married earlier to Louis [VII] king of the French and father of [1137]  
the noble [King] Philip. By her Louis had two daughters Alice and  
Mary. And when he went overseas with this same Eleanor his wife,  
it is said that he heard she had frequently received small presents  
from Saladin; so on his return to France he wanted to repudiate her,  
30 not only because of that but also because of the lack of self-restraint  
of the woman. For as Helinand says: 'She behaved not like a queen  
but almost like a whore.' When she realised what was happening,  
she completely turned her back on him and took up with the above-  
mentioned Henry duke of Normandy, later king of the English, who [1152]  
35 married her as has been mentioned. On this account discord of an  
insoluble kind arose between him and King Louis of France, his  
foster-father. And then this Duke Henry, on the death of Stephen  
king of the English, entered England and became master of the whole [1154]  
kingdom. He had four sons by this Eleanor, namely King Henry,  
40 who died before his father, Richard and John, all three of whom  
ruled [England] successively, and also Geoffrey count of Brittany.  
Besides he fathered four daughters, one of whom married the king  
of Castile and became mother of Blanche queen of France; another  
married Alexius the emperor at Constantinople; the third married the  
45 duke of Saxony and became the mother of Otto the excommunicated  
emperor, about whom we have written above; and the fourth married  
the count of Toulouse and became the mother of Raymond later  
count of the same, who even in this same year – 1212 – was declared  
a heretic and condemned for it.

*De preparacione regis Philippi in Angliam  
de mandato pape*

Ad mandatum pape Christianissimus regum Philippus Francie vere  
filius obediencie eodem anno consilium Suessionis convocavit, cui cum  
regni proceribus eciam Brabancie dux interfuit; eique rex ibidem filiam  
suam juvenulam nomine Mariam Philippi comitis Mamurcii relictam  
desponsavit. Ibidemque de transfretando in Angliam tractatum fuit;  
placuitque baronibus sermo et sponponderunt quod personaliter trans-  
fretarent cum rege Philippo. Causa vero que regem ipsum ad trans-  
fretandum in Angliam movebat hoc erat ut episcopos in regno suo  
exulantes de mandato pape ecclesiis suis restitueret, ibique divinum  
officium, quod iam per septennium in Angliam cessaverat, renovari  
faceret, et ut regem ipsum Johannem, qui nepotem suum Arthurum  
occiderat, qui et plurimos parvulos obsides suspenderat et innumera  
flagicia perpetraverat, vel pene condigne subiceret vel a regno prorsus  
expellens secundum interpretationem agnominis sui 'sine terra' efficeret.  
[ ... ] Venit itaque rex cum exercitu suo Boloniam et ibi per dies aliquot  
naves hominesque suos | hinc inde venientes expectans; transivit usque  
Gravaringas villam opulentam in finibus Flandrie supra mare sitam,  
ad quam tota classis eius secuta est eum. Ibi ex conducto Ferrandus  
expectatus nec venit, nec in aliquo satisfecit, licet ad petitionem ille dies  
ad satisfaciendum de omnibus retroactis eidem assignatus a rege fuerit.  
Propter quod, communicato baronum consilio qui de omni provincia  
regni convenerant, rex, dimisso ad tempus proposito eundi in Angliam,  
divertit in Flandriam, cepitque Cassellum et Ipram ac totam terram  
usque Brugias. Classisque sua per mare secuta est eum usque ad portum  
prope Brugias nomine Dam. Facta eciam voluntate sua de Brugiis  
profectus est Gandavum, relictis ibi paucis militibus et satellitibus ad  
custodiam navium, propositum enim eius erat acquisito Gandavo trans-  
fretare in Angliam. Dum autem esset in obsidione Gandavi, venerunt  
de Anglia Reginaldus Bolonie comes et Guillelmus Salesbirien' comes,  
qui cognominatus est 'longa spata', et Hugo de Bovis cum multis aliis,  
quibus eciam Ferrandus Flandrensis eorum presciens adventum cum  
Ysanguinis et Bloetinis atque Flandrensibus occurrit. Sicque subito  
irruentes occupaverunt naves que per litora erant disperse, quia portus,  
licet mire amplitudinis esset, non poterat omnes capere cum essent  
numero mille septingente; omnes igitur extra portum inventas abdux-  
erunt et in crastino portum ac villam obsederunt. Quo audito rex,  
obsidione Gandavi dimissa, reversus ad obsessos obsidionem solvit et  
illos usque ad naves suas fugavit. Multisque occisis et submersis usque  
ad duo fere milia, plures quoque probos ac strenuos captos abduxit.  
Sicque cum victoria Dam revertens | residuas naves victualibus et aliis

fo.185v

G ii,12

*King Philip prepares to go England  
on the orders of the pope*

In the same year by papal command Philip that most Christian of kings  
of France and a son of true obedience convened a council at Soissons,  
which was attended by the duke of Brabant as well as by the nobles of  
the kingdom. And at it the king gave to the duke in marriage his young  
daughter Mary widow of Philip count of Namur. There also the voyage  
to England was discussed. The barons liked what King Philip had to  
say, and they promised that they would sail with him in person. The  
reason that the king himself wanted to cross over to England was to  
restore the bishops who were in exile in his kingdom to their own  
churches on the orders of the pope, and to re-establish in England the  
divine office, which for seven years had not been heard there. He also  
wanted either to subject King John himself to well-deserved punishment  
or immediately to expel him from his kingdom, thereby putting into  
effect his nickname, which was 'Lackland', because he had killed Arthur  
his nephew and had hanged several child hostages, as well as having  
committed innumerable shameful deeds.

[1213:  
8 Apr.]

And so the king came to Boulogne with his army and there he stayed  
for several days, waiting for his ships and men to arrive from here and  
there. Then he moved to Gravelines a wealthy coastal town on the  
border of Flanders, and was followed by all his fleet. There he waited  
for Ferrand, who had promised to come; but he did not appear, nor  
did he make amends in any way, although at his request the day had  
been fixed by the king for Ferrand to make amends for everything that  
he had done in the past. Because of this the king consulted his barons  
who had gathered from every province of the kingdom, abandoned his  
plan of going to England for the time being, and turned aside to  
Flanders. He took Cassel and Ypres and the whole country as far as  
Bruges. And his fleet followed him by sea as far as the port near Bruges  
called Damme. Having done what he wanted there he set out from  
Bruges for Ghent, leaving a few soldiers and guards to watch the ships,  
for his plan was to cross over to England after taking Ghent. But while  
he was besieging Ghent, Reginald count of Boulogne, William earl of  
Salisbury (nicknamed Longespée) and Hugh de Boves arrived from  
England along with many others. Ferrand of Flanders knew in advance  
that they were on their way and hurried to meet them with members  
of the Isangrin and Blavotin factions and [other] men of Flanders. Thus  
making a surprise attack they seized the ships which were scattered  
along the shore, as the harbour, although it was of stupendous size,  
could not hold them all, there being one thousand seven hundred of  
them. So all the ships that were found outside the harbour were taken

[22 May]

[30 May]



rebus evacuari precepit, igneque immisso ipsas et villam ac totam in circuitu regionem incendio consumpsit. Receptis obsidibus de Gandavo, Ipra, Brugis,<sup>a</sup> [ ... ] obsides pro xxx marcis argenti in pace reddidit. Insulam vero propter maliciam habitantium in ea funditus evertit, Cassellum semidirutum reliquit, Duacum in manu sua retinuit. 45

Hac occasione impeditum est passagium<sup>b</sup> regis ad Angliam.

<sup>a</sup> D; Brug' C; Brugeque CA

<sup>b</sup> + Philippi CA

## 9

*Exemplum satis terribile et ad cautelam legencium  
satis utile de ambicione abbatis  
ad episcopatum*

Hoc in anno, scilicet domini m° cc xii, cum abbatizaret in domo de Holmcultram Willelmus de Cursy et inde assumptus esset ad domum de Malros gubernandam, successit ei ad regimen de Holme monachus quidam eiusdem Adam, videlicet de Kendal. Hec domus sita est in Karliolensi diocesi xii miliaribus a civitate distans. Cumque novellus abbas Adam episcopum civitatis eiusdem duplici vexatum incomodo, videlicet etatis decrepitate et infirmitatis continue sicque mortem in januis ei cerneret imminere, cepit ambicionis occulte stimulo agitari et qualiter ad episcopatum posset ascendere votis omnibus meditari. Monastice igitur simplicitatis et religiose humilitatis modum immoderacius excedens, Dei insuper et professionis memoriam postponens laxatisque habenis per devia discurrens, substantiam monasterii de elemosinis regis David, quam et de patrimonio Crucifixi custodiendam suscepit, manu prodiga distraxit. Amicicias insuper et familiaritates nobilium, civitatis et clericorum quorum patricinio posset eius affectus ad effectum perducere, frequentibus laucioris mense conviviis et muneribus crebris ac eulogiis quantum potuit sibi comparavit. Unde factum est ut infra paucos annos domus illa cotidianis detrimentis tam in spiritualibus quam temporalibus miserabiliter inclinata deiceretur, et dissimulantibus personis ordinis 20

away, and the next day they besieged the port and the town. When the king heard this, he broke off the siege of Ghent, returned to his own besieged men, and raising the siege he drove the besiegers in flight as far as his ships. Many were slain or drowned (about two thousand in all), and very many honest and valiant captives were taken. And so returning victorious to Damme he ordered the remaining ships to be emptied of victuals and other things, and setting fire to them he burnt them all as well as the town and the whole district round about. For thirty thousand silver marks he peacefully returned the hostages he had taken from Ghent, Ypres and Bruges. Because of the maliciousness of the inhabitants of Lille he completely destroyed that town; he left Cassel half in ruins; and he kept hold of Douai. [31 May]

45

50

It was these events that prevented King [Philip] from sailing to England.

## 9

*A quite terrible example of an abbot's ambition  
to become a bishop – a quite useful cautionary tale  
for our readers*

In this same year 1212, when William de Courcy abbot of the house at Holm Cultram was promoted thence to be head of the house at Melrose, he was succeeded at Holmcultram by a certain monk of the place called Adam, the one from Kendal. This house is in the diocese of Carlisle twelve miles from the city. When the new abbot Adam heard that the bishop of Carlisle was doubly afflicted – by debilitating age and by continual illness – and was thus at death's door, he began to be goaded by secret ambition and to think about how he might be unanimously voted bishop. Therefore he departed excessively from the path of monastic simplicity and religious humility, and neglecting moreover the memory of God and his monastic vow he rushed down by-ways in unbridled fashion. With prodigal hand he destroyed the property of the monastery, which was the alms-gift of King David and which he had undertaken to safeguard as part of Christ's heritage. Furthermore he cultivated friendship and intimacy with nobles, burgesses and clerics, by whose patronage his desire might be fulfilled, by giving frequent splendid banquets and by showering them with gifts and flattery to the utmost of his ability. Thus it happened that within a few years [the fortunes of] that house were cast down, miserably subjected as it was to daily losses of both a [1215: 16 Nov.]

5

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15

20

per dominum regem Scocie et quosdam seculares clamor tante calamitatis ad aures domini Cisterciensis tempore capituli sui generalis oportune satis perveniret; qui statim intelligens quod ad Rivallem pertineret domus illa et filia esset de Melros, vocari fecit abbatem de Ryevall', qui forte tunc erat apud Cistercium, et eidem injunxit ut coabbati suo de Malros auctoritate paterna preciperet ut quantocius<sup>a</sup> remedium apponeret. Quod et factum est. Nam visitacione facta et veritate comperta, dejectus est celerarius ab officio per cuius manus de consilio abbatis substancia monasterii fuit dissipata, dehinc abbatem deposuit et alium substituit. Depositus ergo et considerans quod merito hec pateretur et conventus ipsum propter dilapidacionem bonorum monasterii<sup>b</sup> exosum haberet et propter hoc non esset ei quietas cum eis habitacio, misericordiam petiit et de consensu conventus sed contra consuetudinem ordinis impetravit ut concederetur ei ad inhabitandum cum socio quodam in foresta de Inglewode, que Hildekirk vulgaritur appellatur. | Est autem locus ille pulcherrimo nemore | vallatus, suas habens carucas glebe fertilis, amenus admodum et secretus et religionis proposito cum decenti capellula satis accomodus. Assumpto igitur quodam monacho socio Radulpho nomine, prout ei fuerat concessum, transivit ad ipsum locum quem inhabitandum cum sua pensione elegerat.

fo.186  
G ii,13

<sup>a</sup> D,CA; quantocius with deletion marked under -is C    <sup>b</sup> + ipsum del.C

## 10

*Adhuc de eodem<sup>a</sup>*

Dum hec sic se haberent et episcopo Karliol' mortuo ac die ad eligendum statuto, dompnus Adam sicut prius ad episcopatum hians accersiri facit quendam secularem speciali quadam gracia sibi familiarem, quem obnixie rogavit ut die electionis ad civitatem accederet et electorum secretis sese prudenter ingereret diligenter inquirens quot et quales essent qui partes eius in electione foverent et ipsius intenderent promocioni. Qui electione facta reversus est durus nun-

<sup>a</sup> + et de mirabili revelacione sibi facta CA    <sup>b</sup> interlin.C

spiritual and a temporal kind; and though there was a cover-up by members of the order, news of so great a calamity quite opportunely reached the ears of the abbot of Cîteaux from the lord king of Scotland and certain laymen when he was holding a general chapter. As soon as he realised that this house belonged to [the family of] Rievaulx and was a daughter-house of Melrose, he summoned the abbot of Rievaulx, who at that time happened to be at Cîteaux, and ordered him to use his paternal authority on his fellow-abbot at Melrose to remedy the situation as soon as possible. And this was done. For once a visitation had been made and the truth established, the cellarer, by whose hands the property of the monastery had been squandered on the authority of the abbot, was dismissed from office, after which he deposed the abbot and put another man in his place. [1223] Now, once he had been deprived of office, and considering that he deservedly suffered this treatment, that the convent hated him because he had used up the goods of the monastery, and that on this account he could not live at peace with them, he begged for mercy; and with the consent of the convent, but contrary to the custom of the order, he requested that he be allowed to live with a certain companion in the forest of Inglewood [at a place] commonly called Hildekirk. This is a place surrounded by a very beautiful wood, with its own acres of fertile soil, extremely pleasant and remote, and with its fine little chapel an ideal spot for the purpose of the religious life. So taking with him a certain monk called Radulf as his companion, as he had been permitted to do, he moved to that place where he had chosen to live on his pension.

## 10

*More about the same*

While these things were going on in this way the death occurred of the bishop of Carlisle and a day was fixed for the election [of his successor]. Sir Adam, as greedy as ever for the bishopric, sent for a certain layman whose friendship he had won for himself by a special favour. He vehemently implored him to go to the city on the day of the election and by discreetly working his way into the confidence of the electors diligently find out about the numbers and character of those who might favour him in the election, and who might support his promotion. When the election was over, the insensitive messenger

cuius firmiter asseverans in eleccione de ipsius persona nullam penitus factam fuisse mencionem. Quo audito defecit spiritus eius, et in ipsa perturbatione cordis socium suum instanter rogavit quatenus pro ipso vii psalmos penitenciales per continuam quindenam ante sacrum altare cotidie devotus persolveret, ea videlicet ratione ut statum suum Dominus monstrare dignaretur. Cui monachus tamquam vir discretus respondit quod hoc nichil aliud esset quam Deum temptare, videlicet sub tali forma psalmos penitenciales decantare. Quia tamen psalmi ipsi fructu spirituali sunt gravidi et devote oracionis forma referti, petitioni sue benigne favit ita dumtaxat ut Dominus gracie sue consolacionem eidem largiretur; et ecce prima nocte visum est ei quod cerneret socium suum dompnum Adam stantem in loco horroris et vaste solitudinis stupefactum quasi et attonitum, densissimis vepribus spinis et sentibus circumceptum, et ignorantem penitus qualiter desertum illud egredi posset, cum eius visui nulla via vel exitus appareret; et hec eadem visio per totam quindenam singulis noctibus uniformiter sibi monstrabatur. Peracta autem quindenam in septimana penosa intimavit Adam visionem Radulphus; et alter subsequenter asseruit quod sibi status suus plenius fuerat demonstratus. Adjuratus ergo Radulphus ne cuiquam eo vivente revelaret, cepit ei tristis Adam cuncta referre sub hac forma: 'Cum membra', inquit, 'mea sopori tradere voluissem, videbam quemdam virum michi assistere, qui quadam michi precepit auctoritate ut surgerem et eius vestigia subsequens viderem ea que michi esset monstraturus. Et statim introduxit me in quoddam amplissimum palacium ubi Beatissima Virgo Virginum cum multitudine assistencium honorifice residebat. Que reverenter salutata dixit michi: "Velles", inquit, "statum tuum videre? Vadas in hanc domum proximam et invenies ductorem qui ostendat tibi statum tuum." Et ostenso michi ostio ingressus inveni domum amplissimam in circuitu et in medio plenam undique monachis ordinum diversorum. Sedebant autem universi dimissis capuciis in tantum quod facies eorum penitus velate essent ne ab aliquibus cognoscerentur. Et rediens ad Misericordie | Matrem precepit ut iterum circuirem totam domum et quererem diligenter. Cumque hoc fecissem et omnes sedissent immobiles nec alicuius faciem videre possem, revertenti michi precepit gloriosa Domina ut dictam domum adhuc tercio girarem et indubitanter invenirem. Cui cum obedientissime paruissem et ipsos ut preceperat visitassem, unus eorum exurgens capucium excussit et revelata facie me respexit. Et cognoscens eum: "Esne tu", inquam, "dompnus Thomas quondam celerarius meus?" Qui respondens ait: "Sum miser ille Thomas." "Et quomodo", inquam, "tibi est?" "Male", inquit, "supra modum et multo deterius propter te. Sed scio", ait, "quid queris et quid desid-

G ii, 14

10 returned firmly maintaining that in the election virtually no mention at all was made of him. When he heard this, the stuffing was knocked out of him, and in this confused state of mind he immediately asked his companion to offer up devoutly for him the seven penitential psalms every day for a whole fortnight in front of the holy altar in the hope that the Lord might deign to throw light on the state of his soul. The monk replied as any wise man would, saying that singing the penitential psalms on such terms was tantamount to putting God to the test. But because the psalms themselves are rich in spiritual fruit and full of the appearance of devout prayer, he kindly agreed to his request merely so that the Lord might bestow on Adam the consolation of his grace. On the very first night he had a vision of his companion sir Adam standing in a place of dread and vast solitude dumb-founded as if thunder-struck, surrounded by the thickest of briars, thorns and brambles, and with not the slightest idea of how to get out of that wasteland, since as far as he could see there was no path or way out. And this same vision was shown to him in the same way every single night throughout the whole fortnight. At the end of the fortnight in Passion Week Radulf told Adam about his vision. The latter then claimed that the state of his soul had been shown to him more fully. So once Radulf had sworn that he would not reveal it to anyone while Adam was alive, the latter sadly began to tell him the whole story in these words: 'When I wanted to fall asleep, I saw a certain man standing in front of me. He ordered me with some authority to get up and follow him to see things which he was to show me. And straightaway he led me into a very spacious palace in which the Blessed Virgin of Virgins lived in state surrounded by crowds of people. I greeted her reverently, whereupon she said to me: "Do you want to learn about the state of your soul? Go into the next house and you will find a guide who will show it to you." And after I had been shown the door I went in and found the house to be very large in size, and inside all around it was full of monks of different orders. But they were all sitting with their hoods up so that their faces were completely covered lest anyone recognize them. I went back to the Mother of Mercy, who ordered me to go round the whole house again and look carefully. And once I had done this and everybody had sat motionless and I was unable to see anyone's face, the Glorious Lady ordered me on my return to go round the said house for a third time and I would indisputably make a discovery. When I most obediently complied with her and went to see as she had ordered, one of them stood up and tossing back his hood to reveal his face looked at me. I recognised him and said: "Are you sir Thomas my former cellarer?" He replied saying: "I am that unhappy Thomas." "How are you?" I said. "In an extremely bad way and much worse because of you. But", he said, "I know what you are

eras, quia precepit michi Beata Virgo ut manifestem tibi statum tuum. Veni ergo et sequere me.”

## 11

*Quomodo vidit diversas refecciones etc.*

‘Et introduxit me in domum quamdam maximam et pulcherimam habentem undique mensas ornates in modum refectorii, optimis ferculis copiosissime refertas, quorum omnium suavissimus odor se diffunde-  
bat et nares meas ita mirabiliter reficiebat, quod videbatur michi de sola tante suavitatis fraglantia sine ulteriore gustu vivere 5 posse in eternum. Unde miro modo delectatus quesivi ab eo que esset domus ista et in quorum usus tam splendide procurata. “Hec”, inquit, “domus est refectorium claustralium et pauperum conversorum qui jugum interioris discipline et exterioris” obediencie paci-  
entur et perseveranter portantes cotidianas et inestimabiles in tali 10 loco percipiunt consolaciones.” Et cum vellem aliquantulum immorari et tanta suavitate recreari, non permisit dux meus dicens quod non esset michi pars neque sors in domo illa. Et | duxit me statim in domum alteram amplissimam et fetidissimam, et videbam mensas undique stratas sordidissimis ferculis abundantissime repletas. Erant 15 enim fercula de carnibus cadaverum horribiliter fetencium ita quod nares sustinere non possem continens. Cumque requirerem ab eo que esset domus ista, respondit dicens: “Hoc est refectorium celariorum sibi videlicet et sociis suis preparatum”; quos paulo ante videram cum eo sedentes capuciis dimissis et faciebus velatis, et aliis 20 eorum similibus, qui pro placitis et forensibus causis curias regum et nobilium frequentare solebant. Et quia fratrum suorum et vite claustralis paupertate postposita, gule vacantes et ebrietati, sub occasione necessarie occupationis et communis utilitatis palliabant vicium proprie voluptatis; propter hoc ut<sup>b</sup> pena culpe corpondeat, 25 cotidianis ab eis tormentis exigitur ut talibus cotidie ferculis ingurgitentur. “Sed veni”, inquit, “ulter-[iu]-s<sup>c</sup> et ostendam tibi que restant.” Et ingressi sumus domum terciam amplam valde sed in modum cripte vel celarii subterraneam. Dixitque michi: “Quem-  
cumque videris diligenter considera, et universa memorie tenaci 30

a C,D,R; exterioris CA,E  
b + culpa del.C

c D; ink blot C

55 looking for and what you want, because the Blessed Virgin has ordered me to make the state of your soul clear to you. So come and follow me.”

## 11

*How he saw all sorts of food etc.*

‘And he led me into a certain very large and beautiful house which had on all sides tables laid as if they were in a refectory, richly laden with superb dishes. A most delightful smell was wafting up from them all and refreshed my nostrils in a marvellous fashion, so that  
5 it seemed to me that I could live for ever on just the fragrance of such delightfulness without going as far as a taste. Since I was so wonderfully delighted by this, I asked him what this house was and for whose use it was so splendidly kept. “This house”, he said, “is the refectory of ordinary monks and of poor lay brethren who patiently and untiringly bear the yoke of internal discipline and external 10 obedience, and who every day in such a place receive inestimable consolations.” And when I wanted to linger a short while and be refreshed by such delights, my guide did not allow it, saying that I was not destined to have a place in that house. And he led me straightaway to another house, very big and stinking, and I saw 15 tables laid out on all sides piled high with the filthiest of dishes. For there were dishes of the meat of such horribly putrefying corpses that I could not stand it and held my nose. And when I asked him what that house was, he replied: “This is the refectory of the cellarers made ready for them and their companions.” I had seen these men 20 a short time before sitting with him [Thomas the cellarer], their hoods up and their faces covered, and with others like them, who were in the habit of frequenting the courts of kings and nobles when involved in pleas and legal business. Looking down on the poverty of their brethren and of the monastic life they devoted themselves to gluttony and drunkenness; under the pretext of conducting necessary business and of being useful to the community they covered over their own sinful voluptuousness. On this account they are required to undergo the torment of eating such dishes so that the punishment may fit the 25 crime. “But come further,” he said, “and I will show you what remains.” And we entered a third house, very large but which was underground like a crypt or a cellar. And he said to me: “Reflect carefully on whomsoever you see and commit everything firmly to 30

recommenda.” Et respiciens vidi sub testudine domus carnes densissimo ordine dependentes, quas nos vulgari nomine bacones appellamus. Erant autem omnes igne teterimo et sulphureo vehementer inflammati | in tantum quod pinguedo eorum grandi impetu ad inferiora decurrebat. Apparuerunt autem sub baconibus fosse facte 35 in terra, videlicet in area domus, ad humani corporis mensuram et capacitatem, et in ipsis fossis jacebant homines resupini et omnes aperto ore et hiantibus faucibus pinguedinem sulphuream impetuose decurrentem aviditate detestabili gluciebant. Et cum magno stupore et tremore querenti michi que esset domus illa respondit quod hec 40 esset conclavis abbatibus preparata qui seorsum in cameris libenter morabantur, quorum fuit studium comedere pingua et bibere multum. “Et propter hoc nunc in tormentis condignam vicem recipiunt quia in potestate positi delicias carnis contra Deum quesierunt.” Ego autem quesivi ab eo utrum, quando morerer, venturus essem ad 45 hunc locum tormentorum. Et dixit michi: “Indubitanter scias quod expectat te locus tuus adhuc vacuus donec moriaris.” Et statim ostendit michi fossam meam vacuum et bacones desuper imminentes, dixitque michi: “Ecce certa revelacione vidisti statum tuum. Sed oportet ut revertamur via qua venimus ad gloriosam Misericordie 50 Matrem.” Cumque statuisset me coram Beata Virgine, regressus est dominus Thomasius ad locum suum. Dixit autem michi Beata Virgo: “Ecce vidisti statum tuum qualem vivendo meruisti. Et certus esto quia<sup>d</sup> morieris tu et non vives ultra instantem solemnitatem Dominice Ascensionis. Sed quia Mater sum Salvatoris et Misericordie Salutis, 55 consilium volo misericorditer tibi dare per quod penas tibi preparatas multum per omnem modum, si volueris, poteris alleviare.”

<sup>d</sup> quod CA

*De consilio sibi per Mariam exhibito*

“Modico, fili, tempore isto quo victurus es super terram totum conferas ad agendam salutarem penitentiam.” Et hoc cum dixisset, jussit ductori meo ut ad locum ubi me invenerat sine mora reduceret. Et sic michi ipsi redditus et a tam terrificam visione revocatus, tanta mesticia et fluccuacione cordis turbatus sum et distractus, quod fere 5

memory.” And when I looked I saw hanging in crowded rows from 35 the ceiling of the house pieces of the meat which in common speech we call bacon. However, they were all being fiercely licked by very foul sulphurous flames to a degree that their fat was running down off them in streams. Beneath the sides of bacon pits appeared to have been dug into the ground, that is into the floor of the house, in the 40 shape and size of the human body, and in these pits men lay on their backs, and with open mouths and gaping jaws they were all swallowing with revolting eagerness the sulphurous fat which was pouring down. And when I asked in great amazement and trembling what that house was, he replied that this room had been made ready 45 for abbots who had chosen to keep themselves to themselves in their own apartments and who devoted their time to eating rich food and indulging in a lot of drink. “And because of this they now receive a most fitting recompense in their torments – because when occupying positions of power they sought out the pleasures of the flesh contrary 50 to God.” I then asked him whether when I die I would come to this place of torments. And he said to me: “You may be quite sure that your place, empty up until now, is waiting for you until you die.” And at once he showed me my empty pit with bacon hanging above it, and he said to me: “Look, you have seen the state of your soul in 55 a true revelation. But we must go back the way we came to the glorious Mother of Mercy.” And once he had brought me into the presence of the Blessed Virgin, sir Thomas returned to his place. The Blessed Virgin then said to me: “Look, you have seen the kind of state your soul has earned during your life. And you can be quite 60 sure that you will die and not live beyond the next solemn festival of the Lord’s Ascension. But because I am the Mother of the Saviour and of Mercy and Salvation, I am willing mercifully to give you advice by which you can, if you want, alleviate to a great extent and in every way the punishments prepared for you.”

*The advice given him by Mary*

“In the short time you have on earth, my son, you should devote all your energies to doing penance beneficial for your salvation.” And when she had said this, she ordered my guide to take me back without delay to the place where he had found me. And thus after 5 returning to my senses and being recalled from such a terrifying



non sustinens in incredibilem desperationis voraginem devolutus sum. Sed precor te, frater karissime, quatenus hoc michi periclitanti tribuas beneficium, ut si quid restat athuc impendas salutare consilium.' Cui socius suus respondit Radulphus: 'Certe non est aliud sub celo salubrius consilium quam quod Mater Misericordie misericorditer tibi demonstravit. Acquiesce ergo illi et omne periculum promitto evasisti.' Sic dicenti et monita salutaria suggerenti tristis et turbulentus anxius et tribulatus respondit miser ille Adam memoratus: 'Heu!' inquit. 'Scio quod salvari nequeo.' Et statim tremens ac stupens mente captus est a spiritu malignissimo vexatus. Cumque tam miserande passionis calamitas continuis agitationibus augeretur indies, furia vectus; vinculisque mancipatus et vehiculo impositus ductus est ad abbaciam, ubi seorsum positus et officio caritatis exhibitus est ad custoditus usque ad festum Dominice Ascensionis, quod ei fuerat terminus peremptorius a Domina Maria sibi constitutus. Adveniente igitur die tante solemnitatis, cum esset conventus tempore misse matutinalis in privatis missis | celebrandis occupatus, | <et> servitores ipsius pro missis audiendis ad ecclesiam divertissent et ipsum sine custodia dimisissent, mirabili et subito eventu vinculis expeditus ad ecclesiam furibundus et clamans properavit, in qua, cum predictus Radulphus socius eius sacerdotalibus indutus sacris altaribus extitisset sacramentis celestibus celebrandis intentus, in impetu spiritus ad ipsum currens ambo- brachiis fortiter est amplexatus clamans terribiliter et ejulans: 'Adjuva, miserere! Adjuva, miserere!' Ad cuius clamorem tam miserabilem cum ecclesia omnis reboaret, accurrentes qui aderant non sine violencia maxima monachum celebrantem ab eius complexu liberaverunt et furem suum loco statuentes diligentius postea servaverunt. Cumque totus conventus ad misse majoris solemnitatem fuisset ex more communiter occupatus et ipse solito molestius fuisset interim sua passione fatigatus, subito, secundum quod Beata Virgo predixerat, die Dominice Ascensionis inter manus servitorum suorum ultimum spiritum exalavit. Hec autem, karissimi, ideo presenti nostro opusculo scriptis commendare curavi ut quisquis prelatus vel religiosus ista corditer legerit, evidenter agnoscat qualiter exemplificando iste Adam de Kendal post professam religionis regulam interiora sua negligens per cotidianos defectus ad vagam et vanam devolutus est conversationem; et sic semper seipso deterior novissime miseriam, ut videtis, habuit consummationem. Dum enim ambitionis maligne signatus cauterio, infulas dignitatum et vanam fallacis mundi gloriam cui renunciaverat aviditate famelica requisivit; liquet manifeste quod cum uxore Loth et aratore evangelico retro respexit, et cum miseris Hebreis celeste manna fastidiens ad ollas Egypti corde rediit, et ever- sam Jericho non sine malediccione veri Josue reedificavit; et velut canis Salamonicus ad vomitum et sus lota ad suum reversa est volu-

G ii, 16  
fo. 187

vision, I was troubled and distracted by such sadness and emotional agitation that I could hardly bear it and fell into an incredible abyss of despair. But I beg you, dearest brother, in as much as you can do this favour for me as someone on trial, if there is any hope left, give me advice which will help save me.' To this Radulf his companion replied: 'There is certainly no more beneficial advice under the heavens than that which the Mother of Mercy has mercifully revealed to you. Therefore follow it and I promise that you will avoid all danger.' After he [Radulf] had said these words and given this salutary advice, Adam, that wretched man of whom we have been writing, sad and disturbed, anxious and afflicted, answered him thus 'Alas! I know that I cannot be saved.' And trembling and witless he was immediately seized and plagued by a most evil spirit. And since the misfortune of his pitiable suffering was being increased daily by constant worrying, he went out of his mind. He was put in chains, placed in a cart, and taken to the abbey, where he was put by himself, looked after as a charitable duty, and guarded until the feast of the Ascension of the Lord, which had been decisively fixed by the Lady Mary as his mortal end. So when that day of great solemnity arrived, and the convent were busy celebrating their private masses at the time of the morrow-mass, and his servants had gone to church to hear mass leaving him without a guard, miraculously and suddenly he escaped from his chains and rushed shouting and raging to the church. Here, when the said Radulf his companion dressed in priestly vestments was at the holy altar about to celebrate the heavenly sacraments, he ran to him in a state of high excitement and violently clasped him with both arms crying out in a dreadful fashion and shouting: 'Help, pity me! Help, pity me!' As all the church was echoing to his pitiful cry, those present ran up and had to use a great deal of force to free the celebrant monk from his grasp. They put the mad man back in his room and looked after him more carefully after that. And when the whole convent was engaged together in solemn high mass in the usual way, and he in the meantime had been more grievously afflicted than usual by his suffering, he suddenly breathed his last, surrounded by his servants, on Ascension Day, just as the Blessed Virgin had predicted.

Now, dearest readers, I have taken the trouble to commit these matters to writing in our present little work so that whichever prelate or religious reads them and takes them to heart, he may clearly understand by this example how that Adam of Kendal, after he had taken his religious vows, neglected his inner life, and through his daily failings slipped and slid into unrestrained and vain behaviour. And so always worse for himself he finally met his miserable end, as you can see. For while branded with the mark of evil ambition, he greedily and hungrily sought the badges of high offices and the vain

tabrum, unde demeritis suis exigentibus per mundi arridentis osculum incidit in laborinthum Dedalicum, irrecuperabilis casus precipicium. A cuius osculo et precipicio protegat Dei dextra tam viventes in seculo quam in clauastro.

## 13

*De transitu Johannis regis Anglie in Aquitaniam  
et pueris cruce signatis*

Eodem anno Johannes Anglie rex in Aquitaniam transfretavit ac Rupelle applicuit; nec multo post reconciliatus est comiti Marchie et Gaufrido de Ladiniano aliisque proceribus Aquitanicis qui prius favebant regi Francorum Philippo. Quorum fretus auxilio transiens in Andegaviam ipsam occupavit et castrum quod Bellum Forte dicitur et quedam alia. Missi quoque cursores eius cum multa turba militum collegerunt predam trans Ligerim juxta Nannetum. Ad quos repellendos incaute cum paucis militans Robertus comitis Drocarum primogenitus captus est ab eis cum xiv militibus. Petrus autem eius comitis filius filiam Guidonis de Thoarco sororem uterinam Arthuri ex parte matris sue ducisse Britannie in uxorem duxerat et cum eadem a rege Philippo totum Britannie Minoris | ducatum acceperat. Hic Ludovico ipsius regis filio prestabat auxilium confinia protegens ac defensans. Alienordis autem soror eiusdem Arthuri primogenita Gaufridi quondam eius provincie ducis primogeniti fratris Johannis Anglie regis ab ipso Johanne capta in Angliam tenebatur incarceratione. Nolebat siquidem illam alicui matrimonio jungi timens per eam amittere jura regni. <Hic<sup>a</sup> Johannes rex urbem Andegavis, quam occupaverat, muro ex utraque parte usque meridianam circumvallare cepit, et arridente sibi fortuna cum in brevi supradicta municipia optinisset, Aquitanorum et Pictavorum auxilio se posse de facili residuum terre recuperare presumens, castrum quod Rupesmonachi dicitur, a Willelmo de Rupibus Andegavie senescallo ob tuicionem itineris<sup>b</sup> de novo edificatum, obsedit.

G ii,17

a + eciam CA

b CA,R; iterineris C,D

glory of the false world which he had renounced. It is very apparent that as with Lot's wife and the ploughman in the gospel he looked over his shoulder; and as with the wretched Hebrews he grew tired of heavenly manna and returned in his heart to the fleshpots of Egypt; and he rebuilt Jericho after it had been destroyed, not without the curse of the true Joshua; and like the dog of Solomon which returned to its own vomit and like the sow after a wash which returned to its wallowing place, so with his faults leading him on, by the kiss of the smiling world, he fell into the labyrinth of Daedalus down the precipice of an irreparable situation. May the right hand of God protect those living in the world as well as in a monastery from this world's kiss and precipice.

## 13

*John king of England sails to Aquitaine;  
and the Children's Crusade*

In the same year John king of England sailed to Aquitaine and landed at La Rochelle; and not long afterwards he was reconciled with the count of La Marche and Geoffrey de Lusignan and other Aquitanian nobles who had formerly supported Philip king of the French. Relying on their support he moved across to Anjou and occupied both it and a castle called Beaufort as well as certain others. He also sent a great band of knights on swift horses to collect booty across the Loire by Nantes. They captured Robert the eldest son of the count of Dreux and fourteen knights, while he was incautiously fighting to drive them back with only a small number of men. [1214: 2 Feb.] [25 May] [17 June]

Now Peter, another son of that count, had married the daughter of Guy de Thouars, the sister of Arthur – they shared the same mother, the duchess of Brittany – and with her he had received from King Philip all the duchy of Brittany. He came to the aid of Louis the king's son, protecting and defending his borders.

But Eleanor, the sister of this same Arthur and eldest daughter of Geoffrey the former duke of the province [of Brittany] and the eldest brother of John king of England, was captured by this same John and held prisoner in England. He did not want her to marry anybody, fearing that through her he might lose his rights to the kingdom.

King John set about building a wall round the town of Angers, which he had taken, on both sides southwards, and with fortune smiling on him, since he had taken the above-mentioned towns in a short space of time, and on the assumption that he could easily recover the rest of the territory with the help of the people of Aquitaine and Poitou, he

Erectis itaque petrariis et ceteris machinis bellicis, cepit castrum fortiter expugnare et<sup>c</sup> obsessi non minus strenue se defendere. Tunc Ludovicus regis Philippi primogenitus, patre suo per confinia Flandrie et Normannie cum militibus diversa municipia vicissim visitante et ab hostium incursibus defensante, congregatum exercitum movit de Kinone ut predictis obsessis succurreret. Cumque per unam iam dietam tantum exercitus a loco distaret, rex Johannes eius adventum in crastino futurum non sustinens, omnibus petrariis, mangonellis et papilionibus ceterisque belli utensilibus dimissis ac prede expositis recessit. Ludovicus autem urbem quam rex Johannes<sup>d</sup> muris circumsepserat recuperavit et omnes muros eius destruxit. Hanc<sup>e</sup> autem victoriam Ludovici modico tempore interjecto secuta est victoria patris sui Philippi; in qua infra mensis unius spacium filius in Pictavia de rege Anglie Johanne, pater in Flandria de Othone imperatore excommunicatis et de Ferrando cum suis Flandrensibus bello quidem difficili sed victorioso, summi regis dextra protecti, cum gloria triumpharunt. Eodem etiam anno parvi pueri usque ad xx<sup>h</sup> circiter milia, ut estimatum est, cruce signati sunt, ac per legiones ad diversos maris portus, videlicet Massiliam et Brendusium, pervenientes, quia nullus eos transvehere curavit, zelo recuperacionis Terre Sancte inanes et vacui reversi sunt.

Dum igitur hic tenelli nondum puberes adolescentes<sup>f</sup> sed pueri in tantum zelati sunt Terram Sanctam subsidio relevari, quid, vos barbari milites,<sup>g</sup> ecclesiasticos et colones<sup>h</sup> cotidie assaltantes et de eorum prediis et predis vos et complices vestros contra iusjurandum militare reficientes, dicturi estis cum in illo<sup>i</sup> extremo<sup>j</sup> examine dicturus est Dominus: 'Sinite parvulos venire ad me; talium est enim regnum celorum'? Et ad vos sententiam retorquens dicit:<sup>k</sup> 'Servos inutiles proicite in tenebras exteriores.'<sup>l</sup>

fo.187v

Hoc etiam anno exiit edictum a summo pontifice generale in omnem Christiane professionis regionem ut omni cessante excusacione universi ecclesiarum pastores ad terminum prefixum, scilicet anno<sup>m</sup> m<sup>o</sup> cc<sup>o</sup> xv<sup>o</sup> kl<sup>o</sup> novembris Rome congregarentur, generale consilium ibidem celebraturi, exceptis paucissimis qui communi consilio in unaquaque patria ob animarum custodiam remanerent. Ipsi vero pastores interim omni sollicitudine verbum vite predicarent et infirmos in fide confirmarent, confirmatos animarent, sed et sancte crucis signaculo consignarent in subsidium Sancte Terre repromissionis, quam tunc temporis Sarraceni nimis improbe possederunt.

c + obsi del.C

d rex Johannes interlin.C

e marginal addition continues at foot of previous fo.186v C

f adolescentuli CA

g + et comilitones satellites CA

h + quo del.C

i + supp del.C

j + exaine del.C

k dicens CA

l D,CA; exarteriores C

m + Domini CA,R

besieged the castle called La Roche-au-Moine, recently built by William [19 June] des Roches seneschal of Anjou to protect the road. So he erected siege-engines and other war machines and launched a heavy assault on the castle, with the besieged defending themselves no less vigorously. Then [30] Louis the eldest son of King Philip, while his father with his knights was visiting various towns in turn along the borders of Flanders and Normandy and defending them from enemy attacks, gathered an army and moved it from Chinon to the aid of the above-mentioned besieged. And when the army was only one day's journey away from the place, [35] King John, unable to face up to its arrival the following day, withdrew [2 July] leaving all the siege-engines, mangonels, tents and other implements of war exposed for plunder. And Louis recovered the town that John had surrounded by walls and destroyed all his walls. Not long afterwards this victory won by Louis was followed by a victory won by his father [27 July] Philip; within the space of one month the son gloriously triumphed over the excommunicated John king of England in Poitou, while his father did the same over the excommunicated Emperor Otto and over Ferrand and his men of Flanders in a war which was certainly difficult but successful, both protected by the right hand of the King of Kings. [45] And in the same year up to about twenty thousand small boys, it is estimated, became crusaders. And arriving in their droves at various sea-ports, namely Marseilles and Brindisi, filled with enthusiasm to recover the Holy Land, they returned home empty-handed, because no one cared to ferry them across.

[50] So while these tender youths who had not even reached adolescence, these mere boys, were so fired with enthusiasm to come to the aid of the Holy Land, what will you say, you bearded soldiers, you who daily attack churchmen and tillers of the soil, and who along with your accomplices live off their estates and off plunder to fight against [55] justice, what will you say when at the Last Judgment the Lord says: 'Let the little ones come to me; for the kingdom of heaven belongs to such as these'? And turning to sentence you he will say: 'Fling the useless servants out into the dark.'

Also in this year a general edict was issued by the pope to every part [1213: 19 Apr.] of Christendom that all pastors of churches were to gather in Rome on a set date, that is 1 November 1215, and there were to be no excuses for absence. There they were to hold a general council, except for the very few who by common agreement were to remain behind in every country for the care of souls. In the meantime the pastors were to concentrate on preaching the word of life, to strengthen those weak in their faith, and to fire those already strengthened in their faith. But also by [conferring] the sign of the cross they were to send aid to the Holy Promised Land, which at that time the Saracens very wrongfully possessed.



## 14

*Quomodo rex Philippus expulit perpetuo a curia sua  
omnes<sup>a</sup> scurros<sup>b</sup> et joculatores*

Hoc eodem anno Christianissimus rex Francorum Philippus grandevus et<sup>c</sup> infirmitate proventus,<sup>d</sup> volens Regum Regi summopere complacere et sciens bella undique ex omni parte sibi imminere, saniori usus consilio pepulit a curia sua perpetue omnes scurros, <illusores>,<sup>e</sup> joculatores, prestigiosos, aleatores, adulatores, gladiatores et huiusmodi iniquitatis filios ludicros et nimium jocosos, attendens quod omnis jocus inordinatus est fomes libidinis. Unde et Venus dicitur jocosa, de qua sic ludit suos familiaris:

Non solet in mestos illa venire thoros.

Et ne quis opinetur hunc Christianissimum regum<sup>f</sup> velle omnem ludum condempnare, notandum est quod licencius eciam perfectus ludit ad horam ut postea diligencius vacet studio vel contemplacione, sicut patet in Johanne Evangelista et beato Antonio, quia requies est propter operacionem, non operacio propter requiem. Verumptamen juxta Tullium primo de officiis: 'Non ita generati a natura sumus ut ad ludum et ad jocum facti esse videamur sed ad severitatem pocius et ad quedam studia graviora.' Hoc autem forte dicit quia, quamvis ludus non sit humane vite felicitas, est tamen conveniens ludus virtus quedam, quia sicut homo indiget aliquando a vexacionibus corporis quiescere, ita indiget intencionem<sup>g</sup> animi a studiis et seriosis relaxare et a solitudinum anxietate pausare. Hoc autem maxime fit per honestum ludum, qui consistit in colloquiis et collacionibus convenientibus inter homines ordinatis. Sciendum est igitur circa ludum<sup>h</sup> quod ad hoc quod virtuose fiat tria requirit, videlicet condecenciam honestatis, providenciam idempnitatis et | carenciam superfluitatis. Primum igitur quod a virtuose ludentibus considerari debet est honestatis condecencia, ut videlicet ludus talis deceat personam ludentem et personas assistentes. Unde alius ludus convenit prelato vel clerico seu viro religioso, et alius militari<sup>i</sup> armigero vel famulo. Alius eciam

G ii, 19

a + aleatores CA  
b scurros changed from some other word C  
c + quadam CA  
d attactus CA  
e D; illegible word del. in text with illusores in margin C

f regem CA  
g + aie' del. C  
h interlin. C  
i [?] C; militi D, CA

## 14

*How King Philip drove all [gamesters,] parasites and jesters  
from his court for good*

In the same year Philip the most Christian king of the French, now very old and ill, desiring to please the King of Kings as much as he could and knowing that wars were closing in on him from all sides, took sound counsel and drove from his court all parasites, imposters, jesters, magicians, gamesters, sycophants, swordsmen and other suchlike sons of iniquity given to sports and too much merriment, considering that every immoderate jest kindles lust. This is why Venus is called merry, regarding whom her servant says in jest:

It is not her custom to visit the beds of mourners.

10 And lest anyone think that this most Christian of kings was wanting to condemn all relaxation, it should be noted that a perfect man also amuses himself the more freely for an hour so that afterwards he may devote himself more diligently to his work or his contemplation, as is clearly stated by John the Evangelist and the Blessed Anthony, 15 because we rest to work, we do not work to rest. Indeed according to Cicero in the first book of *De Officiis*: 'Nature has not brought us into the world to act as if we were created for amusement or jest, but rather for earnestness and for some more serious pursuits.' Now he happens to say this because, although amusement does not in itself 20 bring satisfaction in a person's life, it is nevertheless one appropriate virtue, because just as a man sometimes needs to rest from physical hardships, so the exercise of his mind requires relaxation from studies and serious matters and rest from the worry of his responsibilities. This is best achieved by honest recreation which consists of appropriate talk and discussion arranged between men. Therefore it is 25 important to know that relaxation which is to become as virtuous as possible needs three things: seemly suitability, empathy, and a degree of moderation.

So the first thing to be borne in mind by those who are relaxing 30 virtuously is seemly suitability, namely that the leisure activity is one that is becoming for the person involved and the people with him. Thus one sort of amusement suits a prelate or cleric or monk, another sort suits a soldier, man-at-arms or serf; and yet another sort suits an old person, and another a young person, because not everything 35 suits everyone. Aesop wrote the fable of the ass and the young dog,

ludus decet senem et alius juvenem, quia non omnes omnia decent. 30  
 Fingit Esopus de asino et catulo:<sup>j</sup> quod asinus considerans catulum  
 ociosum mirabiliter acceptum et gratum domino deliberavit que  
 posset esse causa quare dominus catulum nichil operis facientem  
 tantum diligeret, et deprehendit quod quociens dominus domum  
 rediit, catulus ei occurrit, voce cauda et modis quibus potuit domino 35  
 semper applausit. Visum est igitur<sup>k</sup> expediens asino effigiare catulum  
 et sic domini gratiam promereri. Igitur domino de rure redeunti  
 occurrit asinus cum impetu anterioribus pedibus humeros domini  
 amplectens clamore valido rudire cepit. Dominus turbatus et lesus  
 auxilium convocat famulorum, qui asinum validissime fustigatum a 40  
 domino abegerunt. Isto modo multi sunt qui putant quod eos deceat  
 omnis ludus, cum in rei veritate inde displicent unde se reputant  
 complacere. Narrant fabule quod<sup>l</sup> Minerva inventis tibiis cepit fisti-  
 lare; cum igitur juxta fontem sufflando tibia assederet, consideravit  
 buccarum suarum tumorem<sup>m</sup> et visa indecencia vultus sui projecit a 45  
 se tibia indignacione numquam postea fistilatura.

<sup>j</sup> in poetria for de asino et catulo CA  
<sup>k</sup> D,CA; gitor C

<sup>l</sup> + domina CA  
<sup>m</sup> timorem CA

## 15

*Quod ludens debet attendere condecenciam  
 et honestatem ludi*

Consideret igitur ludens primo persone sue condecenciam et hone-  
 statem, et nichil attemptet quod eum vel statum suum non deceat; et  
 super omnia<sup>a</sup> turpia caveat que aliquo modo ad peccatum<sup>b</sup> inclinent;  
 unde<sup>c</sup> de iv<sup>or</sup> virtutibus:

Omnia tolerabilia preter turpitudinem crede. A verbis quoque turpibus 5  
 abstineto, quia licencia eorum impudenciam nutrit. Sermones utiles  
 magis quam facetos et affabiles ama. Miscebis interdum seriis jocos,  
 sed temperatos et sine detrimento dignitatis et verecundie. Nam repre-  
 hensibilis est risus si immoderatus, si pueriliter effusus, si muliebriter  
 fractus. Odibilem quoque facit hominem risus<sup>d</sup> aut superbus, aut elatus, 10  
 aut malignus, aut | furtivus, aut alienis malis<sup>e</sup> evocatus.

fo.188

<sup>a</sup> om.CA  
<sup>b</sup> turpia CA  
<sup>c</sup> + Seneca CA; Seneca in margin with no  
 caret mark C

<sup>d</sup> + quia CA  
<sup>e</sup> + suspicabitur CA

in which the ass, observing that the idle dog was amazingly accepted  
 and loved by their master, wondered what could be the reason why  
 their master was so fond of the dog although it did no work at all.  
 He noticed that every time their master returned home the dog ran  
 40 to meet him and always welcomed him with his voice, his tail and in  
 every way he could. So it seemed to the ass a good idea to copy the  
 dog and so to win the favour of his master. So when his master  
 returned home from the fields, the ass ran to meet him and violently  
 putting his front legs round his master's shoulders started to bray  
 45 loudly. His master was shocked and injured, and called for the help  
 of his serfs, who soundly beat the ass and drove him away from his  
 master. Likewise there are many who think that all sorts of amuse-  
 ment suit them, when in fact people find them disagreeable just when  
 they think they are winning affection.  
 50 Legend has it that after Minerva had found some pipes she started  
 to play them; but when she sat down beside a spring still playing  
 them, she saw her swollen cheeks and her ugly face, and indignantly  
 threw the pipes away never to play again.

## 15

*A person who is relaxing should strive after appropriate  
 and decent amusement*

The first thing therefore that a person who is relaxing should bear  
 in mind is whether his activity is appropriate for his person and  
 decent; and he is not to try to do anything that is unsuitable for  
 himself or his status. And above all he is to beware of offensive  
 5 conduct which might in any way lead to sin. This is why it is written  
 [by Seneca] in *De quatuor virtutibus*:

Believe that everything is tolerable except a shameful reputation. Also  
 abstain from bad language, because lack of control in such matters  
 encourages shamelessness. Have regard for useful expressions rather  
 10 than witty ones that trip off the tongue. You will sometimes introduce  
 jokes into serious matters, but they are to be restrained and not detri-  
 mental to dignity or truth. For laughter is reprehensible if it is excess-  
 ive, or extravagant like a boy's or feeble like a woman's. Also laughter  
 makes a man hated if it is proud or haughty or malevolent or furtive  
 15 or elicited by another's misfortunes.

Secundum quod ludus virtuosus requirit est providencia idempti-  
tatis, ut ludens semper provideat quod ludus suus sit simplex, inno-  
cens et innoxius, ne aliquis inde ledatur. Unde qui nichil in dictis suis  
ponderant nisi ut risum faciant, nec curant quem per dicta sua 15  
contristent,<sup>f</sup> derisores sunt et bomelichi et non eutrapelii secundum  
Aristotelem | viii ethicorum. De tali loquitur Salomon: 'Fraudulentus  
nocet amico suo et cum deprehensus fuerit, dicit: "Ludens feci."  
Sed numquit virtuose ludens potest alteri conviciari? Ad hoc satis  
respondit Aristoteles iv<sup>to</sup> ethicorum dicens quod quedam vicia sunt 20  
contumeliosa et quedam non. Dicere autem contumeliam alicui est  
eum infamare et ideo talia convicia dicere nullomodo potest virtuose  
ludens exercere.<sup>g</sup> Nam et hoc eciam apud gentiles legibus pro-  
hibebatur. Sunt autem alia quedam convicia de levibus, que potest  
convenienter virtuosus dicere vel propter delectacionem vel propter 25  
hominum<sup>h</sup> emendacionem, ut ponit Sanctus Thomas. Tercium quod  
ludus virtuosus requirit est carencia superfluitatis, ne vel nimis fre-  
quentetur vel nimis continuetur. Distinguit autem<sup>i</sup> Thomas super iv<sup>to</sup>  
sententiarum di. xvi. q. ult' ar. primo. 'Est', inquit, 'ludus turpis et  
inhonestus qui in se deformitatem importat. Tales fecerunt gentiles 30  
coram diis suis in theatris et in templis.' Et iste est simpliciter inhibitus  
omnibus Christianis ut de penitencia d. v<sup>a</sup> para. i<sup>o</sup> in fine. Alius est  
ludus devocionis et gaudii spiritualis qualem faciunt Christiani in  
solemnitate corporis Christi, qualem eciam fecit David coram archa  
Domini. Tercius est ludus humane consolacionis, cuius medietas 35  
vocatur eutrepelia; et virtuosus illa virtute dicitur ab Aristotele eutra-  
pelus. Que virtus est ita necessaria humano convictui quod secundum  
eum proprium est eutrapeli epidexieten<sup>j</sup> esse (ab 'epi', quod est  
'supra', et 'dixios', quod est 'aptus'), quasi optime aptum ad con-  
victum humanum. Et de tali ludo exponi potest illud Zacharie viii<sup>o</sup>: 40  
'Platee civitatis complebuntur infantibus et puellis ludentibus.' Hec  
propterea hic inserui ut sciant reges et prelati quales admittant in  
curiis et quales expellant lusores sive illusores, sicut fecit hic rex  
Philippus dans in hoc exemplum aliis principibus.

<sup>f</sup> corrected from contristant C

<sup>g</sup> interlin. C

<sup>h</sup> + morum CA

<sup>i</sup> Sanctus CA

<sup>j</sup> epidexicen CA

The second thing that virtuous recreation requires is empathy, so  
that the person who is relaxing always makes sure that his amusement  
is simple, innocent and harmless, lest anyone is hurt by it. Thus those  
who think about what they say only in terms of whether they will  
20 raise a laugh, and who do not care whom they hurt by their words,  
are scoffers and buffoons and are not persons of wit, according to  
Aristotle in Book VIII of his *Ethics*. Solomon says of this: 'It is a  
deceitful man who harms his friend and when he is caught says: "I  
was only joking."' But is it possible for someone who is amusing  
25 himself virtuously to mock someone else? Aristotle gives a sufficient  
answer to this question in Book IV of his *Ethics* when he says that  
some mockery is abusive and some is not. Now to give someone  
abuse is to dishonour him, and so the person who is amusing himself  
virtuously cannot say mocking things to anyone. For this was also  
30 prohibited in the laws of the gentiles. But there are some other  
mocking remarks about unimportant things that the virtuous man  
can suitably make either for entertainment or aiming at an improve-  
ment in behaviour, as St Thomas states.

The third thing that virtuous recreation requires is a degree of  
35 moderation, so that it is not repeated too often and does not go  
on too long. Now [St] Thomas makes the following point in his  
commentary on the fourth book of the *Sentences*, Distinction 16,  
last Question, first Article: 'It is a shameful and improper amusement  
that carries within it its own ugliness. The gentiles did such things in  
40 front of their gods in their theatres and temples.' And it is quite  
simply forbidden for all Christians, as is stated in [the *Decretum*],  
'De Penitencia', Distinction 5, first Paragraph at the end.

A different kind of recreation is that of devotion and spiritual joy,  
the kind which Christians find in the celebration of the body of  
45 Christ, and also which David found in the presence of the ark of the  
Lord.

A third kind of recreation is that of [offering] human consolation,  
the centre of which is called quick-wittedness; and a person strong  
in that virtue is called by Aristotle a witty person. This virtue is so  
50 necessary an element in human social intercourse that according to  
him it is the special characteristic of a witty person to be tactful. This  
word [in Greek] is derived from 'epi', which means 'above' and  
'dixios', which means 'suitable', and implies that such a man is  
extremely well suited to human social intercourse. And in Zechariah  
55 8 we can read about such recreation: 'The streets of the city shall be  
full of boys and girls, playing.'

I have inserted this here so that kings and prelates may know  
which entertainers or imposters to allow into their courts and which  
to expel, just as this King Philip did, thus setting an example for  
60 other princes.

*De preparacione Philippi regis ad bellum*

Johanne rege Anglie, ut dictum est, in partibus Andegavie debachante, Otho imperator<sup>a</sup> electus ymmo a papa neclectus quia excommunicatus, ab ipso Johanne rege avunculo suo pecunia mediante congregavit exercitum in comitatu Hannonie in oppido Valenciano in terra scilicet Ferrandi comitis Flandrie. Fueruntque cum eo missi a rege Johanne ad stipendia sua, scilicet comites Bolonie, Salesberie, Flandrie, dux quoque Brabancie, cuius filiam idem Otho duxit in uxorem, et multi alii proceres et comites de Alemannia, Hannonia, Brabancia et Flandria. Rex autem Philippus, cuius milicie majorem partem habebat filius eius Ludovicus in Pictavia, congregatum movit exercitum in crastino beate Marie Magdalene de Perrona terramque Ferrandi comitis intravit et transiens per eam omnia incendio vastando ac depredando usque ad urbem Tornacum pervenit, quam Flandrenses quidem anno preterito fraudulenter ceperant et multum dampnificaverant; sed idem rex sine mora misso exercitu cum fratre Guarino et comite Sancti Pauli eam cito occupaverat. Deinde juxta pontem Bovinum, qui est inter Cesonam et Sanguineum, congressi sunt | exercitus, ubi Otho sibi pro vexillo erexerat aquilam deaurata super draconem pendentem in pertica erecta in quadriga. Rex autem, antequam congredereetur, hac brevi et humili adhortacione suos milites alloquitur dicens: 'Otho', inquit, 'cum suis a domino papa excommunicatus est quia hostes et destructores sunt ecclesie, et pecunia, que illis in stipendia a Johanne Anglorum rege etiam excommunicato, de lacrimis pauperum et ecclesiarum Dei acquisita<sup>b</sup> est. Nos autem Christiani sumus et communione pacis sancte matris nostre ecclesie et sedis apostolice benediccione fruentes, quamvis peccatores, tamen ecclesie Dei consentimus, cuius hucusque laus Deo cleri pro posse nostro libertates defendimus. Unde de Dei misericordia fiducialiter debemus presumere quia nobis, licet peccatoribus, respectu eorum perpaucis dabit de suis et nostris hostibus triumphare. Ipsi regnum gloria et imperium in secula.' Hiis igitur dictis milites iusticiam regis in regno et obedienciam ecclesie et apostolico rememorantes inclinatis capitibus benedictionem humiliter a rege pecierunt. Qua pre gaudio cum lacrimis percepta statim insonantibus tubis insultum in hostes viriliter effecerunt. In ipsa enim hora capellani et clerici non procul a rege stabant retro ipsum, qui audito clangore tubarum alta voce hos psal- | mos<sup>c</sup> et devota cecinerunt, videlicet: 'Benedictus Dominus meus, qui docet'; 'Exurgat'; psalmus <'Exaudiat'>; <psalmus> 'Domine, in virtute', etc., omnes usque in finem prout potuerunt propter irrum-

G ii,21

fo.188v

<sup>a</sup> + de del.C  
<sup>b</sup> exquesita CA

<sup>c</sup> + alta voce del.C

*King Philip's preparation for war*

While John king of England was raging throughout Anjou, as mentioned above, Otto, who had been elected emperor but whom the pope refused to recognise because he was excommunicated, with the help of money from the same King John his uncle gathered an army in the county of Hainault in the town of Valenciennes, which was in the territory of Ferrand count of Flanders. And with him were the counts of Boulogne and Flanders and the earl of Salisbury, all of whom had been sent by King John at his own expense, also the duke of Brabant, whose daughter this same Otto had married, and many other nobles and counts from Germany, Hainault, Brabant and Flanders. Now King Philip, the greater part of whose forces were with his son Louis in Poitou, gathered an army and on the day after the feast of the Blessed Mary Magdalene moved out of Péronne, entered the territory of Count Ferrand, and went through it burning, laying waste and pillaging until he reached the town of Tournai, which in the previous year the men of Flanders had captured by deceit and had greatly damaged. But without delay the king sent an army with Brother Warin and the count of St Pol and quickly occupied it. Then the armies met at the bridge of Bouvines, which is between Cysoing and Sainghin. Here Otto had raised as his standard an eagle of gold above a dragon which hung from a pole set up on a wagon.

The king, however, before he gave battle, addressed his troops briefly and humbly, saying: 'Otto and his men have been excommunicated by the lord pope because they are enemies and destroyers of the church; and the money [which they have received] to support them from John king of the English (who has also been excommunicated) has been aquired from the tears of the poor and of the churches of God. But we are Christians enjoying the communion of the peace of our holy mother the church and the blessing of the apostolic see. Although we are sinners, we are nevertheless in agreement with the church of God. And, praise be to God, we have defended up till now the liberties of its clergy to the utmost of our ability. And so we should have the faith to rely on the mercy of God, that He will grant us victory over His enemies, who are also ours, although we are sinners and few in number compared to them. To Him be the kingdom, the glory and the power for ever and ever.' Therefore when he had finished speaking, his troops mindful of the justice of the king in his kingdom and his obedience to the church and to the pope bowed their heads and humbly asked a blessing from the king. After they had obtained this with tears of joy, the trumpets immediately blared out and they manfully launched an attack on the enemy. And at that very hour chaplains and clerics were standing near

1214:  
July

23 July

pentes lacrimas et singultus admixtos, devote coram Deo recolentes et libertatem qua ecclesia Dei gauderet in Francia per Philippum regem, 40 et econtra dedecus et obprobria que pateretur per Othonem et per regem Anglie Johannem; quodque muneribus hostes illi provocati contra dominum suum in regno suo pugnare presumebant.

Pugnatum est acriter hinc inde <iii non' Augusti die dominica, rege Philippo satis instante pro induciis usque in crastinum, sed spreta 45 Dei reverencia in Francos irruerunt et militem regis armis indutum occiderunt; sed tandem> Othone pedestre de campo effugato et inter primos fugiente; dux Lovanie et dux de Lamburgh et Hugo de Boves ac alii innumerabiles comites, proceres et barones<sup>d</sup> turmatim se mandaverant fuge turpi; multi interfecti, multi vulnerati multique ex parte 50 Othonis capti; inter quos erant<sup>e</sup> comes Bolonie et Ferrandus Flandrie cum aliis tribus comitibus et xxv aliis nobilibus vexillorum insignibus gaudentibus. Licet omnes de regno suo qui in eius mortem conspiraverant tamquam rei lese majestatis et secundum leges capitibus plectendi essent, ille tamen ut mitis et pius vitam donavit omnibus. 55 Etsi enim fervebat in eo contra rebelles severitas, major tamen vige- bat in eodem clemencia in subjectos, cuius intencio semper erat 'parcere subjectis et debellare superbos'. <Capti sunt preter premissos ex parte regis Anglie comites Saresbiriensis, Tenebrok et comes Pilosus. Capti sunt eciam barones et baronum filii et nobiliores 60 milites egregii de Flandrea et Alemannia fere sepcies viginti; numerus militum captorum cc xx, interfectorum militum lxx, peditum interfectorum tria milia; de Francis autem tres milites tantum.>

<sup>d</sup> D,CA; borones C

<sup>e</sup> interlin.C

the king, behind him. And when they heard the braying of the trumpets they sang psalms and devotions at the top of their voices, namely: 45 'Blessed be the Lord my God, who teaches [my hands for war]', 'Let God arise [and his enemies be scattered]', the psalm 'May the Lord answer [you in the hour of trouble]', the psalm 'In thy strength, O Lord; [the king rejoices]', etc. They sang them all right to the end as best they could, though hindered by tears mixed with sobs; they devoutly reflected before God on the liberty which the church of God would enjoy in 50 France through King Philip, and on the other hand on the shame and opprobrium which it would suffer through Otto and King John of England, and on the fact that those enemies who had been won over by gifts were so presumptuous as to be fighting against their own lord in his kingdom.

55 The battle was fiercely fought on all sides on 3 August, a Sunday, [27 July] although King Philip pressed for a truce until the following day; but spurning reverence for God they [Otto's forces] attacked the French and killed a knight bearing the arms of the king. But at length Otto, escaping on foot from the battle-field, was amongst the first to flee. 60 The duke of Louvain, the duke of Limburg and Hugh de Boves and countless other counts, nobles and barons gave themselves over in droves to shameful flight; many were killed, many wounded and many on Otto's side taken prisoner. Amongst those were the count of Boulogne and Ferrand of Flanders along with three other counts 65 and twenty-five other nobles who enjoyed the distinction of having their own standard.

Although all those from his kingdom who had conspired to kill him were under the law punishable by death on the grounds of lese-majesty, he [Philip] nevertheless spared all their lives, like the gentle 70 and pious man that he was. For even if there raged in him a fierceness against the rebels, yet there flourished more strongly in him mercy towards his subjects, as it was always his desire 'to spare the conquered and to subdue the proud'.

Besides those above-mentioned the following were taken prisoner 75 fighting on the side of the king of England: the earls of Salisbury and Tecklenburg and the Hairy Count. Also almost 140 barons, barons' sons and noble and distinguished knights from Flanders and Germany were taken prisoner. The number of knights taken prisoner was 220; the number of knights killed was 70; and the number of 80 foot-soldiers killed was 3,000. But only three knights were killed on the French side.



*Qualiter comitem Bolonie de ingratitude redarguit  
et ipsum incarceravit*

Quamvis igitur eis de morte pepercit, omnes tamen ergastulis man-  
cipavit; quibus incathenatis et quadrigis impositis iter Parisius direxit.  
Cum autem esset Bapalmis,<sup>a</sup> intimatum est ei quod<sup>b</sup> comes Boloniensis  
post prelium miserat nuncium ad Othonem suggerens ei ut Gandavum  
accederet, et vires recolligens, auxilio Gandavorum et aliorum bellum  
renovaret. Quo audito, sine veridico autore sive non, rex admodum  
perturbatus ascendit in turrin ubi duo majores comites erant – Fer-  
randus scilicet et Reginaldus; itaque Reginaldo impropertavit quod,  
cum homo suus legitimus<sup>c</sup> esset, novum eum militem ac de paupere  
divitem fecerat; ipse vero pro bonis mala retribuens<sup>d</sup> una cum comite  
Alberico patre suo ad Henricum quondam Anglie regem in regni per-  
niciem se transtulerat; postea quoque respiciens in magnam ipsius  
amiciciam receptus fuerat, et preter comitatum Dompni Martini, qui  
Alberico patre suo in servicio regis Anglie defuncto ad eum hereditario  
jure devolutus erat, comitatum ei Bolonie addiderat. Ipse quoque post-  
modum culpe culpam adiciens ad regem Anglie Richardum transiens,  
quamdiu vixerat, ei semper contra ipsum adhererat. Sed et Richardo  
defuncto eum iterum in amiciciam ceperat et cum duobus predictis  
comitatibus tres etiam alios scilicet Morttonii, Albemarne et Waren-  
narum eidem adjecerat; hiis omnibus beneficiis oblivioni traditis contra  
ipsum dominum suum regem universam Angliam, Theutoniam, Flan-  
driam, Hanoniam, Brabbanciam sine causa commoverat. Naves etiam  
eius apud <Dam> anno preterito cum aliis diripuerat, sed et nuper cum  
reliquis contra ipsum corporaliter pugnauerat. Post pugnam quoque et  
post vitam eidem misericorditer condonatam missis nunciis ad  
Othonem et alios, qui de bello evaserant, ad bella eos iterum incitare  
curaverat. 'Hec', inquit, 'omnia michi fecisti; vitam tamen me adimente  
non perdes, sed donec hec omnia lueris, ergastulum non evades.' Hiis  
dictis fecit eum Perronam adduci ibique in turrin fortissimam includi  
et cautissime custodiri ligatum compedibus mira subtilitate perplexis  
ac fere indissolubilibus. Ferrandum quoque Parisius devectum arcta  
custodia mancipavit in turre nova extra muros inclusum.<sup>e</sup> Porro ceteri  
captivi in duobus castelletis Parisius positi sunt in utriusque pontis  
capitibus et in ceteris per diversa loca municionibus. In hiis autem que  
dicta sunt justum Dei iudicium patet, quia conventus pravorum qui in  
exterminium bonorum temere disponunt semper in contrarium vertit  
ad vindictam scilicet malefactorum laudem vero bonorum. Ecce enim

<sup>a</sup> Bapalnis C,D  
<sup>b</sup> + Reginaldus CA  
<sup>c</sup> liegius CA

<sup>d</sup> re-interlin.C  
<sup>e</sup> circumclusum CA

*How [Philip] found the count of Boulogne guilty of  
ingratitude and put him in prison*

So although he spared their lives, he took them all prisoner, and putting  
them in chains and placing them in carts he set off for Paris. But when  
he was at Bapaume, he was informed that [Reginald] the count of  
Boulogne had sent a messenger to Otto after the battle suggesting that  
he come to Ghent, gather his forces there and renew the war with the  
help of the people of Ghent and others. When the king heard this,  
regardless of whether the source was truthful or not, he was so per-  
turbed that he climbed the tower where the two great counts Ferrand  
and Reginald were lodged and reproached the latter, saying that when  
Reginald was his liege man, he had knighted him and raised him from  
poverty to riches; but Reginald had paid him back for these favours  
with evil deeds, and along with his father Count Aubrey had switched  
allegiance to Henry the former king of England to the detriment of  
the kingdom; and afterwards, once he had returned to his senses, he  
had been warmly welcomed back as a friend of the king himself, and  
over and above the county of Dammartin, which had come down to  
him by hereditary right from his father Aubrey who died in the service  
of the king of England, he [Philip] had given him the county of  
Boulogne. And later, adding insult to injury, he went over to Richard  
king of England, and while Richard was alive he had constantly sup-  
ported him against King Philip; then after Richard's death Philip again  
received him as a friend and to the two afore-mentioned counties he  
added three others, namely Mortain, Aumale and Warenne. Forgetting  
all these favours which had been granted him, he had stirred up all  
England, Germany, Flanders, Hainault and Brabant against his own  
lord the king himself for no good reason; and along with others he had  
destroyed the king's ships at Damme the previous year, and recently  
with the rest of them he had personally fought against him. And what  
is more, after the battle and after his life had been mercifully spared,  
he had sent messengers to Otto and others who had escaped from the  
battle and had tried to incite them again to hostilities. 'You have done  
all these things to me,' the king said, 'but you will not lose your life at  
my hands. However, until you have atoned for all these things, you will  
not escape prison.' So saying Philip had him taken to Péronne, and  
there had him shut up in a very strong tower and very closely guarded.  
He was bound with shackles wrought with amazing subtlety and almost  
unbreakable.

The king had Ferrand also taken to Paris and closely confined, shut  
up in a new tower outside the city walls. Furthermore the other captives  
were put into the two small castles in Paris at the entrance to both of  
the bridges, as well as in other fortresses in various places.



non solum isti qui in hoc bello confecti sive convicti sunt contra regem  
conspiraverant, sed etiam donis ac promissis illecti – comes Herveus  
Nivernensis et omnes proceres<sup>f</sup> trans Ligerim et Cenomannie et Ande- 40  
gavie et Neustrie, excepto tantum Willelmo de Rupibus senescallo  
Andegavie, Juhello<sup>g</sup> de Mediana | et vicecomite Sancte Susanne et  
aliis quam paucis – tam regi Anglie suum favorem sponsonderant sed  
propter metum regis Philippi quousque certi essent quis esset pugne 45  
futurus exitus sua vota tegebant.

<sup>f</sup> principes CA

<sup>g</sup> Nihello C

## 18

*De divisione regni inter comites preconcepta  
et de maga matre Ferrandi*

Iam iamque quasi de victoria presumentes universum regnum divis-  
erant: Viromandiam scilicet cum Perrona comiti Reginaldo, Parisius  
autem Ferrando, et aliis alia oppida, Othone distribuite, temere  
parcientes. Deo igitur ordinante justissime sic factum est ut Ferrandus  
et Reginaldus id quod pro honore suo pecierant vel putabant pro sue  
confusionis ignominia haberent. 5

Nam, ut puto, hii comites decepti per magam matrem Ferrandi  
Flandrensem comitissam, que in operacionibus per oraculum recepit  
a spiritu maligno responsum huiusmodi dicente:

Rex ruet in bello tumulique carebit honore.  
Ferrandus, comitissa, tuus, micara minerva,  
Parisius veniet magna comitante caterva. 10

Que omnia ut spiritus dixit,<sup>a</sup> sed non ut ipsa intellexit, evererunt.

Quis autem vel verbo vel scripto valeat explicare que in eorum adventu  
facta sunt? Cantica dulcissima clericorum, tripudia populorum, pul-  
saciones classicorum, ornatus ecclesiarum, vicos et domos et vias cort-  
inis et pannis et sericis<sup>b</sup> intactas, flores et ramos arborum virides ubique  
stratos; omnes etiam cuiusque generis, sexus et etatis homines ad tanti  
triumphi spectaculam concurrentes, rusticos et commessores intermissis  
operibus falsibus, rastris et tribulis in collo suspensis catervatim cum 20

<sup>a</sup> + venerant del.C

<sup>b</sup> + intextas et CA

And so in these events we have related the equitable justice of God  
is clearly visible, because wicked men who come together and rashly  
plan the destruction of good men always have the tables turned on  
them, i.e. the criminals are punished and the good get the glory. For,  
look, not only had those who had been killed or defeated in this battle  
conspired against the king, but also those who had been enticed by gifts  
or promises (Hervey count of Nevers and all the magnates beyond the  
Loire and of Maine, Anjou and Normandy, with the exception only of  
William des Roches the seneschal of Anjou, Joel de Mayenne, the  
viscount of Sainte-Suzanne and a few others) had pledged their support  
to the king of England, though because of their fear of King Philip they  
had kept their oaths secret until they were certain what the outcome of  
the battle might be.

## 18

*The planned division of the kingdom amongst the counts;  
and the sorceress mother of Ferrand*

On the assumption that they were going to win they had already divided  
up the whole kingdom as follows: in this rash scheme of division to  
count Reginald went Vermandois with Péronne; to Ferrand went Paris;  
and to the others went other towns as Otto might distribute them. So  
by God's most just ordinance it turned out that Ferrand and Reginald  
got to their disgrace and confusion what they had sought or discussed  
for glory. 5

For it is my opinion that these counts were deceived by the sorceress,  
the countess of Flanders, the mother of Ferrand, who consulted an  
oracle and received the following reply from an evil spirit: 10

A king will fall in a battle and not have the honour of a tomb.  
My dear Countess Minerva, your Ferrand  
will enter Paris surrounded by a large troop.

All these things happened as the spirit said, but not as she interpreted  
15 them.

Who can by the spoken or written word give an account of what  
happened at their arrival [in Paris]? The sweet singing of the clerics, the  
jubilant dancing of the people, the pealing of bells, the decorations on  
the churches, the streets, houses and roads covered with hangings and  
pieces of cloth and silk, and flowers and green branches of trees strewn  
everywhere. Also everyone of every kind, sex and age hurried together 20

tripudio et instrumentis musicis pro suo modulo ad bivas et vias  
ruentes, cernere cupientes Ferrandum in vinculis, quem nuper for-  
midabant in armis. Nec ei verecundebantur illudere rustici, pueri et  
vetule nacta occasione a nominis equivocacione. Nam et casu mirabili  
duo equi ferrandi, id est eius coloris qui hoc nomen equis imponit, 25  
ipsum in lectica vulneratum vehebant; unde et ei improperebant, quod  
sic ferratus, ut erat, recalcitrare non poterat, qui prius incrassatus,  
impinguatus et dilatatus recalcitraverat et in dominum suum calcaneum  
elevaverat. Hec per omnia loca facta sunt quousque Parisius 30  
pervenerunt. Parisiani vero seu Parisienses<sup>c</sup> clerici et laici cum ymnis  
et canticis obviam regi processerunt, nec solum dies sed etiam noctes  
in summa leticia transigerunt. Septem enim diebus utebantur ita ut nox sicut dies illuminari videretur.  
Comes vero Salesberie regis Anglie frater ipso die pugne traditus  
est a rege Philippo comiti Roberto ut ipse rex Anglie filium eiusdem 35  
Roberti, quem captum tenebat, commutaret pro illo. Sed ille tamquam  
nature contrarius carnem suam et sanguinem semper odio habens noluit  
extraneum quem tenebat captivum commutare pro fratre suo.

Post paucos dies Pictones tante fama victoriae perterriti missis lega-  
cionibus elaborabant regi Philippo reconsiliari. Rex autem eorum per- 40  
fidiam multociens expertus eorumque favorem sciens domino suo  
semper fore onerosum et numquam fructuosum <eis> non acquievit,<sup>d</sup>  
sed collecto exercitu in Pictaviam, ubi rex Johannes erat, accessit.  
Cumque Laudunum pervenisset vicecomes Thoarcii, qui potentissimus 45  
erat in terra illa, legatos ad eum pro pace vel saltem pro induciis  
supplices misit. Cumque Laudunum pervenisset, vicecomitem  
Thoarcii recepit ad gratiam. Sed et ipse rex Anglorum cum xvii mili-  
aribus ab ipso loco distaret et nec haberet quo fugeret nec in apertum  
ut pugnaret procedere auderet, misso Renulpho comite Cestrie cum 50  
Roberto legato domini pape de induciis tractare cepit; cui rex Philippus  
ob reverenciam sedis apostolice quinquennes inducias solita benignitate  
concessit sicque Parisius rediit.

<sup>c</sup> seu Parisienses om. CA

<sup>d</sup> corrected from acquisivit C

G ii, 24

to see such a triumphal procession. The peasants and reapers inter-  
rupted their work, and putting their scythes, rakes and [three-pronged]  
25 forks over their shoulders they rushed in crowds to the roads and the  
cross-roads with jubilant dancing to the accompaniment of musical  
instruments, wanting to see Ferrand, whom recently they had dreaded  
in arms, now in chains. The peasants, the children and old women were  
not shy to make fun of him, finding the opportunity to do so in the  
30 ambiguity of his name. For by an amazing coincidence two rusty  
[*ferrandus*] horses – that is from the colour which gives this name to  
horses – carried him in a litter because he was wounded; and for this  
reason they taunted him that because he had become enclosed in iron  
[*ferratus*], as he was, he could not kick [like a horse], he who previously  
35 puffed up, fattened and gross had kicked and raised his heel against his  
lord. This happened at every stage until they reached Paris. The Pari-  
sians, clerics and lay, came out to meet the king with hymns and songs,  
and they spent not only their days but also their nights in the utmost  
joy – for they used countless lights for seven days and nights on end so  
40 that the night seemed to be as light as the day.

On the day of the battle the earl of Salisbury, a brother of the king  
of England, was handed over to Count Robert [de Dreux] by King  
Philip, in order that that king of England [John] might exchange for  
him the son of the said Robert, whom he held captive. But as he always  
45 hated his own flesh and blood, so contrary to nature, he refused to  
exchange the foreigner whom he held captive for his own brother.

After a few days the men of Poitou, terrified by the news of such a  
great victory, sent a deputation to King Philip and tried hard to be  
reconciled with him. But the king, who had experienced their treachery  
many times, and who knew that their love would always be burdensome  
and never fruitful for their lord, did not grant them their request; but  
he collected an army and came to Poitou, where King John was. And  
when he reached Loudun the viscount of Thouars, who was the most  
powerful man in that territory, sent envoys to him requesting peace or  
55 at least a truce. And when he reached Loudun, he received the viscount  
of Thouars into his favour. At the same time the king of the English  
himself was seventeen miles away from that very place; he had no place  
of retreat, nor did he dare come out into the open to fight. He sent  
Ranulf earl of Chester with Robert the legate of the lord pope to open  
60 negotiations for a truce. Out of respect for the apostolic see King Philip  
with his usual good-heartedness granted him a five-year truce; and so  
he returned to Paris.

[1214:  
18 Sept.]

*Quomodo rex Johannes regna Anglie et Hibernie  
feodotaria fecit Romane ecclesie*

Rex igitur Johannes cernens se ad votum non posse prosperari, qui paulo ante pugillo presumebat axem volubilem rote fortunalis ad se egirare,<sup>a</sup> tedere cepit et pavere. Nam cum paulo ante venerunt ad ipsum de Romana curia, ut prediximus, duo nuncii a latere domini pape pro pace reformanda missi, non eos passus est ad ipsius presenciam accedere. Quem tamen cum cernerent induratum nec post multas admoniciones in aliquo emendatum, timore mortis abjecto libera voce latam in eum sentenciam denunciaverunt. Absolventes omnes suos clericos et laicos a fidelitate et homagio suo et decetero omnes ei communicantes, nisi cito resipiscerent, excommunicabant. Sed in hiis omnibus non est aversus furor eius, quem erga sanctam Dei ecclesiam et clerum conceperat, ita quod vix a suspendio domini pape nunciorum ira commotus se<sup>b</sup> temperavit. Deinde Pandulphus subdiaconus cardinalis et alius quidam camerarius domini pape mandatum pape exequentes reliquerunt sacerdotibus Anglie signum apostasie manipulum humeris <eorum missis affigendum>;<sup>c</sup> | qui nichil proficientes redierunt vacui, ut prescripsimus. Sed tunc<sup>d</sup> auditis<sup>ef</sup> infortunio Othonis nepotis sui et victoria regis Philippi de suis confederatis celebrata et indignacione summi pontificis contra eum concepta, timens sibi et precavens de futuro, scripsit humiliter domino apostolico pro premissis Pandulpho veniam petiit et emendam spondit. Ad quem remisit papa dictum Pandulphum domino Nicholao summo penitenciario Castalenensi episcopo apostolice sedis legato associatum, qui venerunt in Angliam paulo ante Ascensionem anno domini m° cc xiii, qui etiam fuit Johannis regis xiii<sup>us</sup>. Coram quibus apud London' idem Johannes spontanee de communi consilio baronum suorum optulit ac libere concessit Deo et apostolis eius Petro et Paulo regnum suum Anglorum et etiam Hibernie ac etiam seipsum et heredes suos feodotarios c', ut patet per suam cartam auream, cuius tenor sequitur et est talis:

a + Nam del.C

b + con del.C

c in margin at end of page C

d post quorum a regno Anglie abcessum for ut prescripsimus. Sed tunc CA

e corrected from audito C

f + statim CA

fo.189v

*How King John made the kingdoms of England and Ireland  
feudal fiefs of the Roman church*

So when King John, who a short time before the battle thought that the whirling axle of fortune's wheel was rolling towards him, realised that he could not prosper as he wished, he began to grow weary and afraid. For when a short time before this two messengers came to him from the Roman court, as we have already mentioned, sent from the lord pope to restore peace, he did not allow them into his presence. But since they found him hardened and could see no improvement at all after many warnings, they threw away their fear of death and outspokenly condemned and denounced him. They absolved all his clergy and laymen from their oath of allegiance and homage to him, and excommunicated all those communicating with him in the future, unless they quickly came to their senses. But his fury, which he had conceived towards the holy church of God and the clergy (to the extent that seething with anger he could scarcely restrain himself from hanging the messengers of the lord pope), was not turned against all these people. Then Pandulf a cardinal subdeacon and another chamberlain of the lord pope, following an order from the pope, left to the priests of England the maniple which was the sign of apostasy. They had to put it on their shoulders during mass. The messengers then returned home empty-handed, having achieved nothing, as we have already related. But then, when he heard about his nephew Otto's misfortune and the victory which King Philip had celebrated over John's confederates, as well as the indignation which the pope had conceived towards him, John feared for himself and took precautions for the future. So he humbly wrote to the lord pope for the above-mentioned Pandulf [to come], seeking forgiveness and promising compensation. The pope sent the said Pandulf to him accompanied by sir Nicholas his chief penitentiary the bishop of [Tusculum] as legate of the holy see. They reached England shortly before Ascension Day 1213, which was the thirteenth year of John's reign. In London in their presence this same John of his own free will and with the common consent of his barons offered and freely granted to God and his apostles Peter and Paul his kingdom of the English as well as of Ireland, and also himself and his heirs as vassals etc., as is set forth in his golden charter, which runs as follows:

[1211]

[1212: Nov.]

1213:  
[13 May]

*De carta aurea*

G ii,25

Johannes dei gracia rex Anglie, dominus Hibernie, dux Aquitanie et Normannie et comes Andigavie omnibus Christi fidelibus presentem cartam inspecturis salutem in Domino. Universitati vestre per hanc cartam auream bulla nostra munitam volumus esse notum quod cum Deum et matrem nostram scilicet ecclesiam offenderimus in multis et inde divina misericordia plurimum indigere noscatur, nec quid quod devote offerre possumus pro satisfaccione Deo et ecclesie debite facienda nisi nosmetipsos et regna nostra habeamus, volentes nosmetipsos<sup>a</sup> humiliare pro illo qui se pro nobis humiliavit usque ad mortem, gracia Spiritus Sancti inspirante, non vi inducti nec metu coacti sed nostra spontanea bona voluntate ac communi consilio baronum nostrorum offerimus et libere concedimus Deo et Sanctis Apostolis eius Petro et Paulo et sancte Romane ecclesie matri nostre et domino nostro Innocencio pape iii<sup>o</sup> eiusque catholicis successoribus totum regnum Anglie et totum regnum Hibernie cum omni jure et pertinenciis suis pro remissione peccatorum nostrorum et tocus generis nostri tam vivis quam defunctis. Et amodo illa a Deo et ecclesia Romana tamquam feudotarius recipientes et tenentes, in presencia venerabilis patris nostri Nicholai Castellansensis episcopi apostolice sedis legati et Pandulphi domini pape subdiaconi et familiaris [fidelitatem] exinde predicto domino pape Innocencio iii<sup>o</sup> eiusque catholicis successoribus ac ecclesie Romane secundum subscriptam formam fecimus et juravimus. Homagium et legium pro<sup>b</sup> predictis regnis Deo et Apostolis Sanctis Petro et Paulo et ecclesie Romane et eidem domino pape Innocencio per manus predicti ipsius legati loco et vice ipsius domini pape recipientis publice [fecimus], heredes et successores nostros de uxore nostra imperpetuum obligantes ut simili modo qui pro tempore fuerit<sup>c</sup> summo pontifici et ecclesie Romane sine contradiccione debeant fidelitatem prestare et homagium recognoscere. Ad indicium huius perpetue obligacionis et concessionis nostre volumus et stabilimus ut de propriis et specialibus redditibus predictorum regnorum pro omni servicio nostrorum quod pro ipsis facere debemus, salvo per omnia denario beati Petri, ecclesia Romana mille marcas percipiat annuatim, scilicet in festo Michaelis<sup>d</sup> medietatem et in Pascha quingentas marcas, septingentas<sup>e</sup> pro regno Anglie et trescentas pro regno Hibernie, salvis nobis et heredibus nostris iusticiis et libertatibus et regalibus nostris. Que omnia sicut supradicta sunt rata esse volentes perpetua atque firma obligamus nos et heredes

<sup>a</sup> nosmetipsam C<sup>b</sup> D, CA; one p alone carries abbreviations for pro and pre C<sup>c</sup> fuerint C<sup>d</sup> + ducentis marcis del. C<sup>e</sup> + scilicet videlicet CA*The golden charter*

John by the grace of God king of England, lord of Ireland, duke of Aquitaine and Normandy and count of Anjou, greets in the Lord all the faithful in Christ who may see this present charter. We wish it to be known to you all by this golden charter furnished with our seal, that since we have offended God and our mother (that is the church) in many things, and are therefore in great need of divine mercy, and having nothing but ourselves and our kingdoms that we can devoutly offer as due amends to God and the church, we desire to humble ourselves for Him who humbled himself for us even unto death; and inspired by the grace of the Holy Spirit – not induced by force nor compelled by fear, but of our own free and spontaneous will – and on the advice of all our barons, we offer and freely yield to God and his holy apostles Peter and Paul and to the holy Roman church our mother and to our lord Pope Innocent III and his catholic successors the whole kingdom of England and the whole kingdom of Ireland with all the rightful appurtenances, for the remission of our sins and the sins of our whole family, both living and dead. And now, receiving back these kingdoms from God and the Roman church and holding them as a feudatory vassal, in the presence of our venerable father Nicholas bishop of [Tusculum] legate of the apostolic see, and of Pandulf, a subdeacon of the lord pope and member of his household, we have performed and sworn fealty henceforth to the said lord Pope Innocent III and his catholic successors and to the Roman church, in the terms hereunder stated. And we have publicly paid liege homage for the said kingdoms to God and to the holy apostles Peter and Paul and to the Roman church and to the said lord Pope Innocent at the hands of the said legate who accepts our homage in place and instead of the lord pope himself; and we bind in perpetuity our successors and legitimate heirs that without question they must similarly offer fealty and acknowledge homage to the supreme pontiff holding office at the time and to the Roman church. As a token of this our perpetual obligation and concession we will and decree that out of the proper and special revenues of our said kingdoms, in lieu of all our service we should render for them, the Roman church is to receive annually (entirely without prejudice to the payment of Peter's Pence) one thousand marks – that is one half at Michaelmas and five hundred marks at Easter – that is seven hundred for the kingdom of England and three hundred for the kingdom of Ireland, without prejudice to us and our heirs or our jurisdiction, privileges and regalities. Desiring that all these terms, exactly as stated, be forever ratified and valid, we bind ourselves and our heirs not to contravene them. And if we or any of our successors

G ii,26

fo.190

nostros non contravenire. Et si nos vel aliquis successorum nostrorum  
 hoc attemptare presumpserit, quicumque fuerit ille, nisi<sup>f</sup> rite com-  
 monitus resipuerit, cadat a jure regni et ut hec carta obligacionis et  
 concessionis nostre semper firma permaneat. | Ego<sup>g</sup> Johannes Dei gracia 40  
 rex Anglie et dominus Hibernie ab hac hora inantea fidelis ero Deo et  
 beato Petro et ecclesie Romane et domino meo<sup>h</sup> Innocencio pape iii<sup>o</sup>  
 eiusque successoribus catholicis. Non ero in facto, dicto vel consensu  
 vel consilio ut vitam perdant vel membra vel mala capcione capiantur. 45  
 Eorum dampnum si scivero impediam et removeri faciam si potero.  
 Alioquin quamcicus potero intimabo vel tali persone intimabo quam  
 eis credo pro certo dicturam. Consilium quod michi crediderint per se  
 vel nuncios seu litteras suas secretum tenebo et ad eorum dampnum  
 nulli pandam me sciente. Patrimonium beati Petri et specialiter regnum 50  
 Anglie et regnum Hibernie adiutor ero ad tenendum et defendendum  
 contra omnes homines pro posse meo. Sic me Deus adjuvet et hec  
 Sancta Dei Evangelia. De quibus ne possit imposterum aliquando dubi-  
 tari, ad majorem<sup>i</sup> securitatem predictae obligacionis et concessionis  
 | nostre presentem cartam nostram fieri fecimus et aurea bulla nostra 55  
 signari, ac pro censu huius presentis et primi anni mille marcas ster-  
 lingorum per manum predicti legati ecclesie Romane persolvimus.  
 Testibus domino Stephano Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, Eadwardo Heli-  
 ensi, Hugone Lincolniensi episcopis, Waltero Gray cancellario nostro,  
 Willelmo comite de Ferraris, Willelmo comite Saresberiensis, Ranulpho 60  
 comite Cestrensi, Willelmo Marescallo comite Penybrough, Gamero  
 comite Wintoniensi, Roberto de Rossi,<sup>j</sup> Willelmo de Berwik, Petro filio  
 Erberti, Matheo filio Erberti, Brieno de Insula dapifero nostro. Dat'  
 per manum Richardi de M[arisco] archidiaconi de Richemond apud  
 Sanctum Paulum London' iii<sup>o</sup> die Octobr' anno domini m<sup>o</sup> cc xiii<sup>o</sup>. 65

<sup>f</sup> non CA  
<sup>g</sup> large capital 2 lines high C,D  
<sup>h</sup> nostro CA

<sup>i</sup> -jo- interlin.C  
<sup>j</sup> C; Rossi D

*De errore Albigenium et eorum crudelitate  
 et de eorum heresiarcha*

Hanc cartam tradidit rex in manus predicti Nicholai legati, et sic  
 relaxatum est <post annos vi et menses iii> interdictum post festum  
 Sancti Johannis Baptiste, prius tamen sufficienti caucione prestita  
 quod universa ablata ecclesiis et ecclesiasticis personis et baronibus

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shall presume to contravene them, then, no matter who he be, unless  
 on due warning he come to his senses, let him lose his right to the  
 kingdom so that this document of our obligation and concession may  
 remain ever valid.

I, John by the grace of God king of England and lord of Ireland, will  
 from this hour onwards be faithful to God and St Peter and the Roman  
 church and my lord Pope Innocent III and his catholic successors. I  
 will not take part in deed, word, agreement or plan whereby they should  
 lose life or limb or be treacherously taken prisoner. Any injury to them,  
 if I am aware of it, I will prevent and cause to be removed if I can. And  
 otherwise I will notify them as soon as possible, or inform a person  
 whom I can trust to tell them without fail. Any counsel which they  
 have entrusted to me either personally or by envoys or letter I will keep  
 secret, nor will I wittingly divulge it to anyone to their disadvantage. I  
 will help in maintaining and defending to the utmost of my power  
 against all men the patrimony of St Peter and particularly the kingdom  
 of England and the kingdom of Ireland. So help me God and these  
 Holy Gospels of God [on which I swear].

To prevent any questioning of these terms at any time in the future,  
 and for the greater security of the said obligation and our concession,  
 we have caused this charter to be made and sealed with our golden  
 seal; and as a tribute for this the first year we pay a thousand marks  
 sterling to the Roman church by the hand of the said legate.

Witnessed by sir Stephen archbishop of Canterbury, Edward bishop  
 of Ely, Hugh bishop of Lincoln, Walter Gray our chancellor, William  
 earl of Ferrers, William earl of Salisbury, Ranulf earl of Chester,  
 William Marshal earl of Pembroke, Saer earl of Winchester, Robert de  
 Ros, William Briwerre, Peter fitzHerbert, Matthew fitzHerbert, Brian  
 de Lisle our steward. By the hand of Richard M[arsh] archdeacon of  
 Richmond, at St Paul's, London, on the third day of October 1213.

*The error of the Albigenians, their cruelty  
 and their heresiarch*

The king gave this charter into the hands of the said Nicholas the  
 legate, and so the Interdict was lifted after the feast of John the  
 Baptist after six years and three months. Beforehand, however,  
 sufficient security was given that everything which had been taken

1214:  
 24 June

et ceteris despoliatis sub pena reincidencia<sup>a</sup> restituerentur, sed non  
valuit. Unde quidam:<sup>b</sup>

Christi nascentis bis septem mille ducentis  
anni succedunt, cum mesta silencia cedunt  
Anglis horticolis<sup>c</sup>, ubi celso lumine solis,  
Juli, ter reducem spargis per climata lucem.

G ii,27

Ante ista tempora circa iv<sup>tum</sup> annum papa Innocencius misit Gualonem  
in Franciam legatum Philippo regi et omnibus suis | principibus man-  
dans ut cum exercitu magno tamquam catholici<sup>d</sup> terram Tholosanam  
et Albigenium et Narbonensium aliasque adjacentes invaderent atque  
omnes hereticos qui eas occupaverant delerent. Et si forte in bello vel  
in via contra illos<sup>e</sup> morerentur ab ipso papa de omnibus peccatis a die  
nativitatis sue contractis de quibus confessi essent absolvebantur.

Ad cuius expeditionem<sup>f</sup> innumeri quasi signati non segniter contra  
Albigenses iter arripiunt. Eisque adjungitur comes Tholosanus prius  
heresi depravatus sed tunc per legatum absolutus. Obsidione facta in  
primis Biterris capitur omnesque pariter ferro et igne xviii<sup>m</sup> hominum  
trucidantur; dehinc Carcosana obsidetur, cuius<sup>g</sup> capitaneus Rogerus  
fortitudinem nostrorum videns facit pactum ut liceat suis recedere  
quo voluerint sine rebus. Illis recedentibus diligentissime custoditur  
Rogerus. Simon autem dominus Montis Fortis toti regioni habite et  
habende preficitur. Albigenes porro videntes recessisse principes  
multa mala nostris irrogant: quendam abbatem Cisterciensis ordinis  
et eius conversum occidunt; Girandus de Pipio per quendam capel-  
lanum fecit caucione prestita de assecurancia sex milites de nostris ad  
se venire, qui juxta persuasionem presbyteri promittentis, si venirent,  
Girandum converti. Qui ipsa nocte qua veniebant recepit eos ad  
mensam suam quos postea spoliat ac ipsorum 11 ministros et eosdem  
incarcerat una cum predicto capellano. Eductis vero militibus ignem  
et ligna paleasque ministri Girandi ponunt in carcere blasphemantes  
Matrem Misericordie, quam in auxilium nostri clamabant. At vero  
capellanus cum sociis triduo sustinent incendium nec tamen uruntur.  
Porro duos ex militibus ceteris preminentes fidem catholicam abne-  
gare nolentes propriis pollicibus exoculant, auresque radicitus  
amputant et nares cum labio superiore obtruncant; ceterosque  
diversis mortibus extinguunt et martires faciunt. Huius secte here-  
siarcha Amalricus postquam libellos suos venenosos conscripsisset  
et per suos discipulos hinc inde in monopoliis et consiliabulis per-  
legisset,

a re- interlin.C

b De relaxatione interdicti versus for Unde qui-  
dam CAc H, but blotted; horticolis [?] D; horticolis  
C,CA,R

d + Tholosam et Albigen' del.C

e + peregrinando CA

f CA; expediciom C,D

g + herisiarcha et del.C

5 away from the churches, churchmen, barons and others who had  
been robbed was to be given back, under penalty of incurring excom-  
munication again. But it did not have any effect. Thus someone  
wrote:

10 For one thousand two hundred years plus twice seven since Christ's  
birth  
the years succeed each other, when gloomy silences make way [for better  
times]  
for the English peasants, when with the lofty ray of the sun  
15 you, July, three times scatter the returning light of day through the  
world.

About four years before this time Pope Innocent sent Guala as legate [1208: June]  
to France to King Philip and all his barons, ordering them to invade  
with a great catholic army the territory of Toulouse, of the people of  
Albi and of Narbonne and other adjacent territories, and to destroy  
20 the heretics who had taken them over. And if they happened to die [as  
crusaders] in the war against them or on the way there, they were  
absolved by the pope himself of all the sins which they had committed  
from the day of their birth and which they had confessed.

And countless men were not slow to set out on this expedition as  
25 crusaders against the Albigenians. And they were joined by the  
count of Toulouse, who had once been depraved by heresy, but was  
then absolved by the legate. First of all they laid siege to Béziers, [1209]  
captured it and slaughtered all 17,000 men by both fire and sword. [22 July]  
Then Carcassonne was besieged. On seeing the strength of our men  
30 Roger its captain made an agreement which allowed them to with- [15 Aug.]  
draw wherever they wanted without any of their goods. As they  
were withdrawing Roger was very carefully guarded. Simon lord of  
Montfort was put in charge of the whole region which had been  
taken and which had still to be taken. Furthermore the Albigenians,  
35 when they saw that the leaders had withdrawn, inflicted many evils  
on our men: they killed a certain Cistercian abbot and his lay brother;  
and Giraud de Pépieux got six of our knights to visit him, having  
offered the guarantee of a safe-conduct through a certain chaplain.  
The priest persuaded them by promising that, if they came, Giraud  
40 would be converted. On the very night they arrived Giraud invited  
them to his table, then afterwards he robbed them and put them and  
their fifty servants in prison along with the said chaplain. Then after  
Giraud's servants had brought the knights out, they set fire to the  
wood and straw in the prison, all the time blaspheming the Mother  
45 of Mercy, on whom our men were calling for help. But the chaplain  
and his companions sustained the fire for three days and yet were  
not burnt. Then with their own thumbs they put out the eyes of the  
two most prominent knights, since they refused to renounce the



famaque perversi dogmatis ad Petrum Parisiensem episcopum et fratrem Gwarinum regis Philippi consiliarium anime et confessorem occulte pervenisset, miserunt clam Magistrum Radulphum de Namurcio clericum, qui huius secte viros Parisius et circa diligenter inquireret. Hic ad singulos hastute accedebat et de eorum secta se esse finge-  
 45  
 bat, illique secreta ei sua revelabant. Itaque plures huius secte sacerdotes ac clerici et laici utriusque sexus detecti et capti Parisius sunt adducti. Ibidem ergo consilio congregato convicti et condempnati atque ab ordinibus suis degradati et curie seculari traditi jussu regis extra portam in campellis cremati sunt. Mulieribus autem et simplicibus qui per majores corrupti sunt ac decepti pepercerunt. Heresiarcha vero Almaricus, licet iam fuisset, ut putabatur, in pace ecclesie sepultus, quia tamen  
 50  
 plene constetit ab ipso sectam illam originem habuisse, ab universo consilio condempnatus est et excommunicatus ac de sacro cimiterio ejectus, eiusque cinis et ossa per sterquilinia sunt dispersa ac dejecta.

G ii,28

<<sup>h</sup>Cuiusmodi improbat multum<sup>i</sup> Augustinus in libro contra mendacium, ubi dicit: 'Non michi persuadetur eos de latebris suis nostris esse mendacii eruendos'; et post pauca: 'Quid enim est aliud: "Menciamur, ut hereticos mendaces ad<sup>j</sup> veritatem adducamus", nisi: "Faciamus mala ut veniant bona"? Et in fine libri: 'Et si tantum sibi usurpat infirmitas, ut ei aliquid venialiter permittatur quod improbat veritas, tamen ut inconcusse teneas et defendas, in divina religione  
 65  
 numquam omnino esse menciendum.' Hec ibi.>

<sup>h</sup> + Nota cautelam contra Lolardos exercendam in margin C; in text D

<sup>i</sup> Huiusmodi cautelam contra Lolardos

exercendam multum improbat for Cuiusmodi... multum CA

<sup>j</sup> D,CA; alias C,R

catholic faith, and they cut off their ears at the roots and their noses  
 50 and upper lips. And they killed the others in various ways and made martyrs of them.

After Amaury the heresiarch of this sect had written his poisonous pamphlets and had had them read out by his disciples in markets and councils in many places,

55 and after word of his perverse dogma had secretly reached Peter bishop of Paris and Brother Warin spiritual counsellor and confessor of King Philip, they clandestinely sent the clerk Master Radulf de Namur, who was to make diligent inquiries concerning the men of this sect in Paris and the surrounding area. This man craftily approached some individuals pretending to belong to their sect, and they revealed its secrets to him. And in this way many people who belonged to this sect, priests and clerics and lay people of both sexes, were tracked down and taken as prisoners to Paris. There a council was convened which found them guilty, condemned them, deprived them of their holy orders and handed  
 60  
 them over to the secular court. On the order of the king they were burnt in the fields outside the gate. But they spared women and ordinary folk, who were corrupted and deceived by their betters. Although it was thought that the heresiarch Amaury had been buried at peace with the church, yet because it was fully proved that the sect had originated  
 65  
 from him, he was condemned by a general council, excommunicated and thrown out of the holy cemetery, and his ashes and bones were scattered and thrown on dung heaps.  
 70

[1210:  
20 Dec.][1215:  
Nov.]

Augustine strongly condemns this kind of activity in his book *Contra mendacium*, where he says: 'I am not persuaded that these  
 75 men should be brought from their hiding-places into the light by lies on our part.' Then further on: 'Is there any difference between saying: "Let us lie so that we may lead heretics to the truth" and: "Let us do evil so that good may come"? And at the end of the book: 'And if weakness takes over to the extent that something which truth  
 80 condemns is excusably allowed, you should still hold and defend unwaveringly that in matters of divine religious belief there should never be a need for lying.'

*De sancta ipocrisi beati Dominici  
et disputatione eius contra hereticos*

fo.190v

Interea in ecclesia Dei magnis virtutibus effloruit divinus Dominicus Exoniensis | supprior et canonicus regularis, quem secum Didacus Exoniensis episcopus assumpsit ut fidem Christi Albigensibus predicaret.

Ubi dum<sup>a</sup> inter catholicos et hereticos ibidem frequenter disputationum 5  
conflictus fierent, ad quas utriusque sexus multitudo populi confluebat,  
factum est ut apud Fanum Jovis celebris indiceretur disputatio sub  
iudicibus deputatis, quibus ab utraque parte scripto presentari deberet  
ipsa assercio fidei quam docebat. Quapropter super hoc diversis a 10  
catholicis diversis diligenter libellis et in communi redactis ac mutua  
collacione inter se discussis, libellus quem scripserat beatus Dominicus  
adhuc Exoniensis canonicus communiter et<sup>b</sup> commendatur pre ceteris  
et decernitur presentandus. Statuto itaque die ac multitudine populi  
circumstante, libelli utriusque partis in medium proferuntur. Verum 15  
iudicibus inter se discrepantibus hec fuit tandem communis eorum  
sententia, ut utrosque libellos flammis inicerent, et quem ab igne con-  
tingeret non comburi, ille veram fidem proculdubio teneret. Fidelis  
sermo et omni acceptione dignus; accensus est in publicum magnus  
ignis; libelli proiciuntur in medium. Libellus partis heretice statim com- 20  
buritur, libellus vero servi Dei Dominici non solum non leditur, verum  
eciam ab igne foras prosilit in longinquum. Secundoque injectus ac tercio  
eque prodiit incombustus, ut sic divina potencia (quod olim in tribus  
pueris gestum cognovimus) in uno eodemque libelli prorsus ab igne 25  
conservati stupendo prodigio et orthodoxe fidei veritatem et sui com-  
probaret autoris sanctitatem. Eo tempore sciens Dei famulus secu-  
larium corda exemplis potius moveri quam verbis, ideoque quam-  
plurimos subdola hereticorum superstitione illectos<sup>c</sup> protrahi ad  
errorem, excogitavit exemplis exempla retundere et veris virtutibus  
sophisticas expugnare. Quasdam enim nobiles dominas incredulorum 30  
familiares adiit et apud eos hospicio receptus et per totam qua-  
dragesimam ibi mansit. Igitur ut ipse eas ostensione sanctitatis alliceret,  
tanta se ipsum cum societate sua cepit austeritate afficere quanta sine  
auxilio divine gracie sustinere nequaquam infirmitas humana<sup>d</sup> potu-  
is-

<sup>a</sup> interlin.C<sup>b</sup> + predi del.C<sup>c</sup> supstitione illos for superstitione illectos

CA; but P as C

<sup>d</sup> + posset del.C

*The saintly deceptive behaviour of the blessed Dominic  
and his argument against the heretics*

Meanwhile in the church of God a holy man called Dominic blossomed forth with great virtues. He was subprior of Osma and a canon regular. Diego the bishop of Osma took him with him to [1206: June] preach the faith of Christ to the Albigensians.

5 There, while frequent clashes and arguments between the heretics and the catholics were going on, to which crowds of people of both sexes flocked, it happened that at Fanjeaux a celebrated dispute was publicly announced before appointed judges. Each side had to present to them in writing a statement of the faith which they were teaching. So various pamphlets diligently written and abridged for general use by various catholics on this issue were compared with each other and discussed amongst the catholics. The pamphlet which the blessed Dominic had written (when he was still a canon of Osma) was generally commended above the rest, and it was decided that it would be the one to be submitted. And so on the appointed day, with a crowd of people [1207: Apr.] standing round, the pamphlets of both parties were brought into the midst. But as the judges disagreed amongst themselves, they finally all agreed that they should throw both pamphlets into the flames, and the one which happened not to be burnt by the fire would be held beyond doubt to be the true faith. A sincere oath worthy of acceptance by all [was taken]; a great fire was lit in public; the pamphlets were thrown into its midst. The pamphlet of the heretical party was immediately burnt up, but that of God's servant Dominic was not only not harmed but even leapt clean out of the fire. And it was thrown in a second time and a third time; and it came out equally unburnt, so that thus the divine power (the kind of act known previously to us in the case of the three boys) proved by one and the same astonishing phenomenon of a pamphlet saved from the fire both the truth of orthodox faith and the holiness of its author.

30 At the same time the servant of God knew that the hearts of worldly people were moved by examples rather than by words, and that for this reason many were dragged into error, seduced by the cunning superstitious cant of the heretics. So he contrived to undermine examples by examples and to fight their sophistries with true virtues. For he approached certain noble ladies, friends of the disbelievers, and was welcomed into their homes, where he stayed throughout the whole of Lent. Therefore, in order to win them over by a display of holiness, with his companion he began austere to undertake such great acts of

set. Etenim cum sibi cibi more | solito preparati ab ipsis hospitibus  
preferrentur, 'Nos', inquit, 'huiusmodi nunc alimentis non utimur; 35  
panem nobis tantum et aquam frigidam exhibete.' Jejunavit ergo vir  
sanctus cum socio suo canonico in pane et aqua cotidie per totam  
Quadragesimam usque ad Pascha, ita ut mirarentur familiares her-  
eticorum et dicerent: 'Vere, isti homines boni sunt.'

## 23

*De eodem et sancta eius ipocrisi*

Stratus quoque cum sibi pararetur ad quiescendum idoneus, 'Non',  
inquit, 'in hac mollicie sed super tabulas quiescemus.' Stratisque sibi  
nudis tabulis accubuerunt cotidie nudo dormientes in ligno, exemplo  
eius qui sompnium mortis suscepit in crucis patibulo. Sompnus autem  
eorum brevis erat; surgebant enim quamciculus et anticipabant vigilias 5  
orationibus insistentes. Allocutus est etiam beatus Dominicus aliquas  
ex dominabus illis ut sibi et socio cilicia quererent; addiditque: 'Nemo  
sciat, servetur secretum.' Hec autem faciebat vir Spiritu Dei plenus,  
non ut sibi favorem humane laudis acquireret, sed ut mentes infidelium  
ad amorem catholice religionis alliceret. Hinc nonnumquam pater ille 10  
sanctus admonebat fratres suos, etiam postquam habitum fratrum  
suscepit, ut cum apud seculares essent ad proximorum edificationem  
aliquam ostenderent in seipsis virtutis apparenciam, in abstinentiis  
scilicet et vigiliis, verborum quoque ac gestuum disciplina, et sic eos 15  
sancta quadam ipocrisi ad fidei reverenciam et virtutis amorem pro-  
pensius invitarent. Unde et apostolus sumptus recusabat accipere,<sup>a</sup> ne  
quod offendiculum prestaret evangelio Christi qui virtutes etiam suas  
et labores necnon et Dei revelaciones enumerat ut plures lucrifaciat.  
Post hec autem cepit de institutione ordinis cogitare cuius officium 20  
esset per mundum predicando discurrere et contra hereticos fidem  
catholicam communire. Cum igitur mansisset in partibus Tholosanis  
confutando hereticos cum Tholosano episcopo Romam ad consilium  
generale Latranense adiit, ac a summo pontifice Innocencio iii<sup>o</sup>  
ordinem, qui Predicatorum diceretur et esset, confirmari sibi suisque 25  
successoribus postulavit. Qui cum aliquantum se difficilem exhiberet,<sup>b</sup>  
nocte quadam idem pontifex vidit in sompnis quod Lateranensis  
ecclesia gravem subito ruinam minaretur. Quod cum | tremens<sup>c</sup>  
aspiceret, ex adverso vir Dei Dominicus occurrebat humerisque sup-  
positis totam illam casuram fabricam sustentabat. Evigilans autem et

<sup>a</sup> corrected from recipere C  
<sup>b</sup> preberet CA

<sup>c</sup> also written in bottom margin of fo.190v as  
a keyword C

asceticism as human frailty could never have borne without the help of  
divine grace. For when food prepared in the usual way was put before  
him by his hosts, he said: 'We are not now taking this kind of food. Bring  
us only bread and cold water.' So the holy man with his companion, also  
a canon, fasted on bread and water every day throughout the whole of  
Lent until Easter, in such a way that the friends of the heretics were  
45 amazed and said: 'These are indeed good men.'

## 23

*About the same man and his saintly deceptive behaviour*

Also when a bed suitable for resting was prepared for them he said:  
'We shall not rest in such softness but upon planks.' And after preparing  
bare boards for themselves, they lay down on them, sleeping each day  
on the bare wood, following the example of Him who underwent the  
sleep of death on the cross as a gibbet. But their sleep was brief, for  
5 they got up very early and prepared themselves for the night office by  
their diligent applications to prayer. Also the blessed Dominic asked  
some of the ladies to fetch hair-shirts for himself and his companion;  
and he added: 'Don't let anyone know; let it be kept a secret.' Now this  
man did these things filled with the Spirit of God, not to get the favour  
of human praise for himself, but to entice the minds of those without  
faith to the love of the catholic religion. Afterwards this holy father  
sometimes advised his brothers, even after he had put on a friar's habit,  
that when they were amongst lay people they should show in themselves  
10 the appearance of virtue for the edification of their neighbours (i.e. by  
acts of abstinence and night vigils, by taking care over what they said  
and did), and in this way with an element of saintly deception in their  
behaviour they would more readily encourage them to respect the faith  
and love virtue. For this reason also the apostle refused to accept  
15 luxuries, lest he offend the gospel of Christ. For even He lists his own  
virtues and works as well as God's revelations in order to bring light  
to many people.

Now after these events he started to think about founding an order  
whose duty would be to go preaching throughout the world and to  
strengthen the catholic faith against heretics. So after staying in the [1215:  
Toulouse region confuting the heretics, he went to Rome with the Spring]  
bishop of Toulouse to the Lateran general council, and asked Pope [Nov.]  
Innocent III that an order be confirmed for himself and his successors.  
It was to be and is called the Order of Preachers. And when he was  
proving to be somewhat difficult, one night this same pope dreamt that  
serious ruin suddenly threatened the church of the Lateran. As he  
30 watched fearfully, Dominic the man of God came running towards him

visionem intelligens petitionem viri Dei hilariter acceptavit, hortans ut  
ad fratres suos rediens regulam aliquam approbatam sibi eligerent, et  
sic ad ipsum rediens confirmationem ad libitum reportaret. Regressus  
igitur verbum summi pontificis fratribus patefecit: erant enim tunc  
fratres sexdecim eodem voto secum anhelantes. Qui invocato Spiritu  
Sancto regulam quam professus fuit Dominicus, beati patris Augustini  
doctoris et predicatoris egregii, ipsi pariter et re et nomine predicatorum  
futuri unanimiter elegerunt, quasdam arccioris vite consuetudines quas  
sibi per formas constitutionum observandas statuerunt insuper assu-  
mentes. Verum interea Innocencio defuncto | et Honorio in summum  
pontificem sublimato confirmationem ordinis sequenti anno consilii  
Lateranensis, id est domini m<sup>o</sup> cc<sup>mo</sup> xvi<sup>to</sup>, a predicto Honorio impe-  
travit.<sup>d</sup>

G ii,30

<sup>d</sup> + Incepit tamen autem per xvi annos D,G;  
a late addition fitted in after the rubric of  
the next chapter and then del.C; om. CA,R

## 24

*De Sancto Francisco et eius conversionis primordio*

Eodemque tempore beatus Franciscus Ordinis Fratrum Minorum insti-  
tutor<sup>a</sup> vite sanctitate floruit, qui nimirum sub Innocencio papa cursum  
suum in Domino cepit, ac sub eiusdem successore Honorio feliciter  
consummavit. Hic quondam in Vallis Spoletane finibus civitate Assisio  
negociator fuit officio. Dives terrenis opibus et mundi vanitatibus inde-  
center nutritus suis nutritoribus insolencior effectus, itaque cordis  
inquieta lasciviam jocis et lusibus, gestu et habitu, verbis impudicis  
et cantibus ostentabat; et quia prodigus erat ac per inanem suorum  
dissipationem humanus et affabilis videbatur, multorum sibi coher-  
encium caudam iniquam post se trahebat. Sic usque ad annum etatis  
sue fere xxv in via perdicionis incessit, donec ad exemplum peccatoris  
in gratiam respirantis mutacio dextere Excelsi apparuit. Et primo qui-  
dem a Domino langoribus attritus cogebatur solitis dissimilia cogitare;  
cepitque quicquid in desiderio prius habuerat statim fastidire sed et  
talium amatores stultissimos reputare. Audiens autem die quadam in  
missa ea que Christus in evangelio missis ad predicandum discipulis  
loquitur, ne scilicet aurum vel argentum possideant ne peram in via vel  
sacculum ne virgam vel panem portent, ne calciamenta vel duas tunicas  
habeant; et hec eadem intelligens gaudio repletus ait: 'Hoc est', inquit,  
'quod quero et totis precordiis concupisco.' Duplicibus igitur sine mora

<sup>a</sup> instructor CA

and, putting his shoulders under it, he held up the whole building as it  
was about to fall. Waking up and understanding the vision he gladly  
granted the man of God's request, urging that he return to his brethren,  
that they choose for themselves one of the approved rules, and then  
return to the pope bringing back the [draft of the] confirmation that  
was wanted. On his return [to Toulouse] he made known to his brethren  
what the pope had said: there were at that time sixteen brethren who  
thirsted after the same aims as he had. After invoking the Holy Spirit  
they unanimously chose the rule which Dominic had professed – that  
of the blessed father Augustine, the famous teacher and preacher – and  
likewise they would be Preachers both in name and deed. And over and  
above this they adopted certain customs for a stricter life and these  
they established for themselves by laying down formal constitutions.  
And once Innocent had died, and Honorius had been elevated as  
supreme pontiff, he sought confirmation of the order from the said  
Honorius in the year following the Lateran Council, namely 1216.

[1216:  
29 May]

[16 July]  
[22 Dec.]

## 24

*St Francis and the first stage of his conversion*

At the same time the blessed Francis, founder of the Order of Friars  
Minor, blossomed in the holiness of his life. In fact he began his  
journey in the Lord under Pope Innocent, and brought it to a joyful  
consummation under his successor Honorius. He was formerly a mer-  
chant by trade in the city of Assisi, which lay within the bounds of the  
valley of Spoleto. A wealthy man unbecomingly brought up on earthly  
riches and worldly vanities, he turned out to be more insolent than  
those who had brought him up. And so he displayed the indiscipline  
of his restless spirit by pranks and jests, in his behaviour and dress, and  
by shameless words and songs; and because he was open-handed and  
seemed cultivated and affable on account of the foolish dissipation of  
his group, he trailed behind him an iniquitous following of many men  
who associated with him. So he went down the primrose path until he  
was about twenty-five, when, as in the example of the sinner who came  
to life again in grace, a change appeared from the right hand of the  
Lord. And first of all worn down by his usual weaknesses he was forced  
by the Lord to turn his thoughts to different matters; and he at once  
began to feel disgusted at whatever he had previously desired, and to  
consider that those who loved such things were very foolish. And so,  
when one day he heard during the mass what Christ in the gospel says  
to his disciples when he sends them out to preach, namely that they  
were not to possess gold or silver nor to carry a bag for the journey

[1208:  
24 Feb.]

depositis ex hoc iam calciamentis, virga sacculoque vel pera non utens, tunicam contemptibilem plurimum et incultam fecit rejectaque corrigia funiculo eum cinxit; et penitencie verba simpliciter in publicum proponere cepit cum huiusmodi salutacione 'Dominus det tibi pacem' in omni predicacione sua pacem annuncians populum in sermonis exordio salutabat. 25

Aliquando intra se cogitans quomodo se melius posset Deo placere et illum agnoscere subito talem vocem audivit: 'Francisce, amara pro dulcibus sume et teipsum contempne si me cupis agnoscere.' Dominus Hostiensis, qui postea fuit summus pontifex, Dominico et Francisko coram se simul astantibus et de materia multum edificativa sermocinantibus dixit: 'Cur non facimus de vestris fratribus episcopos et prelatos qui documento et exemplo ceteris prevalent?' Fit inter sanctos de respondendo longa contencio. Vicit tandem humilitas Franciscum ne preponeret<sup>b</sup> se; vicit et Dominicum ut primus respondendo humiliter obediret. Dixit igitur Dominicus: 'Domine gradu bono si cognoscunt sublimati sunt fratres mei, nec pro meo posse permittam ut aliud assequantur sceptrum dignitatis.' Post hec respondens Franciscus dixit: 'Domine, minores ideo dicti sunt fratres mei ut majores fieri non presumant.' Sacerdotalibus manibus, quibus conficiendi Dominici corporis sacramentum est | collata potestas, magnam volebat reverenciam exhiberi. Unde et sepe dicebat: 'Si iam sancto<sup>c</sup> cuiquam de celo venienti et pauperulo alicui sacerdote me contingeret obviare, ad sacerdotis manus deosculandas cicius me conferrem et sancto dicerem: "Expecta, Sancte Laurenti, quia manus huius verbum vite contrectant et ultra humanum quid possident."' 45

<sup>b</sup> proponeret CA; ambiguous P

<sup>c</sup> + qui del.C

### *De bello nostrorum contra Albigenes*

Anno domini m° cc xiii mense Septembris commissum est mirabile prelium in terra Albigenium. Quinquennio namque iam elapso cum

25 nor a purse nor a staff nor bread, nor were they to have shoes or a change of tunic; and when he grasped the import of these words, he was filled with joy and said: 'This is what I am searching for and what I desire with all my heart.' Therefore he without delay now laid aside his pair of shoes for this reason and gave up the use of a staff, a purse or a bag; he made a very shoddy rough tunic, and throwing away his leather belt he used a piece of rope instead. And he began to proclaim 30 in public simple words of repentance, and would give the people at the start of his sermon the following greeting: 'May the Lord give you peace', announcing peace in all his preaching.

Once when he was wondering how he could better please God and know him, he suddenly heard a voice saying: 'Francis, take the bitter 35 for the sweet and hold yourself in contempt if you want to know me.'

The lord [cardinal] of Ostia, who later became pope, said to [1220] Dominic and Francis, who were standing together before him and discussing edifying subjects at length: 'Why do we not make your 40 friars bishops and prelates, since they are superior to others in doctrine and example?' There arose a long argument between the holy men over how they should reply. At length humility prevented Francis from giving the first answer; it also persuaded Dominic that it was an act of humble obedience to give an answer first. So Dominic 45 said: 'My lord, my brothers have been raised to good standing if only they would recognise it, and as far as my power allows I shall not permit them to attain any other sceptre of dignity.' After these words Francis replied saying: 'My lord, my brothers are called minor so that they do not presume to become greater.' He wanted great 50 reverence to be shown to priestly hands, into which has been placed the power of performing the sacrament of the eucharist. Thus he would often say: 'If I now happen to meet a saint come from heaven and some poor little priest, I would sooner cover the hands of the priest with kisses and say to the saint: "Wait, Saint Laurence, because 55 the hands of this man are in contact with the Word of Life and they possess something superhuman."'

### *The battle which our men fought against the Albigenians*

In September 1213 a miraculous battle was fought in the territory of the Albigenians. Five years had elapsed since those venerable men the [12] Sept.



fo.191v

virī venerabiles archiepiscopi | Petrus Senonensis et Robertus Rotho-  
 magensis, episcopi vero Robertus Baiocensis<sup>a</sup> ac Reginaldus Car-  
 notensis et alii plures, sed et Odo Burgundie dux ac Henricus comes 5  
 Niverniensis et alii multi barones et infiniti populi de regno Francorum  
 cruce signati in partes illas ad debellandum heresim nupcias detestantem  
 et carnem comedi prohibentem aliaque fidei contraria asserentem;  
 accincti fortitudine devenissent urbemque Biterim opulentissimam  
 cepissent xvii<sup>b</sup> milibus hominum et amplius in ea trucidatis ac funditus 10  
 evertissent. Inde quoque ad urbem Carcassonam accedentes eam in  
 brevi debellarent. Repatriare volentes, invocata Spiritus Sancti gracia,  
 de communi assensu Simonem Montis Fortis comitem elegerunt ut  
 Christianorum preesset exercitui totique terre illi; qui privatum com-  
 odum utilitati publice postponens urbes et castella debellavit, hereticos 15  
 et eorum fautores interire seva morte coegit, et multa Dei prelia gessit  
 multasque victorias non sine divino miraculo consecutus est. Ad ulti-  
 mum vero rex Arragonum et sui complices, comes scilicet Sancti Egidii,  
 comes eciam Fasi et alii infiniti huiusmodi heresi depravati obsiderunt  
 eum in castro quod Raurellum vocatur. Qui subito circumseptus cum 20  
 non haberet secum nisi ducentos et lx milites et circiter quingentos<sup>c</sup>  
 satellites equites et peregrinos, pedites vero septingentos inermes, audita  
 missa et invocata Spiritus Sancti gracia de castro intrepide exeuntes  
 et in solo Deo sperantes cum hereticis pugnauerunt, et inaudito fere  
 miraculo xviii<sup>m</sup> de exercitu percusserunt ipsumque regem Arragonum 25  
 occiderunt. Porro de omni numero suo non nisi octo peregrinos illo  
 die<sup>d</sup> amiserunt. Hunc itaque Simonem in partibus illis propter virtutem  
 eius admirabilem populus comitem fortem vocabat, qui, cum esset in  
 bellis strenuissimus, cotidie tamen missam audiebat et omnes horas  
 canonicas dicebat. 30

G ii,32

Hoc in anno obiit Reynaldus Rossensis episcopus monachus de  
 Melros, cui per electionem vocatus est magister Andreas de Moravia,  
 qui renuens omnino episcopari quesita licencia a domino papa tante  
 dignitatis honorem humiliter resignavit. Loco cuius subrogatus<sup>e</sup>  
 Robertus capellanus regis est. Hoc tempore floruit<sup>f</sup> Jacobus de Vitri- 35  
 aco, qui scripsit admirandam vitam Marie de Oognies,<sup>g</sup> que hoc anno  
 obiit in episcopatu Leodiensi. Hic etenim Jacobus ante fuerat in villa  
 prope Parisius que dicitur Argencium presbyter parochialis, qui  
 secularem vitam relinquens in monasterio Oegnies<sup>h</sup> factus est canon-  
 icus regularis; cuius itidem parochie cura cum ei commissae esset, 40  
 eidem Marie in eadem parochia conversanti, propter vite ipsius  
 sanctitatem, valde familiaris effectus est. Cui eciam illa specialem ut  
 refertur gratiam impetravit omnibus suis; unde et ipse crucem contra

a Baiosensis C

b corrected from lxx C; xvii with legitur lxx  
 in margin in different, later hand D; xvii R;  
 septuaginta CA

c + sal del.C

d illo die om. CA

e + Willelmus del.C

f + magister CA

g Eugene' CA

h Oegene' CA

Archbishops Peter of Sens and Robert of Rouen, Bishops Robert of  
 Bayeux and Reginald of Chartres and many more, as well as Odo duke  
 of Burgundy and Henry count of Nevers and many other barons, and  
 countless people from the kingdom of the French all went on a crusade [1209]  
 to that region to fight the heresy which deplored marriage, forbade the  
 eating of meat, and asserted other things which were contrary to the  
 faith; they came girded with fortitude and took the very wealthy city  
 of Béziers, slaughtered more than 17,000 men there, and razed it to the [22 July]  
 ground. Then they also went to the city of Carcassonne and in a short  
 time conquered it completely. Then wanting to return home they chose [15 Aug.]  
 Simon count of Montfort by common consent to command the army  
 of Christians and all that territory, after they had called on the grace  
 of the Holy Spirit. He subordinated his private interests to the public  
 good and conquered cities and castles, caused the heretics and their  
 supporters to die cruel deaths, fought many battles for God and won  
 many victories not without miraculous divine intervention. Finally the  
 king of Aragon and his accomplices, namely the count of St Gilles, the  
 count of Foix and an infinite number of others depraved by this kind  
 of heresy besieged him in the castle which is called Muret. When Simon [1213]  
 was suddenly surrounded with only 260 knights and about 500 mounted  
 squires and crusaders, as well as 700 foot without armour, they heard  
 mass and called on the grace of the Holy Spirit, then boldly came out  
 of the castle. Trusting in God alone they fought with the heretics, and  
 by an almost unheard of miracle they slew 17,000 of the army and killed  
 the king of Aragon himself. Furthermore on that day out of all their  
 men they lost only eight crusaders. And so the people in those parts  
 called this Simon the strong count on account of his admirable courage.  
 And although he was a very active campaigner, yet every day he heard  
 mass and said all the canonical hours. 30

Reginald bishop of Ross, a monk of Melrose, died this year, and [13 Dec.]  
 Master Andrew de Moravia was elected to succeed him; but flatly  
 refusing to be bishop he sought permission from the lord pope and  
 humbly resigned the honour of so great a dignity. Robert the king's  
 chaplain was made bishop in his stead. 35

At this time James de Vitry was alive. He wrote the admirable life  
 of Mary of Oignies, who died this year in the diocese of Liège. This 1213  
 James was previously a parish priest in a town near Paris called  
 Argenteuil. On leaving secular life he became a canon regular in the [1211]  
 monastery of Oignies. So when the care of the parish there was in  
 the same way entrusted to him, he got to know this Mary very well  
 by virtue of the holiness of her life, since she lived in this same  
 parish. She is said to have sought a special grace for him in all his  
 affairs, in the light of which he preached the crusade against the [1213]  
 Albigensians in France with eloquent pleasantness and sweetness  
 and persuaded countless numbers of people to take up the cross.



Albigenses in Francia predicans eloquii suavitate atque dulcedine multos atque innumerabiles ad signum crucis accipiendum provocavit. 45

## 26

*De Jacobo de Vitriaco*

Papa famam tanti viri audiens ipsum in episcopum Aconensem prefecit et inde translatus auctoritate apostolica factus est episcopus Tusculanus sedis apostolice cardinalis. Hic ammirabile volumen de predicta<sup>a</sup> Maria et sanctis mulieribus que tunc habundabant in partibus Leodii compegit ac venerabili Tholosano episcopo Fulconi 5 transmisit. Aliud eciam in quo multa de naturis rerum et precipue de miraculis mirabilibus que in transmarinis partibus<sup>b</sup> reperiuntur inseruit. Hic venerabilem Fulconem de Gandavo canonicum apud Insulas existentem serius rogavit

ut una secum contra Albigenses crucem in Flandria predicaret, qui hoc<sup>c</sup> 10 renuit. Cui cum insisteret per amicos ut eum audiret in negotio ecclesie tam necessario et devoto, renuit ille secundo et nullomodo hoc se facturum asseruit. Tunc magister Jacobus illum magis preceptum timere confidens 'Et ego', inquit, 'virtute legacionis mee precipio vobis et auctoritate qua fungor ut in nomine Jhesu Christi et in remissionem 15 omnium peccatorum vestrorum istud negotium assumatis.' Cui dominus Fulco: 'Nullomodo', inquit, 'assumam, sed et ego rogo vos ut nequaquam me de hoc ulterius fatigetis.' Mox magister Jacobus graviter commotus in corde et fere usque ad lacrimas fatigatus ait illi: 'Cum utique digne possem auctoritate commissa vos excommunicare et omni 20 beneficio iam privare inobedienciam contumacionem, nolo tamen, ne gravamen tantum ingerere videar tanto viro. Rogo tamen Deum, qui omnium cordium est inspector, quatenus reddat vos non solum ad istud quod spernitis sed prorsus inutilem ad omne opus.' Mira<sup>d</sup> res: mox ad hec verba quartana febris eum cum fluxu ventris invasit, et usque ad 25 finem vite sue per xxv annos irremediabiliter fatigavit. Et audi, lector, mirum Dei iudicium de hoc viro, cum tantus et talis esset [ut] ei | Dominus Jhesus Christus, sicut probatum fuit, ante mor- | tem quasi recenter extensus in cruce visibiliter appareret, et [eum]<sup>e</sup> ante finem mensis Augusti, revelante sibi eodem crucifixo, predicaret se libere esse 30

G ii,33;  
fo.192

a + Sancta CA  
b + three minims del.C  
c + omnino CA

d + hec del.C  
e cum C

## 26

*James de Vitry*

On hearing of the reputation of this great man the pope made him bishop of Acre, and then he was translated by apostolic authority and became bishop of Tusculum and cardinal of the apostolic see. This man wrote an admirable book on the above-mentioned Mary 5 and the holy women, of whom there were many at that time in the Liège area, and sent it to Fulk the venerable bishop of Toulouse. He also included another book, in which much was written about the nature of things, but mainly about the wonderful miracles which are to be found in the lands overseas.

10 This James once seriously asked the venerable Fulk of Ghent, a canon living at Lille,

to preach with him in Flanders the crusade against the Albigensians. Fulk refused, and when James insisted through friends that he go along with him in such necessary and devout church business, he refused again, and asserted that he would in no way do it. Then Master James, trusting that he would be in awe of a greater command, said: 'I order you by virtue of my legation and by the authority which I exercise that in the name of Jesus Christ and in remission of all your sins you take up this business.' To which Fulk replied: 'No way will I take it up, and I ask you never to bother me further with this matter.' Whereupon 20 Master James, deeply perturbed in his heart and vexed almost to tears, said to him: 'Though I can certainly with the authority vested in me in all dignity excommunicate you and deprive you of all your benefices for disobedience and contumacy, I do not wish to do so lest I seem only to impose a burden on such a man. But I ask God, who sees into all hearts, to make you absolutely useless not only for the work that you spurn, but for all work.' And, amazingly, soon after these words a quartain fever infected him with diarrhoea, and for the remaining 25 twenty-five years of his life he was incurably troubled by it. And hear, reader, the wonderful judgment of God on this man, since he was so important and fine a man, that the Lord Jesus Christ (it is known on good authority) appeared to him in a vision before his death as if He had been only recently stretched out on the cross, and predicted openly that he would be dead by the end of August. This was revealed to him 30

moriturum. Nullomodo tamen illi Dominus in hac vita parcere voluit, quin eum pro inobediencia tanti temporis spacio flagellaret.

Anno sequenti, scilicet domini m° cc xiiii, intravit magister Stephanus Langton Cantuar' archiepiscopus et legatus Angliam <qui [psalterium de Nostra] Domina composuit.> Et anno sequenti per Innocencium tercium celebratum est Rome consilium Lateranense kl<sup>9</sup> 35 Novembris pontificatus sui anno xviii; ubi interfuerunt episcopi cccc xii, inter quos fuerunt duo patriarche, Constantinopolitanus scilicet et Jerosolomitani, Antiochenus autem et Alexandrinus legatos pro se miserunt, primates et metropolitani lxxi, abbates et priores ultra 40 octingentos et aliorum legatorum et populorum tantus fuit numerus quod quidam episcopus suffocatus expiravit. Hoc audiens papa iuravit per Sanctum Petrum quod mausoleum eius in marmorio lapide signaretur. In quo<sup>h</sup> multa ad extirpacionem viciorum et destructionem hereticorum et ad expedicionem succursus Terre Sancte, 45 necnon ad confirmacionem fidelium Spiritu Sancto inspirante constituta sunt.

f D;lac.C  
g + Octobr' del.C

h + consilio CA

## 27

*De David de Hontyngdon' comite eiusdem et de ipsius morte*

Defuncto, ut premisimus, magnifico principe Willelmo Scotorum rege comes David quamvis nec alacris animo nec corpore vegetatus ad regem Alexandrum nepotem suum, quanto cicius potuit, venit; atque ipsius coronacionem festivam apud Sconam per biduum cum rege tenuit. Inde vero cum rege profectus obviam corpori fratris sui 5 regis in capite pontis de Perth, ab equo descendens unum feretri brachium humero suscepit, et cum ceteris comitibus qui aderant devote corpus usque ad terminum, quo crux erigi iussa est, deportavit; et postea sepulture regie precipuus astitit, ut fratrem decuit, gemebundus. Eidem vero David rex quondam Willelmus frater eius, 10 postquam de captivitate Anglie rediit ad sua, dedit comitatum de Hontyngdon' de se tenendum et comitatum de Garviach cum<sup>a</sup> <Stra-

a + dominio de CA

35 by the same crucified Christ. So in no way did the Lord wish to spare him in this life, but rather he scourged him for disobedience for a long period of time.

In the following year, 1214, Master Stephen Langton archbishop of Canterbury and legate arrived in England. It was he who composed the Psalter of Our Lady. [1213: 16 July]

40 And in the following year Innocent III held the Third [sic] Lateran Council in Rome on 1 November in the eighteenth year of his pontificate. It was attended by 412 bishops, amongst whom were two patriarchs, one of Constantinople and one of Jerusalem – however those of Antioch and Alexandria sent legates to represent them – 71 45 primates and metropolitans, and more than 800 abbots and priors. And so great was the number of other legates and people that one of the bishops died of suffocation. When the pope heard this, he swore by St Peter that his tomb would be adorned with marble. At this council, with the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, many decisions 50 were taken regarding the stamping out of vice, the destruction of heretics, an expedition to relieve the Holy Land, and the encouragement of the faithful.

[1215: 1 Nov.]

## 27

*David of Huntingdon earl of that ilk, and his death*

On the death of the noble prince William king of Scots, as we have mentioned above, Earl David, although neither lively in mind nor strong in body, came as quickly as he could to his nephew King Alexander, and held the coronation feast with the king at Scone for 5 two days. And from there he set off with the king to meet the body of the king his brother at the end of Perth bridge; and getting off his horse he took on his shoulder one of the supports of the bier; and with the rest of the earls who were there, he devoutly carried the body as far as the boundary, where they ordered a cross to be set 10 up; and afterwards at the king's funeral he stood by as chief mourner, as was right for a brother.

To this David the late King William his brother, after he [the king] returned home from captivity in England, gave the earldom of Huntingdon, to be held of him, as well as the earldom of Garioch 15 with Strathbogie and the royal town of Dundee together with Inver-

[1214: 6-7 Dec.]  
[8 Dec.]

[1185]

bolgy et) villa regia<sup>b</sup> de Dundee una cum Inverbervi et dominio<sup>c</sup> de Langforgrond cum aliis terris et possessionibus latis et spaciis. Duxerat namque in uxorem nobilissimam puellam Matildem filiam 15 Hugonis gloriosi comitis quondam de Cestria filii Ranulphi famosissimi comitis eiusdem. Ex qua suscepit <tres><sup>d</sup> filios: Robertum scilicet immatura morte preventum, et Henricum, necnon Johannem Scotum ab Anglis vocitatum, qui sibi successit et etiam Ranulpho 20 | post obitum ad comitatum Cestrie. Quem postea patruus eius Alexander rex et plures alios nobiles tam Anglie quam Scocie in die Penthecost' festo suo regali militaribus induit armis. Qui quidem Johannes et ipse sine liberis decessit. Genuit etiam dictus comes David ex uxore sua tres inclitas filias: videlicet Margaritam desponsatam Alano de Galweia filio Rotholandi, et Isabellam nuptam 25 Roberto de Broys', et Adam Henrico de Hastyng' matrimonizatum. De quibus infra dicemus. Qui quidem comes David diutina infirmitate decubans apud Jerdlay in Anglia obiit die Sancti Botulphi et in crastino apud abbaciam de Sawtreia sepultus anno domini m° cc° xix; <quo die et anno obiit Guido primus abbas de Londor', cum 30 ipsum locum a fundamentis extruxisset et officinas competentes magna ex parte perfecisset et fere per xxviii annos monasterium strenue rexisset, monachos xxvi superstites relinquens ordine et religione plenarie informatos; omnes fratres de caritate mutua exhortans et a transgressionibus absolvens et ab ipsis absolutus et osculatus, 35 inter verba collocutionis caput in manu fratris sibi assidentis reclinans quasi dormiens, hilari vultu quievit in Domino. Cui successit Johannes eiusdem domus monachus.>

Alexander rex Scotorum post Natale Domini, quod apud Forfar anno domini m° cc° xv festive tenuerat, cum regina matre sua et 40 multis nobilibus regni processit ad Strivelyne, ubi festum Epiphanie regaliter continuavit; et dehinc processit in Laudoniam et apud Edinburgh' tenuit parliamentum, ubi ad modum existentem in vita patris sui reddidit Willelmo de Bosco cancellariam, Alana de Galweia constabulariam et Philippo de Vallonis camerariam; similiter inconcusse 45 ceteris regni officiariis sicut feoda eorum exigebant commisit sua jura. Sed cito post apud Haddington' habito quodam a paucis consilio quidam qui prius pacati erant iam impacati a curia recesserunt. Inde veniens rex in Scociam regine matri sue obviavit apud Forfar, et abhinc profecti sunt pariter ad Arbroth' ad visendum sepulcrum 50 regis Willelmi. <Anno domini m° cc xiv obiit Johannes de Laicestir' episcopus Dunkeldensis apud Crawmond et sepultus est in Insula

<sup>b</sup> villam regiam CA  
<sup>c</sup> territorio CA

<sup>d</sup> + duos del.C  
<sup>e</sup> de Laicestir interlin.C

bervie and the lordship of Longforgran, with other broad and spacious lands and possessions. Furthermore David married a very 1190: noble girl called Matilda daughter of Hugh the late glorious earl of 19 Aug.] Chester, son of Ranulf [II] the very famous holder of the same earldom. By her he had three sons, namely Robert, who was over- 20 taken by untimely death, and Henry, and John, whom the English called the Scot and who succeeded to the earldom of Chester after the death of Ranulf [III]. Later his [cousin] King Alexander knighted 1232: him along with many other nobles of both England and Scotland at 1227: 30 May] his royal feast on Whitsunday. This John died without issue. The 1237: said Earl David and his wife also had three famous daughters, namely Margaret, who married Alan of Galloway, son of Roland; Isabel, who married Robert de Bruce; and Ada, who married Henry de Hastings. We shall have more to say about them later. Now Earl 30 David, after a lingering illness, died at Yardley in England on St Botulph's day, and on the following day he was buried in the abbey of Sawtry in the year 1219. 1219: 17 June

On the same day in the same year the death occurred of Guy the 17 June first abbot of Lindores. He had built that place from scratch, and had 35 to a large extent completed suitable domestic buildings, and had strictly ruled the monastery for almost twenty-eight years, leaving behind him twenty-six monks fully instructed in the order and the religious life. As he was exhorting all the brethren to love one another and was absolving them of their sins and was being absolved and 40 kissed by them, in the course of conversation he laid his head in the hand of the brother who was sitting beside him, as if he had fallen asleep, and with a blissful expression on his face he passed away. He was succeeded by John a monk of the same house.

After holding his 1215 Christmas feast at Forfar, Alexander king 1214: 25 Dec.] of Scots went to Stirling with the queen his mother and many nobles of the realm. There he royally continued the festive season on 1215: 6 Jan.] Epiphany. Thence he went to Lothian and held a parliament in Edinburgh, where he gave back the chancellorship to William del Bois, the constablenesship to Alan of Galloway, and the chamberlainship to Philip de Valognes, just as it had been in his father's lifetime. And with a similar sense of purpose to the other officials of the realm he gave their rights just as their fees required. But soon afterwards some kind of consultation was held by a few people at Haddington, and some who had previously been contented withdrew 55 from court discontented. From there the king entered Scotia and met the queen his mother at Forfar, whence they set out together for Arbroath to see the tomb of King William.

In the year 1214 John de Leicester bishop of Dunkeld died at 1214: Cramond and was buried on Inchcolm, just like his predecessor 7 Oct.] 60 Richard de Prebenda, who died in 1210.

Sancti Columbe<sup>f</sup> sicut predecessor suus Richardus de Prebenda, qui obiit anno domini m<sup>o</sup> ccx.<sup>g</sup> ><sup>h</sup>

<sup>f</sup> CA; Col' C,D,R  
<sup>g</sup> m<sup>o</sup> c x C,D

<sup>h</sup> This addition in the bottom margin precedes the one concerning the abbot of Lindores C

## 28

*De dissencione baronum Anglie et regis  
et conquisicione amicorum aliunde*

G ii,35

fo.192v

Hiis itaque temporibus barones et nobiles Anglie, non ferentes gravamina regis Johannis nequam <assisas et> abusivas consuetudines<sup>a</sup> quas inducebat, cotidie communi se juramento constrinxerunt quod | unanimiter apud regem instarent ut antiquas libertates et liberas consuetudines ecclesie et regno Anglie olim concessas ab Henrico 5  
Bewclerk filio Willelmi Bastard secundum tenorem carte ipsius ipsi concederet – alioquin ab ipsius se dominio subtraherent. Quos cum isdem rex falsa promissione et repetitis induciis protraxisset, tandem unanimiter concitati inducias negantes | ipsius colloquium vitabant et armis rem agere disponebant. Pulsati tandem precibus et promissis 10  
Alexander rex Scocie et Leulinus rex Wallie baronibus Anglie federati sunt quamvis rex Wallie filiam regis Johannis duxerat in uxorem. Collectis statim anno sequenti rex Scocie suis copiis in Angliam profectus castrum de Norhame obsedit; sed in brevi suorum consilio dans inducias obsessis suum duxit exercitum in Northumbriam, eam 15  
sibi subjugans et hominum suscipiens subieccionem. Ut autem audivit rex Anglie Johannes quod rex Scocie<sup>b</sup> cum baronibus Northumbrie composuisset assumptis rutariis et satellitibus suis iter versus Scociam arripuit omnia devastans et comburens quecumque infra regnum Scocie potuit attingere; et transiens per maritimam 20  
expugnavit Dunbar et inde in Laudonia progressus ultra Hadyngton non processit; quos duos burgos, Dunbar scilicet et Hadyngton, combussit. Rex autem Alexander collecta interim circumquaque tocus regni potencia congressum cum Anglis peroptans super ampenen de Esk via qua tendebat rex Anglie Johannes remeare juxta 25  
Pentland tentoria fixit. Quo comperto rex Anglie per aliam viam reversus est in regionem suam; et non tam contra Scotos quam contra

<sup>a</sup> + ecclesie et regno Anglie olim concessas    <sup>b</sup> + quod rex Scocie faintly del.C  
ab Henrico Bewclerk del.C

## 28

*Dissension between the barons of England and the king,  
and their acquisition of friends from foreign parts*

At this time, moreover, the barons and nobles of England, who could [1215] not tolerate the burdens which King John had laid upon them, nor the vile laws and wrongful customs which he daily introduced, bound [6 Jan.] themselves by a common oath to put unanimous pressure on the king to grant them the ancient liberties and free customs formerly 5  
granted to the church and the kingdom of England by Henry Beauclerc son of William the Bastard, according to the terms of his charter – otherwise they would renounce his lordship. But when this king had fobbed them off with false promises and repeated delays, 10  
they were finally all so enraged they they agreed to tear up the truces and shun a meeting with him, and set about dealing with the matter by arms. Alexander king of Scots and Llywellyn king of Wales, urged on by prayers and promises, allied themselves with the barons of England, although the king of Wales was married to King John's 15  
daughter.

As soon as the king of Scots had gathered his forces together the following year, he set out for into England and besieged Norham [19 Oct.] Castle. But soon, on the advice of his followers, he granted a truce to the besieged and led his army into Northumberland, which he 20  
brought under his yoke, and received the submission of its people. [22 Oct.] But when King John of England heard that the king of Scots had reached an agreement with the barons of Northumberland, he took with him his mercenaries and henchmen and hurried towards Scotland, laying everything waste and burning whatever he could lay his [1216: Jan.] hands on within the kingdom of Scotland. Proceeding along the coast he stormed Dunbar; and from there he marched on into Lothian, but did not go beyond Haddington. He burnt those two towns, namely Dunbar and Haddington. Meanwhile King Alexander, having gathered together on every side the strength of the whole kingdom and 30  
longing to come to blows with the English, pitched his tents by the

propriis barones fremens terras et possessiones eorum in redeundo combussit, scilicet villam de Werk et de Alnewik, Midford et Morpeth, Roxburgh cum suburbiis suis; cum et ante hoc in expeditione ad Scociam xviii kl' februarii villam cepit et castellum de Berwik, ubi utriusque sexus homines per articulos manuum et pedum suspendentes eius ministri multos cruciaverunt. Quod cum rex Alexander recursum scilicet regis Anglie cerneret, qui etiam in reditu suo abbaciam de Coldyngham depredari fecit et sic Berwik succendit, ipso rege Johanne domum in qua hospitatus fuit propria manu contra regium honorem incendente, ipsum Johannem festinanter Northumbriam de novo rebellantem comburens insequitur et per episcopatum Dunelmensem omnes ad dedicionem suam recipiens Richemonth usque pervenit desiderans congressum habere cum Anglis. Sed quia rex Johannes<sup>c</sup> interiores Anglie partes repeciit, rex Alexander versus occidentales partes Westmerie iter recurvans omnes easdem pene terras depopulando usque Carleolum combussit. Tunc etiam temporis Scoti qui domum de Holmcultrane expoliaverunt et monachum in extremis agentem super cilicio impositum denu- daverunt in quodam fluvio Edan nomine submersi sunt.

<sup>c</sup> Cernens igitur rex Johannes tutum sibi non fore congregi cum Scotis for rex Johannes  
CA

## 29

*De Ludovici<sup>a</sup> Francorum Delphini<sup>b</sup> adventu ad Angliam*

Interim nobiles et barones Anglie sub jugo dire servitutis tyranni regis, videlicet Johannis, constituti scripserunt<sup>c</sup> Francorum Christianissimo regi Philippo<sup>d</sup> ut filium suum Lodovicum eis transmitteret, quem in regem suum unanimiter consentirent assumere, spreto occupante. Qui votis eorum annuens, presertim pro libertate ecclesie et baronum restituenda, acceptis obsidibus ab Anglie baronibus, Ludovicus armis instructus inestimabili milicia comitatus, navigio victualibus et machinis advectus, et de regis Alexandri Scocie

<sup>a</sup> corrected from Ludovico C  
<sup>b</sup> interlin. C

<sup>c</sup> + regi del. C  
<sup>d</sup> interlin. C

river Esk near Pentland along the route which King John of England was heading towards on his homeward journey. But when the king of England discovered this, he went back to his country by another route; and not so furious with the Scots as with his own barons he burnt their lands and possessions on his way home, namely the towns of Wark, Alnwick, Mitford, Morpeth and Roxburgh with its suburbs. And before this on his expedition into Scotland on 15 January he had captured the town and castle of Berwick, where his servants hung up men and women by their wrists and ankles torturing many.

When King Alexander saw that John king of England was retreating, he hastened after him, burning Northumberland, which was again in revolt. On his way home John had ordered the pillaging of the abbey of Coldingham and had burnt Berwick, the king himself with his own hand setting fire to the house in which he had lodged, a dishonourable act for a king. Alexander then received the submission of everyone throughout the bishopric of Durham, and reached Richmond wanting to join battle with the English. But because King John [realising that it was not safe to fight the Scots] retreated far into England, King Alexander bent his steps westwards to Westmorland, burning and ravaging almost all those lands as far as Carlisle. On this occasion, too, Scots who had raided the monastery of Holm Cultram, and who had stripped a monk who was on the point of death and lying on hair-cloth, were drowned in the river called the Eden.

## 29

*The arrival in England of Louis Dauphin of the French*

Meanwhile the nobles and barons of England, placed as they were under the yolk of dire servitude to a tyrant king (John), wrote to Philip that most Christian king of the French requesting him to send them his son Louis, whom they unanimously agreed to accept as their king, in contempt of the present occupant of the throne. Louis heard their entreaties favourably, above all to restore the liberty of the church and the barons; he took hostages from the barons of England and, provided with arms and accompanied by a countless number of soldiers, he sailed over in a fleet full of supplies and engines of war. With the comforting assurance of the personal assistance of Alexander king of Scotland as his ally, he sent his troops on an heroic

[1215:  
Sept./Oct.]

confederati personali assistencia confortatus, misit manus suas ad  
 forcia et applicuit in Anglia primo in quadam insula que vocatur 10  
 Tened. Rege autem Anglie cum exercitu suo morante apud Sand-  
 wiche, portum scilicet Insule proximum, cui, cum non auderet con-  
 gredi, ad tuciora loca se contulit. Ludovicus autem Londonias ven-  
 iens inenarrabili gaudio baronum et suorum sequacium die 15  
 Penthecost' anno domini m<sup>o</sup> cc<sup>o</sup> xvi<sup>to</sup> susceptus est, nam eo temporis  
 curriculo barones eius adventum expectantes Londoniis morabantur.  
 Alexander autem rex Scotorum suo recollecto<sup>e</sup> exercitu circa nonas  
 Augusti Angliam penetrans, ecclesiis ecclesiarumque possessionibus  
 et terris ubique baronum parcendo, sed et terras regis atque satellitum  
 suorum<sup>f</sup> vastando, ad Ludovicum venit apud Dover; qui ab eo hono- 20  
 rifice susceptus est et per quindenam ibidem moram faciens, post  
 tractatus diversos et negocia cum eo secreto confecta tandem ad  
 propria se preparat transmeare. Cui post eorum colloquium et nego-  
 ciorum tractatum in Scociam revertenti rex Anglie Johannes suum  
 precludebat iter, pontibus et batellis fluvii Tharent fractis et 25  
 submersis, vadis eciam fossatis, vias ubique per quas terra mareque  
 transire poterat obsidens. Sed et Deo disponente maliciam et insidias  
 cum vita finiens die Sancti Luce Evangeliste obiit apud Newerk,  
 villam juxta fluvium Tharent sitam; cuius exercitus dispersi castrum  
 rex Scocie diripuit ac cum magnis gazis et ingenti gloria Scociam 30  
 prospere rediit sine dampno. <Intoxicatus enim fuit rex per quendam  
 simplicem monachum zelum habentem sed non secundum scienciam,  
 qui audiens quod de facto ipse rex<sup>g</sup> monasterium suum proposuit  
 destruere, monachos expellere et in secularem usum prophanare,  
 utpote ibidem aulam suam venaticam<sup>h</sup> constituere. Cum isdem rex 35  
 ibidem<sup>i</sup> pernoctaret, optulit ei in xenium stultus proditor monachus  
 post cenam platellam argenteam intoxicatam plenam<sup>j</sup> prunis veneno<sup>k</sup>  
 dilibutis. Monachus etenim de mandato regis de prunis hilariter  
 prelibans, consequenter rex avide de eisdem commedens, uterque  
 festine morti succubuit. De ipso enim rege<sup>l</sup> premortuo idem mon- 40  
 achus sic metrificavit:

G ii,37

Quis dolet aut doleat regis<sup>m</sup> de morte Johannis  
 qui bona pauca fecit mala plurima pluribus annis?<sup>n</sup>>

Cui successit filius eius Henricus hoc nomine iv<sup>tus</sup>, sed in cathologo  
 regum Anglie tercius, pro eo quod scilicet Henricus filius Henrici 45

e collecto CA  
 f eius CA  
 g + timore Dei postposito CA  
 h + ob loci placabilem situationem CA  
 i + ad id intentus CA  
 j + pulcris CA

k + forti CA  
 l + paulo ante CA  
 m interlin.C  
 n some extra words follow in the margin in a  
 smaller hand which are now illegible C

expedition, and landed in England first of all on a certain island [1216:  
 called Thanet. The king of England hung back with his army at 21 May]  
 Sandwich, the nearest port to the island, but not daring to come to  
 blows, withdrew to a safer spot. Louis proceeded to London, where  
 on Whitsunday 1216 he was given a rapturous welcome by the barons 29 May  
 and their followers, for during that time the barons were waiting in  
 London in expectation of his arrival. Now Alexander king of the  
 Scots, having gathered together his army again, entered England  
 about 5 August, and everywhere sparing churches, the possessions of 5 Aug.  
 churches and the lands of the barons, but laying waste the lands of  
 the king and his henchmen, he made his way to Louis at Dover. He  
 was honourably received by him and stayed there for a fortnight.  
 Then after discussing and secretly concluding various kinds of busi- [mid-Sept.]  
 ness with him, he finally got ready to return home. But on his way  
 back to Scotland after their interview and negotiations John king of  
 England barred his way. After breaking the bridges and sinking the  
 boats on the river Trent and digging up the fords, he was obstructing  
 all the routes both by land and sea by which Alexander could get  
 across. But God ordained that he was to end his evil deeds and 18 Oct.  
 plotting as well as his life on 18 October at Newark, a town situated  
 on the river Trent. Then the king of Scotland sacked the camp of his  
 scattered army and returned safely to Scotland without loss and with  
 great treasure and much glory.  
 King John was poisoned by a simple monk who had great zeal but  
 not much sense. He had heard that in fact the king [putting fear of  
 God aside] intended to destroy his monastery, expel the monks and  
 desecrate the place by putting it to secular use, namely to establish  
 his hunting lodge there [because of its pleasant situation]. When this  
 same king was staying there overnight [with this in mind], this foolish  
 and treacherous monk offered him as a gift after dinner a poisoned  
 silver plate full of plums smeared with poison. On the king's com-  
 mand the monk cheerfully tasted the plums first, whereupon the king  
 greedily ate some and both of them quickly died. This same monk  
 composed the following verse about the premature death of the king:

Who grieves or may grieve for the death of King John?  
 He did few good but many evil deeds over many years.

He was succeeded by his son Henry, the fourth of that name, but  
 the third in the catalogue of the kings of England, because Henry  
 the son of Henry fitzEmpress rebelled against his father. A boy of  
 seven, though others say he was nine, he was crowned at Winchester, [28 Oct.]  
 where his father was buried, by Guala the papal legate, who in the  
 summer of that same year, (i.e. the summer just passed) as a cardinal [May]  
 had been sent to England by the Pope Innocent to help King John  
 of England, with whom he was on very friendly terms because of the



| filii Imperatricis contra patrem suum insurrexit;<sup>o</sup> puer septennis, sed ut alii tradunt novennis, apud Wincestrum, ubi pater humatur, coronatus est a Gualone legato, qui eodem anno estate, videlicet precedenti, cardinalis missus est in Angliam per papam Innocencium<sup>p</sup> pro succursu Johannis regis Anglie, cui pro solucione annui tributi et subiectione Anglie amicissimus erat. Qui adunato exercitu qui Johannem regem patrem sequebatur, cum manu valida coronacionem acceleravit, reclamantibus abbate Westmonasterii et priore Cantuar' archiepiscopo a consilio Lateranensi nondum adhuc reverso pro libertatibus suis pro coronacione regis. Hoc anno mortuus est papa Innocencius iii<sup>us</sup>, qui sedit annis xviii mensibus iv<sup>or</sup> diebus xxiii. Hic quam fuerit gloriosus opera eius testantur. Fecit enim inter cetera Hospitale Sancti Spiritus, composuit decretales, sermones et librum de miseria humane condicionis; item dedit universis ecclesiis in Romam unam libram argenti pro singulis calicibus earum non habentium calices argenteos, tali pacto quod vendere eos non possent; hic coronavit Othonem et deposuit quia non servavit fidelitatem; hic celebravit consilium Lateranense pro subsidio Terre Sancte et statu fidei ac universalis ecclesie, in quo fuerunt prelati mille ducenti<sup>q</sup> xv.

<sup>o</sup> + cui propterea de cathalogo deletus est.  
Hic Henricus filius Johannis CA

<sup>p</sup> + tercium CA  
<sup>q</sup> CA; ducent' C,D,R

## 30

*De reditu Ludovici ad Angliam<sup>a</sup>*

Mortuo Johanne Anglorum rege Ludovicus omnes obsides liberavit et Angliam honorifice remisit, et confidens de Anglis, quos tempore regis eos letaliter persequentis ab imminente morte liberaverat et quorum juratoriam caucionem habebat, cum paucis iterum in Angliam transfretavit, et multos ex Anglicis conversos comperit vel perversos qui et Thomam comitem Perticensem occiderunt, portus munierunt, et Ludovicum intra Londonias quasi excluserunt. Itaque anno sequenti mense septembri videns Ludovicus dolos Anglie baronum et impedimenta portuum ac persecucionem tocius regni preter Londoniam contra seipsum, sed et intencionem Gualonis legati, ad cuius arbitrium inclinavit regnum, qui totis viribus pro-

<sup>a</sup> + et de interdicto Scocie c xxix del.C

payment of an annual tribute and the subjection of England [to the pope]. When he had assembled the army which had been following King John the father, he did not waste any time in resolutely holding the coronation. This was despite complaints from the abbot of Westminster and the prior of Canterbury about their rights in the king's coronation, since the archbishop of Canterbury had not yet returned from the Lateran Council.

In this same year the death occurred of Pope Innocent III, who had been pope for eighteen years, four months and twenty three days. His works bear witness to how glorious a man he was. For amongst other things he founded a hospital dedicated to the Holy Spirit; he compiled decretals, sermons and a book *On the Misery of the Human Condition*; he gave to all the churches in Rome a pound of silver each for chalices for those which did not have silver chalices, on the condition that they could not sell them; he crowned Otto, and then deposed him because he did not keep faith; he held the Lateran Council to consider support for the Holy Land and the state of the faith and of the universal church. It was attended by 1215 prelates.

## 30

*Louis returns to England*

On the death of John king of the English Louis set free all his hostages and honourably sent them back to England. And trusting in the English, whom he had delivered from imminent death in the time of a king who was murderously persecuting them, and who had pledged themselves to him on oath, he crossed over again to England with a few men, and learned that many of the English were turncoats and perverse. For they killed Thomas count of Perche, fortified the ports, and practically confined him to London. By the September of the following year Louis appreciated the deceit of the barons of England, the blockading of the ports, and that all the kingdom except London was after his blood. Moreover he was conscious of the intentions of Guala the legate, to whose will the kingdom bowed, who with all his might was making it his concern to impede him and

G ii,38

fo.193v

curabat ipsius impedimentum atque suorum, timensque quod, si Londonias exiret, clauderetur revertenti, diffinierat quidem cum Anglis ad pugnam congregari; sed Anglis pugnam devitantibus, facta compositione rediit in Franciam, qui utique mirabilem victoriam, ut speratur, habuisset, si debitam fidelitatem invenisset. Interim, dum hec agerentur, Philippus rex Francie audiens filium suum Anglis inimicis circumseptum pro ipsius celeri succursu preparavit classem. Unde factum est bellum navale, utroque populo in medio mari confligente, ubi Angli victores extiterunt et archipiratam Francorum Eusthacium Monachum nomine cum aliis innumeris occiderunt, Ludovico prospere tunc ad propria reverso et de classe non instructo. Alexander rex Scocie cepit Carliolum et obsedit castrum eiusdem. Tandem post longam obsidionem, dans dextram obsessis de vita et membris idem castrum sibi traditum recepit et munivit. Interea adhuc Ludovico Londoniis commorante castrum Lincolnie civitatis obsidetur a baronibus et robore exercitus Ludovici, sed superveniente Gualone legato cum exercitu novi regis Henrici amota est obsidio; et sub unius hore momento capti sunt omnes barones et nobiles Anglie qui sequebantur Ludovicum. Interfecto quodam comite Francie ducuntur potentes Anglie captivi municionibus inclusi. Cernens itaque Ludovicus versam esse aleam fati et duos sibi imminere eventus diffinierat, tamquam magnanimus auxilio regis Scotorum fretus, cum ipsis Anglis, ut premisimus, congressionem habere; per intercedentes prelatos et proceres pacificos, qui multum timebant inopinatum regis Scotorum manu valida adventum sicut conductum erat inter ipsum regem et Ludovicum, saniori usus consilio pacem iniiit cum rege Anglie Henrico, accepta prius ab eo securitate quod omnes qui insurrexerant contra ipsum aut patrem suum Johannem restituerentur ad statum quo fuerant tempore moti belli. Quo facto Ludovicus salvo conductu transfretavit circa festum Sancti Michaelis. Data redempcione sua captivi nobiles Anglie liberantur, et facto homagio regi Henrico omnibus sua predia restituuntur anno domini m<sup>o</sup> cc xvii<sup>o</sup>.

<[Post]<sup>d</sup> mortem<sup>e</sup> regis Johannis coronatus est filius eius Henricus iii<sup>f</sup> apud Gloverinam,<sup>g</sup> quia tunc temporis London' [et West-] monasterium<sup>d</sup> locus ex consuetudine consecrationi regie deputatus intercepta erant per Lodovicum<sup>h</sup> Francie [et]<sup>d</sup> Alexandrum ii regem Scocie; sed anno iv<sup>o</sup> sequenti<sup>i</sup> regno pacato apud Westmonasterium recoronatur.>

b ut premittitur comite Perticensi for quodam comite CA

c + sed CA

d D,CA,R; lac.C

e + ut premisimus CA

f Henricus iii interlin.C

g Wincestrum sed alibi legi apud Gloverinam for Gloverinam CA

h D,CA,R; Londovicum C

i + apud del.C

his men. He was afraid that if he left London it would be closed to him on his return; and so he had decided to join battle with the English. But as the English avoided battle, he returned to France after reaching an agreement, although it is to be hoped that he would undoubtedly have won a marvellous victory if he had found the loyalty that was his due.

In the meantime, while these things were going on, Philip the king of France, hearing that his son was surrounded by hostile Englishmen, got a fleet ready to come quickly to his aid. And so a naval battle was fought, with both these peoples clashing in the middle of the sea. The English were the winners, killing the archpirate of the French, Eustace the Monk, along with countless others. Then Louis returned safely home unaccompanied by a fleet.

Alexander the king of Scotland took Carlisle and besieged the castle there. At last after a long siege and after he had given the offer of life and limb to the besieged, they handed over the castle to him, which he took and fortified.

In the meantime, while Louis was still in London, the castle of the city of Lincoln was besieged by the barons and by the main body of Louis' army. But on the arrival of Guala the legate with the army of Henry the new king, the siege was raised; and in the space of one hour all the barons and nobles of England who followed Louis were taken. A certain French count was killed, and the men of power in England were led away captive and imprisoned in castles. And so Louis, realising that his luck had turned and that the outcome threatened to be hard for him (although the great man was confident of help from the king of Scots), decided to hold a meeting with the English, as we have already mentioned above. On the intercession of the prelates and the peace-loving nobles, who greatly feared a sudden attack by the strong force of the king of Scots (as had been agreed upon by that king and Louis), he followed cautious counsel and made peace with Henry the king of England, after having received a pledge from him that all who had risen against him or against John his father would be restored to their state before the war had broken out. When this had been done Louis crossed the Channel under a safe-conduct about Michaelmas. After paying their ransoms, the nobles of England who had been taken prisoner were freed; and after they had done homage to King Henry, they all had their estates restored (1217).

After the death of King John, his son Henry III was crowned at Gloucester because at that time London and Westminster, the place usually appointed for the consecration of a monarch, had been cut off by Louis of France and Alexander II king of Scotland; but four years later once the kingdom was at peace he was recrowned at Westminster.

*Regnum Scocie interdicitur; rex et prelati  
excommunicati denunciuntur*

G ii,39

Hoc in anno rex Scocie obsedit castrum de Midford in itinerando  
versus Ludovicum, sed audito eius recessu de Anglia post ebdo-  
modariam obsidionem ad propria reversus est.<sup>a</sup> Malcolmus comes  
de Fife fundavit abbaciam de Culenros isto anno, et postea<sup>b</sup> moni-  
alium de Northberwik.<sup>c</sup> Obiit Walterus abbas Sancte Crucis quon- 5  
dam prior de<sup>d</sup> Insula Sancti Columbe ii idus januarii; cui successit  
Willelmus elemosinarius eiusdem domus. Ipso anno orta est in  
ecclesia Scoticana maxima tribulacio, nam rex Scocie Alexander,  
omnes comites, barones, magnates et milites, episcopi et prelati  
ymmo et totum regnum excommunicati et interdictum denunciuntur. 10  
Audiens namque Gualo<sup>e</sup> molestias gravamina et intolerabilia mala  
que per | regem Scocie in Anglia facta sunt,<sup>f</sup> ipsum regem cum  
exercitu<sup>g</sup> et totum regnum Scotorum interdixit. Ad cuius insuper  
instanciam misso rescripto ab Honorio papa ad priores Dunelmi,  
Gysburne et Tynmouth per ipsos denunciati sunt<sup>h</sup> excommunicati<sup>i</sup> 15  
rex Scocie et quotquot cum eo erant qui communicaverunt regi  
Anglie Johanni tempore interdicti regni eius. Tum eciam prelati  
Scocie pro eo quod communicaverant regi Scocie et exercitui eius,  
qui inciderant in sentenciam latam in consilio Lateranensi, in quo  
excommunicati fuerunt omnes impugnantes Johannem regem Anglie 20  
tunc reconsiliatum ecclesie Romane feodotarium; tum eciam ob favo-  
rem quem prebuit rex Scocie Ludovico regis Francorum pri-  
mogenito; tum insuper quia rex Scocie subvertit castrum de Twed-  
emouthe ex opposito Berwici, quamvis contra iusjurandum dicti regis  
Johannis reedificatum; tum ultra precipue quod ad rogatum et pre- 25  
ceptum Gualonis legati Karliolum regi Henrico reddi non concessit.  
Deinde regi Scocie Gualo legatus per internuncios absolucionem  
promittens, de pace perpetua et reddicione Karlioli atque dampno-  
rum reparacione tractare cepit et optinuit. Et quamvis magister Walt-  
erus de Wisebech ex auctoritate domini papae interdictum relax- 30

a + Gilbertus comes de Strathern *del.C*  
b + monasterium *CA*  
c + ordinis Cistercii *CA*  
d + Emonia *CA*  
e + legatus *CA*  
f + nam et ipse totaliter Anglicatus *CA*

g + singulatum excommunicatos denunciunt  
*CA*  
h *interlin.C*  
i + ex habundancia malicie sue per ipsos  
denovo excommunicati denunciati sunt *for*  
denunciati sunt excommunicati *CA*

*The kingdom of Scotland is placed under an interdict;  
the king and prelates are excommunicated*

This year the king of Scotland besieged the castle of Mitford while 1217: [May]  
he was on his way to Louis, but on hearing that Louis had left  
England he returned home after a week-long siege.

Malcolm earl of Fife founded the abbey of Culross that year, and [Mar.]  
5 afterwards a nunnery at North Berwick.

The death occurred of Walter abbot of Holyrood, formerly prior  
of Inchcolm, on 12 January. He was succeeded by William, almoner 12 Jan.  
of the same house.

That year a great crisis arose in the Scottish church, for Alexander  
10 king of Scotland, as well as all the earls, barons, magnates and  
knights, bishops and prelates and indeed the whole kingdom were  
excommunicated and placed under an interdict. For when [the legate]  
Guala heard of the troubles, oppression and unbearable evils which  
were perpetrated in England by the king of Scotland, he [for he had  
15 come to see everything from an English viewpoint] laid an interdict [Sept.?  
on the king himself, along with his army and the whole kingdom of  
the Scots. Moreover at the request of Guala a rescript was sent by  
Pope Honorius to the priors of Durham, Guisborough and Tyne-  
mouth, who declared excommunicate the king of Scotland and as  
20 many others with him as had associated with King John of England  
when his kingdom lay under an interdict. Then the prelates of Scot-  
land also [were excommunicated] inasmuch as they had associated  
with the king of Scotland and his army, because they had fallen  
under the ban pronounced by the Lateran Council, at which all those  
25 who fought against King John of England were excommunicated –  
for King John had by then been reconciled with the Roman church  
as its vassal: also because of the support which the king of Scotland  
offered Louis, eldest son of the king of the French; as well as because  
the king of Scotland had destroyed the castle of Tweedmouth  
30 opposite Berwick, in spite of its having been rebuilt contrary to an  
oath of the said John; and last but not least because he did not agree  
to return Carlisle to King Henry when requested and ordered to do  
so by Guala the legate. Then Guala the legate sent messengers to the  
king of Scotland with the promise of absolution, while negotiating  
35 and securing a perpetual peace, the surrender of Carlisle and rep-  
arations for losses sustained. And although Master Walter de Wis-

aturs in Scociam veniret, nichilominus Gualo suis caute versuciis ipsam absolucionem fecit prorogari donec segura pax inter reges firmaretur, vel secundum quosdam donec sue sitim crumene pecuniariis bibulis et aureis poculis interim mitigaret. Absolutus est tamen dominus rex et omnes laici qui ipsum sequebantur apud Twedmouth ab archiepiscopo Eboracensi et episcopo Dunelmensi. Et inde sub salvo conductu regis et baronum Anglie perrexit Northampton, factoque homagio debito regi Anglie pro honoribus et terris suis ibidem situatis, redditoque Carliolo, quod ceperat, et pace confirmata cum gracia regis et legati reversus est ad propria. Tamen impetrare non potuit ut prelati et clerici terre sue sub pacis ipsius condicione possent includi; sed ad consilium quorundam nescio quo spiritu ductorum promulgatum est generale interdictum in tota Scotia circa festum Sancti Nicholai, et ecclesia cessavit a laudibus divinis exceptis monachis albis, qui secundum privilegia celebrarunt. Ceteri habebant se omnes clerici tam religiosi quam seculares tamquam suspensos et excommunicatos preter Willelmum Mavesym episcopum Sancti Andr', qui paulo ante rediit de Galliis, ubi moram fecerat hostili tempore, absolucionis beneficium a legato vix optinuerat. Prestito tamen prius corporali sacramento quod non dederat adversariis regis Anglie Johannis consilium, auxilium vel favorem.

j one word interlin. and del. above suis

## 32

*De absoluzione cleri*

Circa Purificacionem Beate Marie venerunt in Scociam prior Dunelmi et archidiaconus Eboracensis missi a legato Anglie et absolverunt clericos Scocie sub hac forma: fecerunt de circumvicinis ad aliquem burgum vel civitatem totius vicinie clericos tam religiosos quam seculares convenire, et recepta ab eis caucione juratoria quod starent mandatis legati et quod facerent veram et puram confessionem de hiis que quererent, ipsos nudipedes absolverunt ante fores abbaciarum vel ecclesiarum ad quas convenerant. Et tali modo perambulaverunt Scociam a Berwico usque ad Aberdene de loco ad locum prout eis placuit divertentes, procuraciones sumptuosas cum

35

40

45

50

10

bech arrived in Scotland on the authority of the lord pope to lift the interdict, nevertheless Guala in his wily way craftily made him delay the absolution until a firm peace might be secured between the kings – or, according to some, until in the meantime he might slake the thirst of his moneybag with draughts of money and cups of gold. However the lord king and all the laypeople who were in his train were absolved at Tweedmouth by the archbishop of York and the bishop of Durham. And then he [Alexander] proceeded under safe conduct issued by the king and barons of England to Northampton, where he did due homage to the king of England for his honours and lands situated there. He also surrendered Carlisle, which he had captured, and confirmed the peace agreement. Then he returned home with the blessing of the king and the legate. But he was unable to get the prelates and clerics of his country included in the terms of this peace; for on the advice of certain men, guided by I know not what spirit, a general interdict was pronounced throughout the whole of Scotland around the feast of St Nicholas, and the church stopped celebrating the divine office, except for the white monks whose special privileges allowed them to celebrate it. All the other clerics, regular as well as secular, behaved as under suspension and excommunication. An exception was William Malveisin bishop of St Andrews, who had recently returned from France, where he had been staying during the hostilities. Not without difficulty he obtained the favour of absolution from the legate, having first sworn upon the host that he had not lent advice, help or favour to the adversaries of John king of England.

[1 Dec.]

[19 Dec.]

6 Dec.

[ca 6 Dec.]

## 32

*The absolution of the clergy*

About the time of the Purification of the Blessed Mary the prior of Durham and an archdeacon of York came to Scotland, sent by the legate to England, and absolved the clergy of Scotland in the following way: they had both regular and secular clerics of the whole neighbourhood come together from the surrounding area to some burgh or city, and took a sworn pledge from them to the effect that they would abide by the legate's commands and would make a true and pure confession on the matters under investigation; then they absolved these men as they stood barefoot in front of the doors of the abbeys or churches at which they had gathered. And in this way

1218:  
2 Feb.

fo. 194

infinita pecunia et donariis plurimis per consilium quorundam eis placere cupientium ubique percipientes. Episcopus autem regni et clericos domesticos regis et pingue beneficiatos, qui vel bello interfuerant vel bellantibus aliquo modo ministraverant, retinuerunt absolvendos. Abbates autem et quosdam alios prelatos quos 15 absolverant ab officio tenuerunt suspensos donec ipsius legati gratiam plenius mererentur. Propter quod circa sequens festum Pasche omnes fere Scocie prelati occurrerunt Anglie legato apud Alverton; quorum quosdam misit Romam absolvendos, quosdam copiosa 20 pacatus pecunia ibidem absolvit; nonnulli<sup>a</sup> locum etiam beneficiis suis vel omnino privavit vel tamdiu suspendit donec sue cupiditatis exactioni placent foret satisfactum. Contigit autem hoc justo Dei iudicio ut quia privilegia sua paulo ante sibi a Romana curia indulta evolvere<sup>a</sup> neclexerant et in tali perturbacione pretimida sanum consilium sequi noluerant, sed et inanibus rumoribus solemnis legati Gualonis 25 nimium terrerentur, utpote consimilem casum inexperti; <et> sicut Esopus in fabulis cuidam civitati recitat contigisse: quod quidam magnus mons supereminens civitati sicut dolor in utero habentis parturiebat et gemitus magnos dabat. Tota civitas, ut audivit, timuit, cunctisque perturbatis nullus sui memor erat. Mons ille tandem 30 perperit murem. Huiusmodi fama volat et quod maximum malum putabant in nichilum omnibus venit quos timor invaserat; propter quod poeta:

Parturiens collis, exivit ridculus mus.

G ii, 41

Sic clerici nostri timentes tunice sue magis quam consciencie de 35 non suo iudice suum iudicem fecerunt. Tirannidem ipsius experti didicerunt pro suis privilegiis et regni libertatibus tuendis de cetero velle contendere. In presenti relatu apparet nostros tunc prelatos et presules<sup>b</sup> defecisse vel ignaros nimium fuisse qui vel nec privilegia sua intelligentes nec ab huiusmodi gravaminibus Romanam curiam 40 provocantes <jacturam<sup>c</sup> passi sunt ultra modum>; ubi forte pro expensis mille marcarum exposita est summa etiam cum dedecore decem milium<sup>d</sup> librarum; propter quod tunc forte quidam religiosus attendens debilitatem nostrorum prelatorum et clericorum regnum istud in libertate conservare debencium sic suum trenom exorsus est 45 dicens:

“Papa, si attenderet huius regni statum,  
semper ad obsequia sua inclinatum,  
numquam tam ancipitem, ut Gualonem datum,  
nos omnes subicere permetteret legatum. 50

<sup>a</sup> + necleg<sup>r</sup> del.C  
<sup>b</sup> + nimium del.C + et clericos CA  
<sup>c</sup> + et obprobrium CA

<sup>d</sup> summa xxx<sup>m</sup> for decem milium CA  
<sup>e</sup> initial P two lines high C

they travelled through Scotland from Berwick to Aberdeen, moving from place to place as they pleased, and, on the advice of some who wished to please them, receiving everywhere costly procurations along with endless supplies of money and many gifts. They 15 postponed, however, the absolution of the bishops of the kingdom, the household clergy of the king and clerics with rich benefices who either had taken part in the war or had in some way ministered to the combatants; while the abbots and certain other prelates whom they had absolved they kept suspended from office until they had 20 more fully earned pardon from the legate himself. Therefore about the following Easter almost all the prelates of Scotland hurried to meet the legate to England at Northallerton; some of them he sent to Rome to be absolved; others he absolved there and then after being bribed with large sums of money; and several he either completely 25 deprived of their benefices or suspended until the demands of his greed might be agreeably satisfied. Now it happened by God's righteous judgment that because they had neglected to develop the privileges granted them a short while before by the court of Rome and had refused to follow sound advice in such dire straits, they could 30 be too intimidated by the false stories of the eminent legate Guala, since they had not experienced anything similar before. And it was just as Aesop in his fables tells us happened to a certain city – that a great mountain which towered above the city was in labour, as if it had a pain in its belly, and was emitting great groans. When the 35 whole city heard this it was afraid, and in the general commotion everyone was beside themselves. At length the mountain brought forth a mouse. In this way rumour flies and the thing which everyone in the grip of fear was regarding as a great evil came to nothing. That is why the poet says:

40 When the hill was in labour out came a silly little mouse.

And so our clergy, fearing more for their cassocks than for their consciences, accepted as their judge one who was not their judge. But once they had experienced his tyranny they learnt from that time on to struggle with a will to guard their privileges and the liberties 45 of the kingdom. In the story in question it appears that our prelates and bishops were at that time too weak or too ignorant since, by not understanding their privileges and not appealing to the papal curia about such wrongs, they suffered loss beyond measure; and where they might have perhaps spent one thousand marks on expenses they 50 ignominiously spent ten thousand pounds. For this reason perhaps a certain member of the regular clergy at the time, considering the weakness of our prelates and clerics whose duty it was to guard the liberty of the realm, composed the following lament:



Non fuit ecclesia quondam Scotiana  
 aliqua liberior ista in Romana.  
 Iam serva subicitur. Causa patet plana  
 Gualonis; quem suggerit ad hec gens prophana.

55

Duo a se clerici nos prestigiantes,  
 mittuntur qui nuncium durum sunt portantes.  
 Quicquid illi proferunt quasi prophanantes  
 creduntur, et simplices fallunt circumstantes.

60

Sunt predicti nuncii clerici caudati,  
 de terra perfidie falsa procreati:  
 quos illi decipiunt duo sophistrati,  
 nostri sunt terrigene Latino nudati.

65

Nostri dolor capitis in membra redundat;  
 quem sentimus singuli dolor hic inundat:  
 Gualonis, heu, nimium pietas habundat;  
 ut Scotos in posterum nos omnes confundat.

70

Ultra modum Gualonem Scoti formidamus;  
 totum quod expostulat illi ministramus:  
 et quod volet petere nisi tribuamus  
 dicit: 'Vos suspendimus, excommunicamus!'

75

Sed si nostri presules simul vellent stare,  
 et eius sententiam nichil formidare,  
 nos ipsum poterimus excommunicare  
 ratione simili, juris modo pare.

Est nobis superior ut nos tueatur,  
 papa; non suppetit neque persequatur:  
 quod suum est cuique reddere <putatur>,<sup>f</sup>  
 sed ab eo sepius missus debachatur.

*f* + cavatur [?] del.C

In reditu vero istorum duorum subdelegatorum subtilium ab Aber-  
 den', apud Lundorez ipsis hospitatis, per incuriam thalamus in quo  
 dormiebant igne succenditur. Unde de ipso fumo prior Dunelmensis

55 If the pope considered how this kingdom has always been inclined to  
 be obedient to him,  
 he would never find it so wavering that he would allow the legate Guala  
 to make subjects of us all.  
 There was once within the Roman church no church freer than the  
 Scottish church.  
 60 Now she is subjected as a slave. Guala's motive is plain to see; a wicked  
 people is urging him to do these things.  
 Two clerics are sent by them to deceive us, bearing a hard message.  
 No matter what profanities they utter, they are believed, and they  
 deceive their simple audience.  
 65 The said messengers are clerics with tails, bred in the false land of  
 treachery:  
 those whom these two tricksters deceive are our own compatriots who  
 do not know any Latin.  
 The pain in our head spreads into our limbs; the pain which each of us  
 feels is here overwhelming:  
 70 Guala's piety, alas! is too much for us, with the result that afterwards  
 he confused all us Scots.  
 We Scots are too afraid of Guala; everything that he demands we do  
 for him:  
 75 and if we do not give to him what he wants to get, he says: 'We suspend  
 you, we excommunicate you!'  
 But if our bishops would just make a stand, and not be afraid of his  
 sentence,  
 we shall excommunicate him, on the same grounds, with equal right.  
 80 The pope is our superior so as to protect us, not to trample on or  
 persecute us:  
 it is thought that his duty is to give each his own, but the one he sends  
 more often goes on the rampage.

As these two crafty subdelegates were on their way back from Aber-  
 den, they were staying the night at Lindores when the room in which  
 they were sleeping caught fire through carelessness; and the prior of



apud Coldingham expiravit. Collega suus Walterus de Wesebech  
 archidiaconus Eboracensis alias, ut reperi, de Hestridding, clericus 5  
 subdolos et subtilis, nescio quo instinctu omnes monachos albos infra  
 regnum Scocie auctoritate sua, que modica fuit, excommunicavit et<sup>a</sup>  
 a celebracione suspendit divinorum. Postea in die Palmarum et in  
 crastino apud Berwik celebravit consilium in quo omnes albos mon- 10  
 achos et eisdem communicantes excommunicatos publice denun-  
 ciavit. | Anno domini m<sup>o</sup> cc<sup>o</sup> xviii<sup>o</sup> rex Alexander missis nunciis  
 ad Romanam curiam renovavit privilegia predecessoribus suis olim  
 indulta, quia<sup>b</sup> repertum est legatum fines mandati excessisse circa  
 Scotos. Sed quia non fuit vocatum<sup>c</sup> ad curiam, respicere non convenit  
 ad emendam. Galo legatus in toto Anglicatus recessit de Anglia, et 15  
 Pandulphus clericus domini pape legatus per Angliam electus est in  
 episcopum Wincestrie. Ipso anno profecti sunt fere tam Wallie Scocie  
 quam Anglie omnes abbates albi ad consilium generale Cistercii  
 de arduis negociis sui ordinis tractaturi. <Et quia tunc missus fuit  
 Pandulphus electus Norwicensis a domino papa Honorio legatus 20  
 Anglie, revocatus est Gualo a legacione, qui fortissimos habebat  
 accusatores Rome, scilicet abbates ordinis Cisterciensis pro eo scilicet  
 quod ordinem superfluis probacionibus indebitis accusacionibus et  
 insolitis vexaverat gravaminibus contra privilegia ipsis ab apostolica  
 sede indulta. Tam prudenter autem et strenue idem abbates in defen- 25  
 sione sue libertatis se habuerunt quod in ipsa causa optinuerunt et  
 melioribus quam solebant autentici sunt privilegiis. Et insuper  
 quidam ipsorum abbatum in cardinales eo tunc promoti fuerunt.>  
 Profecti sunt eciam Rome de Scocia querende absolucionis gracia,  
 episcopi scilicet Walterus Glasguensis, Bricius Moraviensis et Adam 30  
 Cathanensis, qui benigne a papa recepti et de facili absoluti a quodam  
 cardinale; lepide sunt irrisi dicente eis in presencia pape quod piarum  
 mencium est crimen agnoscere ubi nec quidem culpa reperitur; et  
 anno sequenti prospere ad propria sunt reversi. Obit Otho olim  
 imperator,<sup>d</sup> cui non dico successit sed accessit Fredericus dictus 35  
 infans Pulie. Obit et Henricus abbas de Kalchou, cui successit Rich-  
 ardus prior eiusdem domus. Obit et David de Hontyndon<sup>e</sup>, de quo  
 supra. Ludovicus filius regis Francorum contra Albigenes resumit  
 crucis | signum. Quo in tempore treuga Christianorum et paganorum  
 expirante in primo passagio generali post consilium Lateranense 40  
 congregatus est exercitus Domini in Achon copiosus cum tribus  
 regibus: Jerosolim scilicet, Hungarie et Cipri. Affuit et dux Austrie  
 et dux Bavarrie magnaque milicia regni Theutonici, archiepiscopus

<sup>a</sup> excommunicavit et *interlin.*C

<sup>b</sup> *interlin. over ubi del.*C

<sup>c</sup> CA,R; provocationem D; vocatum [?] *perhaps*  
 with pro *interlin.*C

<sup>d</sup> + reprobatus CA

<sup>e</sup> + de Garioch et Levenax, dominus de  
 Dundee et Inverbervi, de London', For-  
 grond et Inchemertyn CA

G ii,42

fo.194v

Durham died at Coldingham from the effects of the smoke. His [1218:  
 5 colleague Walter de Wisbech the archdeacon of York (otherwise of 14 May]  
 the East Riding, as I have discovered), a crafty scheming cleric,  
 excommunicated, on I know not what impulse, all the Cistercian [25 Mar.]  
 monks within the kingdom of Scotland. This was done on his own  
 authority, which was limited. He also suspended them from cele-  
 10 brating the divine office. Then on Palm Sunday and on the following 8 Apr.  
 day he held a council at Berwick at which he publicly declared 9 Apr.  
 excommunicate all the Cistercian monks and those who had any  
 dealings with them.

In 1218 King Alexander sent messengers to the Roman curia to  
 15 renew the privileges formerly granted to his predecessors, because it  
 had been discovered that the legate had exceeded the limits of his  
 mandate as regards the Scots. But because no appeal had been made  
 to the curia, it was not thought appropriate to make any amends.

The legate Guala, who had become entirely English in outlook,  
 20 left England, and Pandulf, a clerk to the lord pope and legate for [Nov.]  
 England, was elected bishop of [Norwich].

In the same year nearly all the Cistercian abbots of Wales, Scotland  
 and England went to the general chapter at Cîteaux to discuss the  
 problems of their order. And because at that time Pandulf elect of  
 25 Norwich had been sent by the lord pope Honorius as legate to  
 England, Guala was recalled from his legation. This Guala had very  
 strong critics at Rome, namely the abbots of the Cistercian order.  
 This was because he had harassed the order with unnecessary inspec-  
 tions, undue accusations and unaccustomed complaints contrary to  
 30 the privileges granted them by the apostolic see. And so wisely and  
 energetically did these abbots conduct themselves in defence of their  
 liberty that they won their case and secured confirmation of better  
 privileges than before. And furthermore some of those abbots were  
 made cardinals at the same time. [1219]

Also the following bishops set off for Rome from Scotland to  
 35 request the grace of absolution, namely Walter of Glasgow, Brice of  
 Moray and Adam of Caithness. They were kindly received by the  
 pope and were absolved without difficulty by a certain cardinal. They [1218:  
 smiled good-humouredly when he said to them in the pope's presence June/Nov.]  
 40 that it is a fault of pious hearts to admit to guilt where there is no  
 guilt. And in the following year they returned home safely.

The death occurred of Otto the former emperor, whom Frederick [19 May]  
 (known as the Child of Apulia) I will not say succeeded but rather  
 overthrew.

45 The death also occurred of Henry abbot of Kelso, who was suc- [5 Oct.]  
 ceeded by Richard prior of that same house.

The death also occurred of David of Huntingdon, about whom [1219:  
 see above. 17 June]

quoque Nichossiensis et alii plures episcopi peregrini, itaque patri-  
 archa Jerosolitanus cum magna humilitate cleri et populi tollens 45  
 reverenter vivifice crucis lignum; imminente siquidem conflictu Sara-  
 cenorum cum Christianis tempore Salahadini crux fracta fuit, cuius  
 pars ad prelium delata ibi est amissa, alia pars reservata cum patri-  
 archa premissa custodita. Prima dominica Adventus Domini cum  
 legeretur evangelium: 'Ite in castellum quod contra vos est', multum 50  
 exinde exhilarati processerunt et absque sanguinis effusione Dami-  
 atam civitatem inexpugnabilem virtute crucis ceperunt innu-  
 merabilibus<sup>f</sup> gazis et diviciis refertam; non minore miraculo civitatem  
 munitissimam Thanez, de qua dicit David:<sup>g</sup> 'Coram patribus eorum  
 fecit mirabilia magna in campo Thaneos.' Ad hanc expeditionem 55  
 post crucis predicacionem excitati undique milites et communes,  
 maxime ex provinciis Coloniensi, Bremensi, Treverensi per signa que  
 apparuerunt in celo; nam in provincia Coloniensi mense maio feria  
 vi ante | Penthec' triplex forma crucis apparuit in aere una candida  
 versus aquilonem, alia eiusdem coloris versus meridiem, tertia viridis 60  
 habens crucis patibulum et figuram hominis suspensam elevatis bra-  
 chiis et extensis cum infixione clavorum in manibus et pedibus capite  
 inclinato. Hec media fuit inter alias duas. Similes appariciones vise  
 sunt in predictis aliis provinciis. Hec famosissima civitas Damieta,  
 postquam fere per triennium a Christianis obsideretur, capitur; <de 65  
 qua habentur huiusmodi metra:

Anno sub nono decimo cum mille ducentis  
 capta fuit celebris nonis Damiata decembris.>

<sup>f</sup> D; innumerabilibus C

<sup>g</sup> psalmista CA

G ii,43

Louis the son of the king of the French took up the cross against [16 May]  
 50 the Albigensians.

At this time on the first general expedition after the Lateran Coun-  
 cil, when the truce between the Christians and the pagans had  
 expired, a large army of the Lord gathered in Acre with three kings – [1217:  
 of Jerusalem, Hungary and Cyprus. The dukes of Austria and Bava- Sept.]  
 55 ria were also present, as was a large body of knights from the  
 kingdom of Germany, as well as the archbishop of Nicosia and  
 several other bishops who were on pilgrimage there. Thereupon the  
 patriarch of Jerusalem reverently raised the wood of the living cross [3 Nov.]  
 whilst the clergy and people prostrated themselves. (At the time of  
 60 a recent conflict between the Saracens and the Christians at the time  
 of Saladin the cross was broken – the part that had been carried  
 into battle was lost, the other part was kept guarded by the afore-  
 mentioned patriarch.) On the first Sunday of Advent, when the gospel 3 Dec.  
 reading was: 'Go into the village opposite', they were much heartened  
 65 by this, and they went forth and by the power of the cross they  
 captured the impregnable city of Damietta, which was full of count- [1219:  
 less treasures and riches, without shedding a drop of blood. By no 5 Nov.]  
 less a miracle they took the fortified city of Tanis, about which David [23 Nov.]  
 70 says: 'He performed miracles in their fathers' sight on the plain of  
 Tanis.'

Knights and commoners from all over took part in this campaign,  
 aroused by the preaching of the crusade, especially from the prov-  
 inces of Cologne, Bremen and Trier, because of signs which had  
 appeared in the sky; for in the province of Cologne in the month of  
 75 May on the Saturday before Whitsun three crosses had appeared in [1217:  
 the sky – one was white and pointed north, the other, also white, 13 May]  
 pointed south, while a third was green and was like the cross of  
 the crucifixion with the figure of a man hanging with raised and  
 outstretched arms, with nails piercing his hands and feet, and his  
 80 head leaning to one side. This cross was in the middle between the  
 other two. Similar visions were seen in the other above-mentioned  
 provinces.

This world-famous city of Damietta was taken after a siege by the  
 Christians of almost three years. The following rhyme has been  
 85 written about it:

It was in the year one thousand two hundred and nineteen  
 on the Nones of December that famous Damietta was captured.

*De capcione Jerosolim per Corradinum Turquie soldanum<sup>a</sup>  
et desponsacione regis nostri*

Anno gracie m<sup>o</sup> cc<sup>o</sup> xix regina civitatum Jerosolim, que videbatur  
inexpugnabiliter munita, destructa est a Corradino filio Saphaldini;  
foris et intus muri enim cum turribus redacti sunt in acervis lapidum  
preter templum Domini et turrin David. De Sepulcro glorioso  
destruendo consilium habuerunt Sarraceni, et per literas insi-  
nuaverunt civibus Damiete capcionem Jerosolim ad eorum con-  
solacionem petentes consilium de sepulcro destruendo, quia huic  
temeritati nemo manus apponere de facili presumpsit. Hoc anno  
obiit Willelmus del Valon<sup>b</sup> et apud Melros in capitulo est sepultus,  
et similiter Gervasius de Avenal. Obiit eciam Radulphus abbas de  
Melros, cui successit Adam abbas de Neubotil.

Anno sequenti Alexander rex Scocie circa festum Trinitatis apud  
Eboracum sub salvo conductu occurrit regi Henrico; et habito inter  
se diligenti tractatu de deducenda primogenita sorore regis Anglie,  
et rex Anglie de maritandis condigne sororibus regis Scocie, quas  
olim ut predictum est maritandas suscepit pater eius, prestito  
utrimque corporali juramento coram Pandulpho quodam<sup>c</sup> legato  
Anglie et aliis pluribus utriusque regni proceribus se obligaverunt; et  
sic pace firmata reversus est rex Scocie ad sua. Qui eciam rex Scocie  
anno sequenti cum magno apparatu et multitudine copiosa nobilium  
eciam sub salvo conductu post Penthecost<sup>7</sup> perrexit Eboracum sicut  
anno precedenti inter reges conductum fuerat, ubi desponsavit pre-  
dictam sororem regis Anglie puellam adhuc etatis tenerime feria vi  
ante Nativitatem Beati Johannis Baptiste cum magna utriusque  
partis leticia, et continue rex Scocie ad propria prospere rediit cum  
sua sponsa. Hec cum adulta fuisset ad decentem et speciosissimam  
pervenit formositatem. Eodem anno rex coacto exercitu de Laudonia  
et Galwallia et aliis provinciis circumadjacentibus navigavit in  
Erthgael. Sed orta tempestate redire compulsus quamvis cum per-  
iculo salvus applicuit apud Glasgw. Sed in anno sequenti post Pen-  
thecost<sup>7</sup> exercitum in Erthgael reduxit quia multis de causis offensus  
erat indigenis. | Timentes autem Erthgalenses quidam datis obsidibus  
et multa pecunia in pace sunt recepti. Alii quidem qui amplius regis

G ii,44

<sup>a</sup> chapter number occurs here, i.e. rest of title  
is an addition C

<sup>b</sup> Valoniis CA  
<sup>c</sup> om. CA

*The capture of Jerusalem by Corradin sultan of Turkey;  
and the marriage of our king*

- In 1219 Jerusalem the queen of cities, which seemed impregnable  
fortified, was destroyed by Corradin son of Saphadin. The walls both  
inside and outside were reduced to rubble, as were the towers – all  
except the Temple of the Lord and the Tower of David. The Saracens  
discussed whether to destroy the glorious Holy Sepulchre, and sent  
letters to the citizens of Damietta to inform them of the capture of  
Jerusalem. At the same time as a consolation for them they sought  
advice about whether to destroy the Holy Sepulchre, because nobody  
lightly presumed to lay hands on it so boldly.
- In this year the death occurred of William de Valognes; he was  
buried in the chapter-house at Melrose, as was Gervase de Avenal.  
The death also occurred of Radulf abbot of Melrose, who was  
succeeded by Adam abbot of Newbattle.
- In the following year at about the time of the feast of Trinity  
Alexander king of Scotland went to York under a safe conduct to  
meet King Henry. There they had serious discussions about a mar-  
riage for [Alexander and] the eldest sister of the king of England.  
The king of England [also discussed] honourable marriages for the  
sisters of the king of Scotland. Some time before this, as has already  
been said, King Henry's father had taken them into his family in  
order to find husbands for them. The two kings now made a firm  
commitment to each other, both taking an oath on the body of Christ  
in the presence of a certain Pandulf the legate to England, as well as  
of many other nobles of both kingdoms. With peace thus assured  
the king of Scotland returned home.
- The following year after Whitsun, likewise under a safe conduct,  
the king of Scotland proceeded to York with great pomp, escorted  
by a large company of nobles, as had been agreed upon by the kings  
the previous year. And there on the Saturday before the feast of the  
Nativity of the blessed John the Baptist amidst great joy on both  
sides he married the above-mentioned sister of the king of England,  
a girl still tender in years. And immediately the king of Scotland  
returned home a happy man with his wife. When she grew up, she  
was seemly, very attractive and beautiful.
- In the same year the king gathered an army from Lothian and  
Galloway and the other nearby provinces and sailed to Argyll. But

1219:  
[19 Mar.]

[1 June]  
[6 Aug.]

1220:  
24 May

[15 June]

1221:  
30 May

19 June

1221

animus offenderant relictis prediis et possessionibus fugerunt. Dominus autem rex tam terras ipsorum quam bona<sup>d</sup> contulit hiis qui 35  
eum fuerant secuti pro sua voluntate; sicque pacifice cum suis reversus est.<sup>e</sup> Hubertus de Burgo justiciarius Anglie desponsavit Margaritam sororem regis Alexandri apud Londonias dominica proxima post festum Sancti Michaelis presente rege Anglie Henrico et eam tradente coram | optimatibus Anglie. Hoc anno obiit bone memorie 40  
Radulphus abbas de Kinlos,<sup>f</sup> cui successit Robertus abbas de Deer. Qui Radulphus quanti meriti penes deum fuerit estimatus quod sequitur iudicat.

d + mobilia CA  
e + Eodem anno CA

f interlin. over Cup del.C

## 35

*De domino Radulpho abbate de Kinlos*

Contigit anno domini m° cc° xiv ut dominus Radulphus abbas de Kinlos secundum statuta ordinis Cistercii in ordine vicis sue cum quibusdam coabbatibus eiusdem ordinis generale capitulum Cisterciense adire teneretur;<sup>a</sup> quibus cum transfretasset, quadam die unus conversorum coqus, qui abbatibus ministrare solebat, labori eorum 5  
et lassitudini compaciens, zelum habens sed non secundum scientiam, ad eorum refeccionem pisces quales reperire potuit emit, et ad opus garcionum carnes habundanter comparavit. De quarum carniū pinguedine per fervorem ignis in olla supernatante non modicam quantitatem ceteris ignorantibus idem conversus clam collegit, et in pulmentum abbatum secrete projecit, ita scilicet<sup>b</sup> ut, si quisquam illorum de pinguedine pulmenti quicquam interrogasset, ipse se butirum in pulmentum misisse responderet. Cum igitur abbates que eis apponebantur more solito commedissent, nichil interrogantes propter conscientiam ymmo super huiusmodi nullam 10  
suspicionem habentes, secundum consuetudinem post refeccionem quiete membra dederunt. Ceteris igitur omnibus post laborem alto 15

a + cum del.C

b D,R; silicet C

he was forced by a storm to turn back and survived the danger to reach Glasgow safely. But in the following year after Whitsun he led his army back into Argyll because the inhabitants had given him 1222:  
much cause for offence. Some of the people of Argyll then took fright 22 May  
and offered hostages and a lot of money to be received into his peace; whereas others who had offended the king more fled leaving behind their property and possessions. Then the lord king gave their lands and goods to those who had followed him as he pleased. And so he 40  
returned home peacefully with his men. 45

Hubert de Burgh justiciar of England married Margaret the sister of King Alexander in London on the Sunday after Michaelmas in the presence of Henry king of England, who gave her away at a gathering of the nobility of England. [1221:] 3 Oct.

50 In this same year the death occurred of Radulf of blessed memory, abbot of Kinloss. He was succeeded by Robert abbot of Deer. This Radulf was considered very worthy in the eyes of God, as the following evidence shows. [1220:] 2 Nov.]

## 35

*Sir Radulf abbot of Kinloss*

In 1214 it happened that it was the turn of sir Radulf abbot of Kinloss to go to the general Cistercian chapter with certain fellow abbots of the Cistercian order according to the statutes of that order. And so with them he crossed the sea. One day one of the lay brothers, 1214  
a cook, who usually looked after the abbots, taking pity on their exhausting hardships, and having more zeal than sense, bought for 5  
their meal such fish as he was able to find, as well as procuring a great deal of meat for the servants. Without the others knowing this same lay brother secretly collected not a little of the fat of this meat, 10  
which because of the heat of the fire was swimming on the top of the oil; he then secretly poured it on the abbots' dish in such a way that if any of them questioned him about the fat in their dish, he would reply that he had put butter into it. And so when the abbots ate what was put down in front of them, in the usual way, their consciences 15  
did not prompt them to ask any questions. On the contrary they did not suspect that anything was amiss. Then after their meal they lay down for a rest, as was their custom. All the others, weary with toil, immediately fell into a deep sleep; but the said abbot of Kinloss, while meditating on I know not what psalm or customary prayer,

sopore statim depressis, predictus abbas de Kinlos nescio quid psal-  
 morum vel consuetarum oracionum ruminans per fenestram a terra  
 longius erectam quemdam nigerimum et aspectu horribilem Ethi- 20  
 opem fenestra tamen integra ingredientem contuetur. Ad cuius aspec-  
 tum cruce se muniens eventum rei tacite prestolatur. At ille hospes  
 funestus singillatim dormiencium lecta perlustrans quasi quid odore  
 sapidum et sibi satis placitum senciens cum aliquantulam moram  
 ante singulos fecisset cachinnans et letus recessit. Sed cum ante lec- 25  
 tum memorati conversi venisset, illi pre ceteris applaudere et quasi  
 oscula geminata offerre et eum ulnis amplecti et quasi de beneficio  
 sibi impenso inclinare ac gratias agere morosius non cessavit. Ante  
 predictum vero abbatem Ethiops transiens et ipsum torvo oculo  
 intuens propius non ausus accedere, per fenestram clausam ab oculis 30  
 intuentis sicut fumus elabatur. Abbas autem quid nam hec visio  
 significaret et cur pre ceteris ante lectum conversi ille nequam hospes  
 majori gaudio exultaret, dubitare cepit ne idem conversus | quicquam  
 admisisset quod vel Spiritum Sanctum offenderet vel nequam spi-  
 ritum letificasset. Meridiana igitur finita conversum abbas accersivit 35  
 et clam eum conveniens, quid ceteris dormientibus viderit ei plenius  
 intimavit. 'Certus sum', inquit, 'quod nisi plus ceteris in aliquo  
 offenderes, nequaquam malignus spiritus, qui semper de bono opere  
 nostro contristatur et de nostris excessibus gratulatur, tibi pre ceteris  
 applausisset.' Conversus sibi conscius mox pedibus patris prostratus 40  
 geste rei seriem ei pandit per ordinem; et confessione facta et peni-  
 tencia suscepta deinceps nichil tale presumpsit nec de huiusmodi  
 presumptione contra statuta ordinis se aliquatinus intromisit. Quam  
 exultabundus ergo erit ille pestifer fratribus illis qui contra ordinis  
 statuta carnes manducare presumunt.<sup>c</sup> 45

G ii,45

<sup>c</sup> caret mark here, but no marginal material  
 corresponding C; misinterpreted by R to  
 read presumuntur

### *De legacione Georgianorum*

Interea civitas Damiata obsidione longa ut prefatur ferro, fame et  
 pestilencia graviter et ultra quam scribi potest afflicta, et novissime  
 a nostris sola Dei manu capta.

20 observed entering through a window which was high above the  
 ground but which remained intact a pitch-black Ethiopian with a  
 horrible appearance. On seeing this figure he made the sign of the  
 cross and silently waited to see what would happen. The sinister  
 guest examined each one of the beds of the sleepers, and as if smelling  
 25 something delightful and satisfying he lingered for a little by each  
 one, chuckling; then with a big smile he moved on. But when he  
 came to the bed of the above-mentioned lay brother, he kept applaud-  
 ing him above the rest for a long time and as it were giving him kiss  
 after kiss, and embracing him in his arms, and bending down and  
 30 thanking him as if for a blessing he had bestowed upon him. Then  
 the Ethiopian went past the said abbot, glaring at him fiercely but  
 not daring to come any closer. And he slipped away from the abbot's  
 sight through the closed window like smoke. Then the abbot, [won-  
 dering] what this vision could mean and why the vile visitor had  
 35 gloated beside the bed of the lay brother more than beside all the  
 rest, started to wonder whether this lay brother might have done  
 something which had either offended the Holy Spirit or pleased the  
 Evil One. And so when they had finished their afternoon nap, the  
 abbot summoned the lay brother and met with him secretly to  
 40 describe to him in detail what he had seen while the others slept,  
 saying: 'I am certain that unless you have given offence in some way  
 more than the others, the Evil One, who is always saddened by  
 our good works and delighted by our excesses, would never have  
 applauded you above the rest.' The lay brother, immediately con-  
 45 scious of his sin and prostrating himself at the father's feet, revealed  
 to him the chain of events in the order in which they had happened.  
 And having made his confession and received his penance he never  
 presumed to do the like again nor acted in any way with such  
 presumption against the statutes of the order. And so you can see  
 50 how the Deadly One will be delighted when brothers presume to eat  
 meat contrary to the statutes of their order.

### *The mission from the Georgians*

Meanwhile the city of Damietta, as already mentioned, was sorely  
 afflicted by a long siege, the sword, famine and disease, beyond what  
 can be written, and was newly captured by our men through the [1219:  
 hand of God alone. 5 Nov.]

Fama per totum orbem discurrens aures Georgianorum pulsavit. Qui literas ad castra catholicorum transmiserunt in quibus persuasum est quod indignata gens illa Georgianica vel excitata rubore, rege eorum convocante principes decrevit et iuravit se obsessurum famosam aliquam civitatem Saracenorum, allegans sibi verecundum esse quod Franci de transmarinis partibus et ultimis terre finibus venientes per mare spaciosum periculis plenum tam munitam civitatem obsidione longa cepissent, nisi et ipsi quibus erat facilius perfidos impugnare Damascus vel alium locum nominatum virtute armata caperent. Sunt igitur Georgiani cultores Christi ritus habentes Grecorum, Persis vicini, longo terrarum tractu a Terra Promissionis distantes quorum dominium extenditur usque Aspios montes. Sed hoc tempore scilicet anno gracie m<sup>o</sup> cc xx Tartari Georgiam intraverunt et eam vastaverunt. Quo in anno Coradinus princeps Damasci destruxit Sapheth, quod fuit castrum firmissimum quod Saladinus flagellum Christianorum per longam obsidionem in tantum arctavit ut defensores fame deficientes requisita licencia Magistri Milicie Templi redderent illud tyranno, quod et factum est.

fo.195v

Et de consilio nostrorum et Magistri Milicie Templi cum Damiata commutatum, quod cum multis laboribus captum per | annum vel paulo amplius a nostris est concessum.

G ii,46

Post destructionem Georgianorum intraverunt Tartari Majorem Armeniam eam vastantes sibi subjecerunt. In Armenia est civitas nobilis que Ani vocatur, ubi sunt mille ecclesie ac centum milia familie domus inhabitate, quam Tartari ceperunt in xii diebus. Est etiam ibi prope Ani mons Arath; ibi requievit archa Noe; et in pede montis ipsius est prima civitas quam edificavit ibi Noe et vocatur Ladinine. Circa illam defluit fluvius Arachasi, qui fluit per medium Mongan. Est autem mons ille Arath mons excelsissimus, nec umquam illuc ascendisse dicitur homo nisi monachus unus. Ille siquidem devocionis | ardore commotus propter archam Noe, que ibi requievit, multociens illuc ascendere quibus potuit conatibus attemptavit. Cumque aliquam partem montis ascenderat et membra corporis fatigata quieti dabat, semper post quietem evigilans in pede montis se inveniebat. Tandem vero Dominus eius affectui condescendens eiusque votum et oraciones exaudiens per angelum suum eum monuit ut semel ascenderet ita tamen ut de cetero ascendere ullatenus non temptaret. Tunc ergo securus ascendit, et postea descendens inde secum ex archa unum asserem detulit. Et in montis pede monasterium edificavit, in quo eundem asserem pro sacris reliquiis devote collocavit.

<[Hoc anno translacio Sancti]<sup>a</sup> Thome martiris, unde:

Anno [milleno]<sup>a</sup> biscentenoque viceno  
sunt translata sacri martiris ossa Thome.

[Hoc etiam anno quidam]<sup>a</sup> canonicus de Scona Innocencius nomine

<sup>a</sup> D;lac.C

- 5 The news travelled fast throughout the world and came to the ears of the Georgians, who sent letters to the camp of the catholics saying that the Georgian people were indignant and ashamed [at the news]; and so their king had called together the princes, and they had decided and sworn that they would lay siege to some famous city of the Saracens.
- 10 They stated that they would be ashamed that the Franks, coming as they did from parts across the sea and from the ends of the earth by the wide sea fraught with dangers, had captured such a fortified town after a long siege, unless those for whom it was easier to attack the treacherous ones took Damascus or some other specific place by force of arms. For the Georgians worship Christ according to the rites of the Greeks; as neighbours to the Persians they are separated from the Promised Land by a long stretch of territory; and their dominion stretches as far as the Caucasus Mountains. But at this time, namely 1220, the Tartars entered Georgia and laid it waste.
- 20 In this year also Corradin prince of Damascus destroyed Safad. [1219] This was a very strongly fortified castle which Saladin the scourge of Christians had besieged for a long time with the aim that the defenders, weak with hunger, should ask permission from the Master of the Knights Templar, and surrender it to the tyrant. And this is in fact what happened. [1188]
- 25 [6 Dec.]

On the advice of our men and of the Master of the Knights Templar it was [now] exchanged for Damiatta, which had been taken with much effort and which we then gave away after a year or a little more. [1221: 8 Sept.]

- 30 After the destruction of the Georgians the Tartars entered Greater Armenia, laid it waste and made it subject to them. In Armenia there is a noble city called Ani, where there are one thousand churches and one hundred thousand houses occupied by families. The Tartars took this city in twelve days. Mount Ararat is also there near Ani. This was where Noah's Ark came to rest. At the foot of the mountain there is the first city that Noah built and it is called Ladinine, around which flows the river Araxes, which flows through the middle of Mughan. But Mount Ararat is extremely high, and it is said that no man has ever climbed it with the exception of one monk. In fact this man, moved by the ardour of devotion on account of Noah's Ark, which had come to rest there, often used to try to climb it with all his might. But every time he had climbed a certain way up and rested his tired limbs, he would always wake up after his rest to find himself at the foot of the mountain. But at length the Lord, granting his desire and hearing his vow and his prayers, sent an angel to tell him to climb the mountain once, but after that never to try in any way to climb it again. So then he climbed it safely, and when he came back down he brought with him a plank from the Ark. He built a monastery at the foot of the mountain in which he devoutly placed this same plank as a holy relic.



factus est prior apud Insulam Missarum, amoto quodam Scotico propter insufficienciam. [Hoc eciam congregati]<sup>a</sup> sunt omnes prelati Scocie ad mandatum domini Egidii nuncii apostolici, ubi recepit 50 vicesimam partem omnium bonorum ecclesiasticorum [trium annorum]<sup>a</sup> in succursum Terre Sancte sicut provisum fuerat in consilio Lateranensi. Et consequenter venit in Scociam alius legatus magister Jacobus [canonicus Sancti]<sup>a</sup> Victoris, qui dispensavit ut Innocencius prior Insule Missarum de priore abbas fieret et sui sequaces; qui 55 benedictionem recepit [ab episcopo]<sup>a</sup> Dumblanensi.>

<sup>a</sup> D;lac.C

## 37

*De martirio episcopi Cathanen' et aliis incidentibus*

Anno domini m° ccxxi magister Jacobus canonicus Sancti Victoris Parisius apostolice sedis penitencialis Scocie et Hibernie legatus convocatis tocius regni<sup>a</sup> prelati apud Perth tenuit generale consilium iv<sup>or</sup> continuis diebus. Anno sequenti obiit Bricius episcopus Moraviensis, cui successit magister Andreas de Moravia. Quo anno pastor 5 egregius Adam episcopus Katanensis quondam abbas de Melros post multas passiones una cum monacho suo Serlone celestium promeruit consorcium. Post minas enim sevissimas impiorum, post livorem vulnerum et cruenta vulnera, post fustes Jacobi, post lapides Stephani, tandem incendium perpressus Laurencii, in propria domo, 10 que Hawkirk dicitur, concrematus est. Cuius corpus torridum ex incendio et lividum ex lapicidio integrum sub acervo lapidum post incendium reperitur et in ecclesia honorifice sepelitur. Pro eo autem quod decimas et alia jura ecclesiastica a suis subditis exigebat. Ab 15 eisdem furia succensis et in unum congregatis plus quam trecentis viris die dominica infra octabas Nativitatis Beate Marie, <lapidatus> captus verberatus ligatus vulneratus nudatus et in coquinam pro-

<sup>a</sup> + legatis del.C

50 This was the year of the translation of St Thomas the Martyr, [1220: about which is written: 7 July]

In the year one thousand two hundred and twenty the bones of the holy martyr Thomas were translated.

Also in this year a canon of Scone called Innocent became prior 1220 at Inchaffray, on the removal of a certain Scot because of his inadequacy.

Also in this year all the prelates of Scotland met together on the order of sir Giles the papal nuncio. At this meeting he collected the twentieth part of all ecclesiastical goods for a period of three years 1220 as aid for the Holy Land, as had been ordered at the Lateran Council.

60 And subsequently another legate came to Scotland – Master James [1221] a canon of St Victor – who decreed that Prior Innocent of Inchaffray should become an abbot, as should his successors, and he received his blessing from the bishop of Dunblane.

## 37

*The martyrdom of the bishop of Caithness and other events*

In 1221 Master James a canon of St Victor at Paris, penitentiary of 1221 the apostolic see and legate to Scotland and Ireland, summoned the prelates of the whole kingdom to Perth, where he held a general [9-12 Feb.] council which lasted for four days on end.

5 In the following year the death occurred of Brice bishop of Moray. 1222 He was succeeded by Master Andrew de Moravia.

This year that illustrious pastor Adam bishop of Caithness, formerly abbot of Melrose, along with Serlo his monk earned the fellowship of the saints after much suffering. For after the savage 1222 threats of impious men, after the malice of injuries and bloody wounds, after the clubs of James and the stones of Stephen, at length he suffered the fire of Laurence by being burnt in his own house called Halkirk. His body scorched by the fire and bruised by the stoning was found whole beneath a heap of stones after the fire, and 15 was given an honourable burial in the church. All this happened because he demanded teinds and other ecclesiastical rights from those in his jurisdiction. They became inflamed with rage, and more than 300 men assembled in one place on the Sunday within the week after 11 Sept. the [feast of the] Nativity of the Blessed Mary. And he was stoned

priam projectus igne succensam combustus est, occisis prius monacho suo socio et uno servorum. Comes autem Katanie Johannes quamvis in proximo maneret et confluentem | undique populum armatum vidisset, eciam de auxilio ferendo a quibusdam eiusdem episcopi servientibus requisitus, dissimulavit dicens: 'Si timet episcopus ad me veniat.' Unde et eiusdem sceleris conscius a multis credebatur. Dominus autem rex Alexander, cum esset in procinctu itineris versus Angliam, pro regni sui negociis apud Jedwod constitutus, et huius sceleris fama certis nunciis ad eum perlata fuisset, omissis eisdem negociis, ut vir catholicus et princeps a Deo constitutus, coacto exercitu Katanniam usque profectus est. Predictus autem comes, quamvis suam probaret innocentiam bonorum virorum testimonio, quod eisdem flagiciosus nullum prestitisset<sup>b</sup> favorem vel consilium, tamen quia protinus ab eis dignam non expecit vindictam, magnam partem terre sue cum magna pecunie summa regi pro impetranda ipsius gracia concessit. Multos eciam ex ipsis qui hoc facinus perpetrabant puniendos tradidit, quos membris truncatos rex diversis affligi<sup>c</sup> fecit tormentis. <Cui successit magister Gilbertus archidiaconus Moravie.><sup>d</sup> Willelmus abbas de Sancta Cruce acquiescente conventu a legato Jacobo eiusdem religionis canonico a cura pastoralis officii absolutus est. Cui successit<sup>e</sup> Willelmus filius Owini vir fere in omnibus<sup>f</sup> commendabilis, quia a primevo inconstancie vicem<sup>g</sup> laboravit.

b S; preteritisset C,D  
c CA; affligi C,D  
d + Eodem anno CA

e + Owinus filius del.C  
f in omnibus om.CA  
g C,D; vicio CA

### *De successore episcopi Adam*

Electus est ad episcopum Catanie Gilbertus archidiaconus Moravie domino rege presente cum exercitus sui optimatibus. Quo facto rex cum suis, quamvis<sup>a</sup> maxima tunc temporis esset tempestas et pluviarum inundacio, sospes ad propria Deo dante reversus est. Dum hec itaque agerentur, timentes prelati Scocie ne si tanta fama flagicii

a -vis interlin.C

20 by them, seized, beaten, bound, wounded, stripped and thrown into his own kitchen, which had been set on fire, and there he was burnt to death. Before this they killed the monk who was his companion, as well as one of his servants. But Earl John of Caithness, although he stayed nearby and had seen the people in arms converging from all sides, when asked by some of the bishop's servants to come and help, ignored what was going on, saying: 'If the bishop is afraid, let him come to me.' And it was because of this that many believed him to be party to this crime.

But our lord king Alexander, as he was on the point of setting out for England and had halted at Jedburgh to settle some business of his realm, was brought the news of this crime by trustworthy messengers. So he put that business aside and, raising an army as became a catholic man and a prince ordained by God, he set out for Caithness. Though the aforesaid earl proved on the testimony of good men that he was innocent and had offered no support or advice to those ruffians, yet because he had not immediately sought to take appropriate vengeance on them, had to give up a great part of his lands and a large sum of money to the king in order to win his favour. He likewise handed over for punishment many of those who had done this deed; and the king had their limbs cut off and subjected them to various tortures.

Adam was succeeded by master Gilbert archdeacon of Moray.

William abbot of Holyrood was relieved of responsibility for his pastoral office by the legate James, a canon of the same order, with the consent of the convent. He succeeded by William son of Owini a man commendable in almost every way, because he had from his youth worked [to avoid] the vice of inconstancy.

[1221: ca  
Feb.-Apr.]

### *Bishop Adam's successor*

Gilbert archdeacon of Moray was elected bishop of Caithness in the presence of the lord king and the chief men of his army. After this the king and his men returned home safe and sound as a gift from God, although there was at the time a very great storm and floods of rain. Now while this was going on the prelates of Scotland (fearing lest, if news of such a great atrocity reached our lord pope, he would perhaps send a legate or a nuncio to make enquiries into what had

[1222]

ad dominum papam perveniret et ad inquirendum de facto forte  
legatum mitteret aut nuncium, quia multum verebantur insatiabilem  
vora- | ginem legatorum, quam paulo ante experti sunt, per nuncios  
proprios eidem summo pontifici et rei veritatem et zelum regis in  
ulcionem significaverunt delicti. Qui et ipsorum industriam et regis 10  
propositum plurimum commendavit. Consequenter anno sequenti  
statim post Penthec' Cantuariam peregre rex<sup>b</sup> proficiscitur, et rede-  
undo cum rege Henrico aliquotam moram faciens et de communi  
bono tractans utriusque regni, circa autumpnum prospere rediit ad  
propria cum festinatione pergens in Moraviam. Vigilia Sancti Thome 15  
apostoli tanta et tam subita tempestas nivis et venti exorta est ut  
similis eatenus visa non fuerit tanto tempore, <de quo habebatur in  
memoria tunc vivencium super terram.> Per plurima etenim loca  
homines periclitabantur et pecora; sed Deo dante infra diem tercium  
tempestatis violencia conquievit, quamvis nix ipsa et propter con- 20  
gelacionem et propter sui profunditatem iter viantibus, pascua peco-  
ribus et eciam aquam molendinis preriperet. <De hac tempestate  
metra:

G ii,48

Anno milleno biscentenoque viceno  
tris vigili [Thome apostolique beati]<sup>c</sup>  
tempestas fuerat horrida facta nimis>.

25

Dominus rex tenuit Natale suum apud Forfare, cui occurrit comes  
Katanie, et ibidem data pecunia recuperavit terram illam a rege quam  
anno preterito quietam clamavit pro morte et combustione presulis  
memorati. Nec tamen impune sibi comiti contigit illud scelus, nam 30  
transactis deinde septem annis idem comes a suis inimicis cir-  
cumseptus in domo propria occisus est et combustus, ut verificetur  
quod scriptum est:<sup>d</sup>

Rebus in humanis non est lex equior ulla  
quam necis<sup>e</sup> artificem nece<sup>f</sup> perire sua.

35

Per idem tempus emeruerunt quidam iniqui de genere<sup>g</sup> MacWillam  
scilicet Gillascop et filii eius et Rodericus in extremis Scocie finibus;  
qui cum regnum opprimere vi niterentur, tradidit eos Deus cum suis  
fautoribus in manus regis, qui de ipsis iudicio expedito, terra de  
cetero ab eorum malicia<sup>h</sup> conquievit. Isabella soror regis Alexandri 40  
anno sequenti id est m<sup>o</sup> cc<sup>o</sup> xxiii<sup>o</sup> rediit ad fratrem de custodia regis  
Anglie adhuc innupta. Obiit Willelmus abbas de Dunf<sup>r</sup>. Et Johannes  
rex Jerosolimorum ex amissione Damiete et debilitate suorum ultra  
modum dolens effectus a partibus transmarinis transfretat cum

<sup>b</sup> in red ink for no obvious reason C  
<sup>c</sup> D; lac. C  
<sup>d</sup> dicit poeta for scriptum est CA  
<sup>e</sup> interlin. over quem del. C

<sup>f</sup> arte CA  
<sup>g</sup> D, R; genero C  
<sup>h</sup> a concursancium sevicia for ab eorum  
malicia CA

happened) made known to that supreme pontiff by messengers of  
their own both the truth of the matter and the king's zeal in avenging  
10 the crime. They did this because they were afraid of the insatiable  
greed of legates, which they had recently experienced. The pope  
highly commended both their diligence and the king's intentions.

Consequently in the following year immediately after Whitsun the 1223: 11  
king set off on a pilgrimage to Canterbury, on his way back staying June  
15 a short while with King Henry to discuss the common good of  
both kingdoms. Then around autumn he returned home safely and  
hurriedly made his way to Moray.

On the eve of the feast of St Thomas the Apostle a great blizzard 20 Dec.  
suddenly sprang up, the like of which had not before been seen  
20 [lasting] for so long, as far as those alive on the land at the time could  
remember. For in many places men and cattle perished. But God  
granted that the violence of the storm abated on the third day,  
although the snow on account of its freezing and its depth removed  
the road from travellers, grazing from cattle, and even the water  
25 from the mills. There is a verse about this storm:

In the year one thousand two hundred and twenty-three,  
on the eve of the feast of the blessed Thomas the Apostle,  
there was a most dreadful storm.

While the lord king celebrated Christmas at Forfar, the earl of 25 Dec.  
30 Caithness came to meet him, and there after handing over money  
recovered from the king the land which he had made over the year  
before [as reparation] for the death and burning of the bishop already  
mentioned. However the earl did not escape punishment for that  
crime, for when seven years had elapsed that same earl was hemmed  
35 in by his foes in his own house, killed and burnt. Which only goes [1231]  
to show the truth of the following lines:

There is no juster law in human affairs  
than that the murderer perishes by violent death himself.

During this same period some wicked men of the race of MacWil- [1223?]  
40 liam, namely Gillescop and his sons and Roderic, appeared in  
the furthest limits of Scotland. But when they strove to overwhelm over  
the kingdom by force, God delivered them and their accomplices  
into the king's hands. Once he had brought them summarily to  
justice, the land was no longer troubled by their wickedness.  
45 The following year, that is 1223, Isabella the sister of King Alex- [1223]  
ander returned to her brother from the custody of the king of  
England, still unmarried.

The death occurred of William abbot of Dunfermline.

John king of the people of Jerusalem, reduced to grieving beyond  
50 measure at the loss of Damietta and the weakness of his men, sailed

paucis in Galliam petiturus subsidium a rege. Fredericus Romano-  
rum imperator signo crucis assumpto ducit uxorem per verba de  
presenti unicam filiam ipsius regis Jerosolim et hoc juramento  
affirmat coram papa Honorio. Anno autem sequenti celebrantur  
nupcie solemniter inter eos. <Hoc anno Ludovicus transfretat in  
Angliam; cui conferuntur dona plurima. Hoc [anno]<sup>j</sup> obiit Gilbertus  
fundator Insule Missarum.>

i CA,R; Anglia C,D

j D;lac.C

## 39

*De morte nobilis Philippi Francorum regis et  
quod potuit fieri forma et exemplar regibus*

Anno domini m° ccxxiii mense julio Francorum rex vir potentissimus,  
qui Othonem imperatorem et quamplures alios in bello campali  
devicerat nobiles et potentes, Normanniam quoque acquisivit et sibi  
appropriavit, Aquitaniam et maximam partem Pictavie sibi subjugavit;  
qui semper prosperos habuit ad vota successus, ecclesie libertatis con-  
servator precipuus dormit in Christo et in ecclesia beati Dionisii sepe-  
litur. Multos in regno comitatus acquisivit scilicet Viromandensem,  
Bellomontensem, Pontivensem, Alecionensem, | Cenomannensem,  
Andegavensem, Pictavensem. Mirabile enim fecit testamentum, qui  
legavit quinquaginta milia librarum parisiensium<sup>a</sup> Templo Jero-  
solomitano et tantum <Hospitali><sup>b</sup> eiusdem, et tantum Johanni Brenhe  
nobili principi et militi strenuissimo regi Jerosolim premissio.

G ii,49

Vincencius in Speculo clare ponit eum delegasse unicuique istorum  
trium centum mille librarum parisiensium. Propter que potest hic  
Philippus<sup>c</sup> fieri forma et figura et imago depingi cuicumque regi  
Christiano; quia propter ipsius laudabiles actus multum affecto, quin  
et delector, de eo recordari. Nam narrationes sequentes<sup>d</sup> sparsim in  
diversis codicibus repperi;<sup>e</sup> unde cum ad subsidium Terre Sancte  
transfretaret, orta in mari seivissima tempestate, cum omnes de vita  
desperarent, spem firmam in Deo habens de salute quesivit a nautis  
que erat hora noctis. Et cum quidam diceret: 'Media', assecurabat

a clasiensium CA  
b + templo del.C  
c hic Philippus interlin.C

d + ad consolacionem legencium sicut CA  
e + hic duxi inferendas CA

over to France from the lands overseas with a few followers to seek  
aid from the king. [July]

Frederick the emperor of the Romans having assumed the cru-  
sader's badge was betrothed to the only daughter of this king of  
Jerusalem and confirmed it by an oath sworn in the presence of Pope  
Honorius. And in the following year their wedding was celebrated  
with due ceremony. [Mar.] [1225:  
9 Nov.]

In this year [John] crossed to England, where he was given many  
gifts. [1223:  
[Sept.]]

In this year the death occurred of Gilbert founder of Inchaffray. 1223

## 39

*The death of the noble Philip king of the French and  
how he was able to become an ideal and a model for kings*

In July 1223 the king of the French, chief guardian of the liberty of the  
church, fell asleep in Christ and was buried in the church of St Denis.  
He had been an extremely powerful man who had conquered in a land  
battle the Emperor Otto and several other noble and powerful men; he  
also acquired Normandy and made it his own, and subjugated Aquit-  
taine and most of Poitou. His prayers for the successful outcome of his  
affairs were always answered. He acquired many counties in his king-  
dom namely Vermandois, Beaumont, Ponthieu, Alençon, Maine,  
Anjou and Poitou. He made a wonderful testament in which he left  
50,000 livres parisis to the Temple in Jerusalem, as much to the Hospital  
there, and as much to the afore-mentioned noble prince and knight  
John Brienne the energetic king of Jerusalem. [1223:  
[14 July]]

(Vincent in his *Speculum* clearly states that he made over to each of  
those three 100,000 livres parisis.) On account of these things this  
Philip can be made into an ideal, a model and an example to be  
portrayed for every Christian king. And so in the light of his praise-  
worthy acts I very much want, in fact I am delighted, to record his  
deeds. For I have found the following stories about him scattered  
throughout different books. For example once when he was sailing  
to the aid of the Holy Land, a savage storm sprang up at sea. When  
all were despairing of their lives, the king, with his firm faith that  
God would save them, asked the sailors what the hour of the night  
was. And when one of them said it was midnight, he assured them  
that their lives were safe saying: 'Because at this hour throughout all  
the realm of France the black monks and canons are praying for the

[1190-1]

fo.196v  
eos de vita dicens: 'Quia ista hora nigri monachi et canonici pro statu regis interpellant per totum regnum Francie.' Consequenter ad responsa horarum dixit: 'Et nunc albi monachi.' Et in aurora: 'Collecti' clerici'; et sic de ceteris; cuius regia collacio<sup>g</sup> omnibus fuit consolacio, et sic cessavit interea quassacio. Et ascriptum fuit magne fidei regis quod liberati sunt. Appropinquante | hora mortis ait prelati et proceribus suis astantibus: 'O quot habui servientes in curia mea strenuos et audaces, qui ad nutum obediebant et cicius quo dirigebam eos currebant. Modo non habeo ita strenuum qui iret hac die preparare michi hospicium. Valet ergo, amici, et pro me orate! Iter enim pergo extremum quod numquam ambulavi, et in regionem longinquam quam numquam vidi, et ad seculum alterum animarum unde nullus revertitur, et ad mansiones metuendas ad quas<sup>h</sup> mecum nullus comitatur, et ad iudicem terribilem ubi nescio quid michi contingat. Ecce quero adiutorem, et non est qui eripiat; quero qui michi comitetur, et non est qui veniat. Miseremini igitur mei, miseremini michi saltem, vos amici mei, quia manus Domini tetigit me.' Et hiis dictis receptis prius ecclesiasticis sacramentis commovit astantes ad fletum et Factori suo reddidit spiritum anno regni sui xliiii°.

f C,D,R; Collegiati CA  
g collocutio CA

h ad quas interlin. over quibus del.C

## 40

*Item de eodem*

Regi quondam in jardino spaciandi advenit quidam sacerdos genua flectens et dixit: 'Domine mi rex, ego a te repeto terram meam quam ballivi tui injuste auferunt a me.' Cui rex subito respondit: 'Certe non reddam.' Et sacerdos erectus: 'Scio quid faciam.' Et rex: 'Quid?' 'Vere, conquerar de te.' 'Et quis', inquit rex, 'de me poterit vobis<sup>a</sup> justiciam exhibere?' 'Certe', dixit alter, 'Rex Glorie, qui infinicies major est te, quem in crastino infra meas manus, qui continet omnia, continebo in altari.' 'Verum', ait rex, 'major me est utpote Rex Regum, cui absit ut de me querimoniam imponatis, quia ipse est ille iudex, qui quid faciet de injustis iudiciis ignoro; sed et unum scio, quod ipsas eciam justicias iudicabit et male iudicata rejudicabit.

a interlin. over tibi del.C

well-being of the king.' Consequently in reply to being told what the hours were he said: 'And now the white monks are praying for the king.' And at dawn he said: 'And now it is the [collegiate] clergy.' And so it went on. The royal words were a consolation to everyone, and so eventually their fear subsided. And it was ascribed to the great faith of the king that they were freed from it.

As the hour of his death drew near he said to his prelates and nobles who were present: 'How many keen and bold servants have I had at my court, who obeyed my every nod and ran as quickly as they could wherever I directed them! Now I do not have one who is eager to go this day and prepare a lodging for me. So farewell, my friends, and pray for me! For I am going on my last journey along a road I have never travelled, and to a far off land which I have never seen, and to the other world of souls whence no one returns. I am going to a fearful dwelling place and no one will accompany me there; I am going to the terrible judge and I do not know what will happen to me. See how I ask for someone to help me, and there is no one who can save me! I ask for someone to go with me, and there is no one who can come forward. Therefore have pity on me, at least have pity on me, you my friends, because the hand of God has touched me.' And after speaking these words and having first received the church sacraments he moved those present to tears and rendered his spirit to its Maker in the forty-third year of his reign. [1223]

## 40

*More about the same*

Once a certain priest came up to the king while he was walking in the garden and bending his knee said: 'My lord king, I ask you to give me back my land which your bailiffs have unjustly taken from me.' To whom the king at once replied: 'I shall certainly not give it back.' The priest stood up and said: 'I know what I shall do.' And the king said: 'What?' 'In truth, I shall take you to court.' 'And who,' said the king 'can give you justice when I am the accused?' 'Why surely', said the other, 'the King of Glory, who is infinitely greater than you; and tomorrow at the altar I shall hold in my hands Him who holds everything [in his hands].' 'It is true,' said the king, 'the King of Kings is indeed greater than me and perish the thought that you might lay before him a complaint about me, because I do not know what that judge will do about unjust judgments. But I do know



Habeatis in pace | vestra, et me, ut dicitis, in crastino Regi meo, quem in manibus tractabitis, recommendare curetis.<sup>b</sup>

Ad hunc regem Parisius existentem advenit semel quidam armiger querimoniam de quodam<sup>b</sup> cive Parisiensi hospite suo faciens, et dixit quod, cum venisset Parisius ut debita domini sui persolveret, et manticam cum pecunia hospiti ad servandum tradidisset, alter constanter negavit. Quod cum rex audisset et per testimonium probari deposicio pecunie non potuisset et uterque tamquam veridicus apparuisset, rex quasi jocando anulum aureum quem in digito cives gerabat assumpsit, et ipsum clanculo pro signo ad uxorem civis misit ut ipsa<sup>c</sup> mitteret manticam marito quam armiger apud ipsos deposuerat. Quod et fecit, et civem statim suspendi fecit, utpote qui talia multa perpripus confecit.

Rex aliquando in quadam necessitate utpote circa obsidionem rebellium positus mandavit capi boves in quadam grangia Cisterciensis ordinis, de restitutione satis cogitans. Quod cum audisset abbas, misit ad regem simplicem monachum injungens ei quicquid quantumque breviter posset ei verbum proponeret, et quod bene de responso regis adverteret, et etiam feceret quodcumque rex eidem precepturus erat. Inveniens autem monachus regem in mensa nulla salutatione premissa sic exorsus est loqui dicens: 'Animalia habebamus; cepisti ea; restituantur.' Ad quem rex: 'Bene veneritis, domine monache.' Et monacho in mensa<sup>d</sup> locato misit rex parapsidem cum illis carnibus bovinis precipiens ut viriliter commedat. Qui libenter et cum hilaritate fecit: quem rex post prandium accersivit et quasi jocando quesivit quare regulam suam in esu carniū fregerat. 'Non sic, rex, regulam non fregi, quia post obediencie preceptum habebam de loquendo breviter et de mandatis tuis de parendo. Et quia sciivi illas carnes esse de animalibus nostris et nescio an restitutio vel recompensacio fiat, idcirco injunctum michi feci ut puto sine culpa.' Rex de responso contentus laudabat monachum et restituit decuplum.

Idem habebat duos capellanos, quorum unus habebat longam missam, alius brevem; et cum rex quereretur causam, unus ait: 'Quando sum in secreto, tantum delector quod de facili non possum recedere.' Alter dixit: 'Tantum in secreto timeo aliquid malum vel indecens coram Deo cogitare quod quantocius potero, ne temptationes preoccupent, missam censeo terminare.' Ad quos rex: 'Bona est brevis, bona est et longa missa.'

<sup>b</sup> -dam *interlin.C*

<sup>c</sup> + quantocius *CA*

<sup>d</sup> ipso de precepto regis mense *for* monacho in mensa *CA*

<sup>e</sup> + me *CA*

one thing – that He too will judge judgments and He will judge again matters which have been badly judged. You may have what is yours in peace, and may you remember to commend me to my King, whom, as you say, you will take in your hands tomorrow.'

While this king was staying in Paris a certain man-at-arms once approached him and brought a charge against his inn-keeper, who was a citizen of Paris. He said that when he had come to Paris to pay his lord's debts, and had given the bag of money to the inn-keeper for safe-keeping, the latter adamantly denied [he knew anything about it]. When the king heard this, since it could not be proved by the testimony of witnesses that the money had been handed over, and since both men appeared to be telling the truth, the king as if in jest took the gold ring which the citizen was wearing on his finger. Then he sent it secretly to the citizen's wife as a sign that she should send to her husband the bag which the man-at-arms had left with them. This she did, and he had the citizen immediately hanged, seeing that he had done many things of this kind before.

Once the king found himself in some need when engaged in besieging some rebels, and he ordered cattle to be taken from a grange belonging to some Cistercians, thinking he had given enough in return. When the abbot heard about this, he sent a simple monk to the king, ordering him to give his message to the king as briefly as he could, to note well the king's reply, and also to do whatever the king instructed. And so the monk finding the king at table started to speak, and without any greeting said: 'We had some animals: you took them; they should be returned.' The king replied: 'Welcome, sir monk.' And having seated the monk at table the king sent him a dish containing the meat of those cattle and ordered him to eat manfully. And this he did freely and with pleasure. After the meal the king summoned him and as if in jest asked him why he had broken the rule of his order by eating meat. 'No, king, I have not broken the rule, because according to my vow of obedience I had to speak briefly and obey your commands. And because I knew that that meat was from our animals and I do not know whether we shall get them back or receive any compensation, I therefore did what I was told, blamelessly in my opinion.' The king was pleased with this reply, praised the monk and made tenfold restitution.

This same king had two chaplains, one of whom said a long mass, the other a short one. And when the king asked the reason, one said: 'When I come to the Secret Prayer of the mass, I love it so much that I cannot easily leave it.' The other said: 'During the Secret Prayer I am so afraid that I will think something bad or unbecoming in God's presence that I decide to finish the mass as quickly as possible lest temptations overtake me.' And the king said to them: 'A short mass is good, and so is a long one.'



## 41

*Item de eodem*

Regi Philippo eunti per viam<sup>a</sup> obviavit quidam ribaldus petens a rege satis importune elemosinam sibi dari. Sed quia rex antea huiusmodi scurros et mimos<sup>b</sup> sequestrari fecit a sua curia, non attendit ad eum. 'Teneris', inquit scurrus, 'michi elemosinam dare | quia cognatus tuus sum.' Cui rex: 'Ex qua parte?' At ille: 'De Adam.' 'Dimitte | eum,' ait cuidam, 'et da sibi obulum,<sup>c</sup> quia clamat post nos.' Respondit harlo: 'Non est hoc donum regium.' 'Si', inquit rex, 'tantum darem cuilibet attinenti michi de genere ex parte ista, nichil michi remaneret ad exponendum in cista.'<sup>d</sup> Quo responso ribaldus reperiussus recessit amodo de curia confusus.

Hic aliquando clericos pauperes habebat in mensa, nam semper hoc de more habebat habere scilicet<sup>e</sup> unam mensam coram se Parisius huiusmodi plenam. Tandem in finem mense vidit unum de clericis reponentem seorsum bonum caponem; quem pro trufa in secreto querit rex<sup>f</sup> in qua sciencia ipse studebat. 'In theologia,' inquit clericus. Cui rex: 'Nonne legitur; "Nolite cogitare de crastino"? Quare ergo reposuistis caponem c'?' 'Quia volebam,' dicit alter, 'iuxta consilium evangelii deponere sollicitudinem ut nec quiddam<sup>g</sup> de crastino cogitarem.' De quo responso rex contentatur et in publicum jocus recitatur.

Idem rex aliquando febricitans siciebat vinum, quod nullatenus sibi voluit ministrare suus phisicus sine aqua. 'Ex quo', ait rex, 'non permittitis ut bibam nisi in gemino genimine vitis huius Liei et Thetidi maritande, et non potest a me calix iste nisi bibam ex eo transire. Verumptamen<sup>h</sup> et non solum sicut ego volo sed sicut tu. Fiat voluntas tua. Hoc saltem michi pro Deo concedatis, ut primo bibam vinum, et postea aquam.' Et concessit. Quo hausto et magno calice evacuato optulit ei phisicus aquam, quam omnino refutavit rex dicens: 'Docuistis me alias non bibere nisi quando sitirem, et vere modo non sicio.' Et sic leticia huius<sup>i</sup> poculi rex senciit levius se habere.

Cum quidam abbas Cistercii ordinis venisset ad regem pro negociis monasterii locuturus, rex videns eius calciamenta, que erant nimis

a vicum CA  
b joculariores CA  
c pichelum CA  
d archa CA  
e interlin.C

f interlin.C  
g quidam C,D  
h transire. Verumptamen interlin.C  
i jocosus CA

## 41

*More about the same*

While King Philip was travelling along a road he met a certain rascal who quite vexatiously sought alms from him. But because the king had previously driven out such parasites and jesters from his court he paid no attention to him. 'You are obliged to give me alms,' said the wretch, 'because I am your relation.' The king replied: 'On which side?' 'From Adam', said the man, 'Send him away,' the king said to someone, 'and give him a halfpenny, as he's shouting after us.' The scoundrel replied: 'This is not a kingly gift.' 'If', said the king 'I were to give as much to everyone related to me by blood on that side, I would have nothing left in my coffer to spend.' The rascal, struck dumb and confounded by this reply, from then on kept away from the court.

Once this king had poor clerks at his table, for it was always his custom at Paris to have a table in front of him full in this way. At length he saw at the far end of the table one of the clerks putting away a fine capon. So as a joke the king asked him privately which subject he was studying. 'Theology', said the clerk. The king replied: 'Surely you have read: "Do not worry about tomorrow?" So why did you put away the capon?' 'Because', said the other, 'I wanted to follow the gospel's injunction to put aside all care so that I should have not a scrap of worry about tomorrow.' The king was pleased with this reply and jokingly told it in public.

Once this same king had a fever and was thirsty for wine, but his doctor would on no account give it to him without water. 'Why', said the king, 'do you not allow me to drink wine unless as a twin product of this vine of Lyaeus wed to Thetis, and why cannot this cup pass me by without my drinking from it? Yet not only as I will, but as thou wilt. Thy will be done. But in God's name grant me at least this: that I may drink the wine first, and then the water afterwards.' And this the doctor allowed. After the king had drained the big cup dry the doctor handed him the water, but the king completely refused to take it saying: 'On another occasion you instructed me not to drink unless I was thirsty, and indeed I am not thirsty.' And so delighted with this drink the king felt much better.

When a certain abbot of the Cistercian Order came to speak with the king on his monastery's business, the king spotted his shoes, which were very tight, and asked him where he came from. The abbot

stricta, interrogavit unde esset; et ille de ista paupercula domo nomen eius exprimens; et rex: 'Bene apparet in calciamentis vestris. Nam corium est ibi valde carum.' De quo verbo abbas confusus expedit 35 negocium pro quo venit, et in botellis deinceps fratribus se conformavit. <De hoc vide libro viii<sup>o</sup> capitulo lv; quia non scripsi.>

<sup>j</sup><Rege eciam aliquando nimium curis et placitis magnatum et mediocrium personarum in suo parlamento fatigato cupiebat aliqua- 40 lem invenire recreacionem; unde a tumultu paulisper valuit declinare. Assumptis igitur secum nonnullis satrapis ascensa quadam ornata navicula super Secanam hac illac remigare cepit, cum ecce ripetenus quidam religiosus frater accurrens concito gradu acclamavit unum verbum loqui cum rege. Qui rex aliquantulum motus quod sic fuit 45 inquietatus respondit fratri: 'Tu petis loqui nisi unicum verbum: loquaris audacter. Sed si verba multiplicaveris, intentum nullatenus assequeris.' Frater ad hec consternatus et paulisper avisatus extensa manu infert: 'Caritatem'. Quod rex audiens posuit manum in mar- supio et replevit volam denariis aureis et satisfecit unico verbulo 50 fratris caritatem flagitantis.>

<sup>j</sup> the caret mark for this marginal addition in MS C is in fact placed after the rubric for the next chapter

## 42

*De reditu regni Francorum  
ad stirpem Magni Karoli*

G ii, 52

Mortuo magnifico principe Philippo<sup>a</sup> Ludovicoque coronato stirps Karoli Magni reincipit sceptrigerare.

Franci namque sicut alias dictum est origine Trojani adhuc pagano ritu dediti regnum suum in Gallia stabilierunt, ut in presenti cernitur, qui 5 nunc eciam ab eis Francia nominatur. Anno itaque domini cccc lxxxiv Hilderico eorum rege mortuo, qui civitatem Treverim cepit, Clodoveus filius eius regnum fortiter tenuit et ampliavit; qui a Sancto Remigio baptismi gratiam cum sibi subjectis percepit. Eiusque progenies usque ad annum domini septingentesimum quinquagesimum feliciter regna- 10 vit, excepto quod per annos fere lxxxviii<sup>o</sup> a tempore Clotharii regis et Sancte Batildis regine regibus a fortitudine solita degenerantibus regni

<sup>a</sup> interlin.C

said that he came from a poor house, whose name he gave. The king replied: 'This is well illustrated by the look of your shoes, for leather 40 is [evidently] very precious there.' The abbot was thrown into confusion by this and hurriedly completed the business for which he had come. And henceforth he made his footwear conform to that of his brothers. On this see Book VIII, Chapter 55: for this reason I have not written more about it.

45 Also once the king, tired out by too many worries and pleas brought to his parliament by nobles and people of middle station, was wanting to find some rest; for this purpose he managed to get away from the crowd for a little while. And so taking some officials with him he got into an ornate little boat and began to row back and 50 forward on the Seine, when who should come running up excitedly to the river bank but a friar, shouting that he wanted to have a word with the king. The king, somewhat annoyed that he was being disturbed in this way, replied to the friar: 'You ask to have only one word with me: speak boldly. But if you say more than one word, 55 your cause is lost.' The friar was dismayed at this, but after a little thought stretched out his hand and said: 'Charity.' On hearing this the king put his hand in his purse and filled the friar's palm with gold pennies, and gave satisfaction for the one little word of the friar who asked for charity.

## 42

*The return of the kingdom of the French  
to the lineage of Charlemagne*

On the death of the great prince Philip and after the coronation of [1223: Louis, the lineage of Charlemagne began again to reign. 6 Aug.]

5 For the Franks, as had been said elsewhere, were of Trojan origin, and while still given over to pagan rites they established their kingdom in Gaul. This can be seen to this day, as it now even takes its name 'France' from them. And so in 484 on the death of Childeric their king, who captured the city of Trier, Clovis his son strongly held and increased the kingdom. He was baptised along with his subjects by St Remigius. 10 And his descendants ruled happily down to the year 750, with the exception of about eighty-eight years from the time of King Chlothar and Saint Bathilde the queen, when the kings were losing their accustomed strength and the ruling power was being exercised by the mayors of the palace. Then it came about that Pippin, who was mayor of the

potencia disponebatur per maiores domus.<sup>b</sup> Inde factum est ut Pipinus, qui erat major domus sub rege Hilderico, a Stephano papa apud ecclesiam Sancti Dionisii cum uxore ac filiis in regem ungeretur; eorumque generatio in hereditatem regalis successionis imperpetuum benediceretur, et omnis alienigena ab eius invasione apostolico anathemate interdiceretur. Regnavit igitur eorum progenies in regno Francorum usque ad annum domini nongentesimum vicesimum sextum. Tunc Hugone Capucio comite Parisiensi Francorum duce invadente regnum translatum est de genealogia Karolensium in progeniem comitum Parisiencium. In gestis autem Sancti<sup>c</sup> Richarii et Wallerici legitur quod eorum corpora translata sunt a suis ecclesiis in ecclesiam beati Bertini. Ibiq[ue] timore Normannorum et Danorum sunt reposita tamquam in loco tuciori. Cumq[ue] Normanni tempore Karoli Simplicis conversi essent ad fidem Christi reportata sunt ad proprias ecclesias. Attamen cum ea monachi sui repeterent, monachi Sancti Bertini ea per violentiam Arnulphi comitis detinebant. Tunc Sanctus Walericus Hugoni Parisiencium comiti in sompno apparuit eique dixit: 'Vade ad Arnulphum comitem Flandrensem et dic ei quod de Sancti Bertini ecclesia remittat in nostras ecclesias corpora nostra. Plus enim loca nostra diligimus quam aliena.' Requisitus autem ab Hugone quis esset vel quis eius socius, 'Ego', inquit, 'voco Walericus, socius autem meus est Pontivensis Richarius. Quod ergo tibi precipit per me Deus, age festinanter et ne dissimules.' Hugo igitur ad Arnulphum pergens que sibi mandata fuerant indicat. At ille superbo animo sanctorum corpora reddere recusat. Tunc Hugo constanti animo dixit ipsi Arnulpho: 'Vide ut illo die et illo loco corpora sanctorum honeste michi deferas animo spontaneo, quod si non feceris spontaneus, postea facias vel invitus.' Tunc Arnulphus timore Hugonis et potencia constrictus duas thecas auro et argento decoravit, in quibus predictorum sanctorum reliquias deposuit, ac die condicto cum armato et copioso exercitu ad Monasteriolum, quod est castrum regis Francorum, eas Hugoni decenter retulit. Ille vero unumquemque resignavit in loco suo. Sequenti vero nocte Sanctus Walericus in sompnis apparuit Hugoni et dixit ei: 'Quin studiose que precepta sunt | tibi fecisti et nos ad loca nostra retulisti, tu in regno Francorum et successores tui usque in septimam generationem regnabis.' In nonnullis tamen libris ubi diximus 'septimam' invenitur 'sempiternam'. Possumus autem precise ab Hugone usque ad Ludovicum istum invenire. Nam idem Hugo genuit Robertum, Robertus Henricum, Henricus autem Philippum, Philippus Ludovicum, Ludovicus autem Grossus alium Ludovicum, et ille nobilem Philippum de quo tanta predicabilia ut supra scripsimus; qui ex Elizabeth filia Baldwin comitis Haenensis istum genuit Ludovicum. Nam idem Balduinus processit de progenie Emergardis filie Karoli Simplicis, usque ad quem in regni potestate perseveravit progenies Pipini et Karoli imperatoris. Cum igitur iste Ludovicus in regno successerit patri, patet regnum in ipso reductum ad progeniem Karoli Magni. Ex predicta vero sanctorum corporum relacione videtur illa regni translatio per Dei voluntatem

fo.197v

G ii,53

<sup>b</sup> CA; domos C,D,R<sup>c</sup> sanctorum CA

15 palace under King Childeric, was anointed king by Pope Stephen in the church of St Denis along with his wife and sons, and their descendants were blessed in the inheritance of the royal succession for all time, and every foreigner was forbidden to attack him under threat of apostolic anathema. And so their family reigned in the kingdom of the Franks until the year 926. Then Hugh Capet count of Paris and duke of the Franks invaded the kingdom and it passed from the Carolingian dynasty to the family of the counts of Paris.

20 In the *Deeds* of Saints Riquier and Valery we can read that their bodies were carried from their churches to the church of the blessed Bertin. They were put there for fear of the Normans and the Danes, as it were in a safer place. And when the Normans were converted to Christianity at the time of Charles the Simple, they were taken back to their own churches. But when their monks came to fetch them, the monks at St Bertin, backed by the violence of Count Arnulf, held on to them. At that time St Valery appeared to Hugh count of Paris in a dream and said to him: 'Go to Arnulf count of Flanders and tell him that he is to let our bodies go from the church of St Bertin back to our own churches. For we love our own places more than foreign ones.'

25 And when he was asked by Hugh who he and his companion were, he said: 'I am called Valery, and my companion is Riquier of Ponthieu. Therefore what God is commanding you to do through me, do quickly and do not ignore it.' And so Hugh went to Arnulf and told him the things he had been commanded to do. But with proud spirit Arnulf refused to give back the bodies of the saints. Then Hugh, not to be put off, said to Arnulf: 'See that you honourably and of your own free will hand over the bodies of the saints to me on an agreed day and at an agreed place, because if you do not do it of your own free will, you may have to do it against your will later.'

30 Then Arnulf for fear of Hugh and compelled by his power decorated two coffins with gold and silver, and into them he placed the relics of the aforesaid saints. And on an agreed day he brought them back in fitting manner to Hugh at Montreuil, which is a castle belonging to the king of the French, accompanied by a large well-armed body of soldiers. And Hugh handed each one over to its proper place. The following night St Valery appeared to Hugh in a dream and said to him: 'Since you have diligently done what you were told and brought us back to where we belonged, you and your successors will reign in the kingdom of the French down to the seventh generation.'

35 In some books 'forever' is found where we have written 'seventh'; but we can find exactly seven from Hugh down to Louis. For this Hugh fathered Robert, Robert fathered Henry, Henry fathered Philip, Philip fathered Louis, Louis the Fat fathered another Louis, who fathered the noble Philip, about whom there are so many praiseworthy things to tell, as we have written above. And Philip fathered by Elizabeth daughter of Baldwin count of Hainault this Louis. For this same Baldwin came from the family of Ermengard daughter of Charles the Simple, until whom the family of Pippin and the Emperor Charlemagne continued in control of the kingdom. Therefore when this Louis succeeded his father in the kingdom, it is clear that through him

facta fuisse. In gestis vero Aquitanorum legitur quod ideo Karoli progenies reprobata creditur, quia iam Dei gratiam necligens ecclesiarum pocius neclatrix quam erectrix videbatur. Sed hoc Dei iudicio relin-  
quamus, qui tempora mutat et transfert regna, sicut dicit Scriptura Ecclesiastici x: 'Regnum', inquit, 'transfertur a gente in gentem propter injurias et injusticias et contumelias et diversos dolos.' Et iterum: 'Sedes', inquit, 'ducum superborum destruxit Deus, et sedere fecit mites pro eis.'

## 43

*De subsidio ad maritandum sorores regis*

Anno domini m<sup>o</sup> ccxxiv<sup>to</sup> Rex Scocie Alexander imposuit auxilium terre sue decem milia librarum ad maritandum sorores suas; de quo auxilio libere erant elemosine que eatenus non consueverunt dare auxilium. Eodem anno Willelmus canonicus de Sancta Cruce, qui aliquamdiu fuit prior de Insula Sancti Columbe, eo quod tunc inibi non erat abbas, propter excessus multos et intolerabiles est depositus, eo quod totus conventus unanimiter constans regi Alexandro et episcopo dixerunt se omnes malle habitum suum relinquere et ad mundum reverti quam ipsum priorem ulterius habere. Ipso vero priore tam ex parte domini regis quam ex parte domini episcopi examinato et reo nimum invento officio quamvis invite et loco cessit. Cui successit Nigellus canonicus et terrarius de Jedwod, vir magne vite et sapiencie, qui in clauistro religionem, in ecclesia devocionem, in temporalibus providenciam, inter magnates ridivorum et verborum faceciam, modeste temperavit tam in se quam in subditis.

Quo in anno rex Ludovicus contra Pictavenses sibi rebellantes post coronacionem suam movet exercitum et obsidens Niorrium castrum fortissimum sibi redditum est. Deinde progreditur ad Sanctum Johannem Angeliacum. Abbas et burgenses<sup>a</sup> ipsius obviant regi, pacifice villam ei reddunt, et fidelitatem promittunt. Deinde post diram obsidionem Rupella ei redditur. Deinde Lemovicenses et Petragoricenses et omnes Aquitanie<sup>b</sup> principes exceptis Vasconibus qui ultra Garennam erant fidelitatem regi promiserunt. | Anno sequenti circa Pascha quidam fingens se esse Baldwinum quondam comitem Flandrie et imperatorem

G ii, 54

<sup>a</sup> CA; burgen' C,D,R<sup>b</sup> + partes del.C

the kingdom was brought back to the family of Charlemagne. Indeed from the afore-mentioned story about the bodies of the saints it appears that the kingdom changed hands by the will of God. And in the *Deeds* of the people of Aquitaine we can read that the family of Charlemagne were believed to be wicked because neglecting the grace of God they seemed to be neglectors rather than erectors of churches. But let us leave this to the judgment of God, who changes the seasons and transfers kingdoms, just as the Scriptures say in Ecclesiasticus 10: 'Empire passes from nation to nation because of wrongs, injustices, insolence and various deceits.' And again: 'God has destroyed the thrones of proud leaders and has seated the humble in their place.'

## 43

*The tax levied for the marriages of the king's sisters*

In 1224 King Alexander of Scotland imposed an aid of 10,000 on his land for the marriages of his sisters. Property held by free alms which up until then had not been accustomed to paying aid was exempt from this aid.

- 5 In the same year William canon of Holyrood, who for some considerable time had been prior of Inchcolm (since in those days there was no abbot there), was deposed on account of his many intolerable excesses. This came about because the whole convent said firmly and unanimously to King Alexander and the bishop that they would all prefer to leave the religious life and return to the world than to put up with him as prior any longer. And so the prior was examined on behalf of both the lord king and the lord bishop, and on being found all too guilty he left both his office and the place, although he did so against his will. He was succeeded by Nigel a canon and terror of Jedburgh, a man distinguished for his life-style and wisdom. He modestly guided both himself and those under his authority regarding the religious life in the cloister and the devotional life in church, with foresight in temporal affairs and adept use of laughter and talk when amongst the magnates.
- 20 In this year King Louis moved his army against the people of Poitou who had been in rebellion against him since his coronation, and on his besieging Niort this strongly fortified castle surrendered to him. Then he went on to St-Jean-d'Angély. The abbot and the burgesses of that place came to meet the king, handed over the town to him peacefully, and swore an oath of fealty. Then after a terrible siege La Rochelle surrendered to him. Then the people of Limoges and Perigueux and all

1224:  
[24 June]  
[5 July]  
[3 Aug.]

Constantinopol' venit in Flandriam in habitu peregrino. Multi favent ei de Flandria nobiles et ignobiles, eo quod multa intersigna<sup>c</sup> dicebat quod esset idem Baldwinus. Resistentes autem viriliter debellabant. Non multo post statuto colloquio inter ipsum et regem Francorum Ludovicum apud Peronam requisitus a rege quis ornaverant eum in militem, et ubi fecerat homagium patri suo Philippo, et ubi fuerant nupcie celebrate inter ipsum et uxorem eius, noluit respondere petens inducias usque post prandium. Tunc, quamvis consimilis in figura fuerat imperatori c', aperta tamen | eius fraude licenciavit eum rex a suo regno toto. Ipse autem qui cum multis pompose venerat, confusus cum paucis abcessit. Non multum post vero ab Erardo de Cassenta in quadam taberna capitur et Flandrensi traditur comitis, que diversis penis ipsum afficiens ad ultimum de conficcione confessum patibulo fecit suspendi. Eodem anno die Mercurii ante Purificationem Ludovicus rex at quamplurimi magnates, archiepiscopi, episcopi, comites et barones per manum Romani cardinalis et legati contra Albigenses accipiunt signum crucis.

fo.198

c corrected from intersignia C

## 44

*De expugnatione Avinionis Albigensiate<sup>a</sup>*

Anno gracie m<sup>ob</sup> cc<sup>o</sup> xxv<sup>to</sup> quidam animosus juvenis Fawkes nomine castellum de Bedford contra voluntatem regis Anglie optinens munitiones multas in ipso castello congessit tam in cibariis quam machinamentis bellicis. Unde hoc rex Henricus comperiens accito omni exercitu suo vix potuit infra spacium nonem<sup>c</sup> ebdomodarum ipsum castrum subjugare. Quo tandem capto et prostrato omnes quotquot infra castrum invenit suspendio tradidit preter ipsum Fawkes, quem extra regnum Anglie perpetue relegavit. Hoc in anno obiit Gualo cardinalis, qui fuit Anglie legatus in tantum Anglicatus ac si esset Anglie natus, propter cuius mortem et Scoti si quas vel quantas

<sup>a</sup> this rubric is preceded by Quomodo Galwidiens' regi Alexandro rebellantes humiliati sunt c xliiii del.C. This is similar to the rubric of c.49 below.

<sup>b</sup> correct rubric inserted here i.e. after the start of the text C  
<sup>c</sup> + mensem del.C

the leaders of Aquitaine with the exception of the Gascons who lived beyond the Garonne swore an oath of fealty to the king.

In the following year about Easter a man came to Flanders dressed as a pilgrim pretending to be Baldwin the former count of Flanders and emperor of Constantinople. Many in Flanders supported him, both nobles and commoners alike, because he gave many indications that he was the real Baldwin. But those who opposed him fought manfully. Not long afterwards talks were held at Péronne between him and Louis the king of the French. At these he was asked by the king who had knighted him, where he had done homage to Philip his father, and where the wedding between himself and his wife had been celebrated. He refused to answer, asking for a respite until after dinner. Then, although he was the spitting image of the emperor of Constantinople, his fraud was uncovered. The king gave him leave to quit his kingdom entirely. And so he who had arrived with a great following and much pomp departed almost alone and in confusion. Indeed not long afterwards he was seized by Erhard de Chastenay in a certain inn and handed over to the countess of Flanders. She subjected him to various tortures until at last he confessed his deceit; then she had him hanged on the gallows.

In the same year on the Wednesday before the feast of the Purification King Louis and many magnates – archbishops, bishops, earls and barons – took the cross against the Albigensians from the hands of Romano the cardinal and legate.

1225:  
30 Mar.

[30 May]

[July]

[Oct.]

1226:  
28 Jan.

## 44

*The storming of Albigensian Avignon*

In 1225 a certain bold young man called Fawkes took Bedford Castle against the king of England's will and in it gathered up a large amount of provisions in the way of both food and machines of war. And so when King Henry learnt of this he called up his whole army, and only just managed to take the castle in nine weeks. When at last it was captured and destroyed, the king hanged all those he found inside, except for Fawkes himself, whom he banished forever from the kingdom of England.

In this year the death occurred of Cardinal Guala, who was legate in England and who had to such an extent become an Englishman that it was as if he had been born in England; for Scots to shed any tears at all at his death made them either a spectacle to other men or a laughing-stock to the English.

[1224]

[14 Aug.]

[1227:  
30 May]

In the following year Louis the king of France and all who had joined the crusade against the Albigensians converged on Bourges. From there

[1226: May]



lacrimas effuderunt aut erant spectacula hominum aut ridicula Anglorum.<sup>d</sup>

Rex Francie Ludovicus anno sequenti et omnes contra Albigenses cruce signati Bithuris conveniunt. Inde procedunt per Nivernam et Lugdunum civitates apud Avinionem urbem inexpugnabilem ab ecclesia Romana per vii annos excommunicationi subjectam propter hereticam pravitatem. Rege autem credente se habiturum pacificum transitum apud Avinionem propter quasdam previas pactiones quas habuerat cum<sup>e</sup> eisdem, porte clauduntur civitatis et excluditur rex cum suis. Rex miratur et spiritu virtutis assumpto villam obsidet suo obside tripartito. In vigilia Sancti Barnabe Apostoli, que fuit iv<sup>ta</sup> feria Penthecost<sup>7</sup> machine eriguntur: trabucheta, petrarie, mangonella parum prosunt. Hii qui intus sunt viriliter se defendunt. Rex inestimabiles sumptus facit. Durat obsidio usque ad festum Assumpcionis Beate Marie, maximaque mortalitas ibi pululat. De nostris circa duo milia hominum celorum imbribus et lapidum volatu et infirmitate propria moriuntur. Moritur ibi Guido comes Sancti Pauli percussus | lapide petrarie, vir armis strenuus catholicus et honestus. Moritur eciam ibi episcopus Lemovicensis. Comes Campanie redit ad propria sine regis licencia vel legati. Tunc Avinionenses regis magnanimi constanciam attendentes, qui cum suis proceribus juramento firmarat se non reces- surum donec villa redderetur vel caperetur, ducentis datis obsidibus de melioribus ville jurant stare mandato ecclesie. Tunc de mandato domini legati rege imperante fossata implentur, trecente domus turræ que in villa erant et omnes muri circumquaque solo diruti coequantur, villa absolvitur. Dominus legatus multas bonas et laudabiles constitutiones inducit. Magister Nicholaus de Corbeya monachus Cluniacensis in ipsius loci episcopum consecratur. Rex inde amoto exercitu progreditur per Provinciam, et redduntur ei pacifice civitates et castra et fortericie omnes usque ad leucas iv<sup>or</sup> a Tholosa. Rex preficit toti illi regioni Humbertum de Bellojoco loco sui.

G ii,55

<sup>d</sup> + Hoc anno del.C<sup>e</sup> ab CA

45

*De obitu Ludovici regis et coronacione  
filii sui Ludovici Sancti*

Rege repatriante moriuntur Remensis archiepiscopus et comes Namurcensis. Ab illa pestifera obsidione pauci vel nulli redeunt plene sani, ac per totam Galliam pululat plus juvenum quam senum mortalitas generalis. Anno sequenti migrat rex ad Christum, vir

they advanced by way of the cities of Nevers and Lyons to Avignon, an impregnable city which had lain under excommunication by the Roman Church for seven years for heretical deviation. The king thought that he would be able to enter Avignon peacefully because of certain previous agreements he had with the citizens; but the gates of the city were closed and the king and his men were shut out. He was amazed, but seized with the spirit of courage he besieged the town with a threefold siege. On the eve of the feast of St Barnabas the Apostle – which was the Wednesday after Pentecost – siege-engines were erected, though trebuchets, catapults and mangonels were of little use. Those who were inside defended themselves manfully. The king incurred huge expense. The siege lasted until the feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Mary, and the death toll grew very high – about two thousand of our men died from the effects of the rain, the flying stones and their own weakness. Guy count of St Pol died there, struck by a stone from a catapult, an honourable catholic and a keen fighting man; the bishop of Limoges also died there. The count of Champagne returned home without the permission of the king or the legate. Then considering the resolute attitude of the generous king, who had taken an oath with his nobles that he would not withdraw until the town had surrendered or been taken, the people of Avignon gave two hundred of the leading citizens of the town as hostages, swearing to abide by whatever the church commanded. Then by order of the lord legate on the instructions of the king the moats were filled in, the three hundred houses with towers in the town and all the walls which surrounded it were destroyed and razed to the ground, and the town was absolved. The lord legate introduced many good and laudable ordinances. Master Nicholas de Corbie a Cluniac monk was consecrated bishop of the place. Then the king removed his army and advanced through Provence, and all the cities, castles and fortified places to within four leagues of Toulouse peacefully surrendered to him. The king appointed Humbert de Beaujeu to rule over the whole of that region in his place.

20

25

30

35

40

45

10 June

15 Aug.

45

*The death of King Louis and the coronation  
of his son St Louis*

As the king was returning home the archbishop of Rheims and the count of Namur died. Few if any returned from that plague-ridden siege completely healthy, and throughout the whole of France death generally claimed more young men than old.



utique vere catholicus mireque sanctitatis extitit diebus singulis vite  
sue; numquam carnem suam maculavit preter quam cum una uxore  
sibi legitime matrimonio copulata. Cui successit filius eius pri-  
mogenitus Ludovicus<sup>a</sup> puer xiii annorum. Plures majores barones  
Francie ad coronacionem vocat, sed venire recusant. Pre dolore enim  
patris et desolacione regni non vacant ibi gaudio, sed magis intendunt  
lacrimis et merori. Ferrandus comes Flandrie, qui per xii annos et  
menses sex Parisius in capcione domini regis detentus fuerat, multa  
pecunia liberatur circa Epiphaniam Domini. Ipso anno Honorius  
papa moritur, | qui Fredericum imperatorem sibi rebellem et adver-  
sarium ecclesie Romane comperiens anathematizavit atque barones  
suos ab eius fidelitate absolvit. Succedit Honorio Hostiensis epis-  
copus et vocatur Gregorius.<sup>b</sup>

fo.198v

G ii,56

Eodem tempore Hugo Marchie comes et Theobaldus comes Campanie  
contra novum regem suum Ludovicum conspirantes fedus adinvicem  
inierunt. Unde comes Britannie, qui contra prohibitionem Ludovici  
regis defuncti de Albigencium terra redierat, castellum quod Sanctum  
Jacobum de Bevenrone nominant, una cum Belesmo sibi quondam ab  
eodem Ludovico in custodia traditum firmabat et victualibus muniebat.  
Itaque rex novus ac junior comitantibus se Romano cardinali tunc  
apostolice sedis legato ac Philippo patruo suo comite Bolonie necnon  
et Roberto Drocenti comite cum exercitu multo usque ad Charteriam  
de Curceio properavit. Quod videns ac timens Campanie comes a  
proposito maligno resipuit, et adherens regi Francie a comitum Marchie  
et Britannie consorcio celeriter resilivit. Rex itaque duos alios comites,  
Marchie scilicet et | Britannie, regali edicto semel ac bis ad colloquium  
vocatos sed venire contempnentes. Ne aliquid contra jura videretur  
agere, tercio quoque suo parlamento mandavit interesse. Tunc illi  
stultam suam superbiam ac regis<sup>c</sup> clemenciam perpendentes humiliter  
ei mandaverunt quod apud Vindocinum, si placeret ei, cuncta que  
forisfecerant emendarent, et hoc ipsum opere compleverunt. Nec multo  
post idem comites cum quibusdam aliis Francie baronibus invidentes  
domui regie quod regina Blanchia filii sui regis ac regni tutelam haberet,  
memores quoque quod Campanie comes contra predictorum comitum  
voluntatem et contra fedus quod cum ipsis inierat regi adhesisset eique  
nephandissima eorum consilia denudasset, infinitum contra illum col-  
legerunt exercitum. Et intrantes eius terram castella, villas et vicos  
ac municipia confluentes vastaverunt. Sicque debachantes usque ad  
Chaurisiam perrexerunt, quam obsidentes impugnare ceperunt. Quod  
videns Campanie comes misit ad regem dominum suum ab ipso petens  
auxilium. Illisque patentibus regis literis obedire nolentibus ut ab obsi-  
dione recederent, rex ipse collecta multitudine armatorum iter arripuit  
et contra illos in manu forti properavit. Qui, ut eius adventum agno-  
verunt, a sede quantocius recesserunt. Ac Petrus Britannie comes aux-

<sup>a</sup> + secundus CA  
<sup>b</sup> + vii in error CA

<sup>c</sup> + novi CA

- 5 In the following year the king died. He was a true catholic, who  
lived every single day of his life in wonderful sanctity. He never  
stained his flesh except with his one wife, who was joined to him in  
legitimate wedlock. He was succeeded by his first-born son Louis a  
boy of thirteen. He summoned many of the great barons of France  
to his coronation, but they refused to come. For because of the grief  
felt for his father and the desolation of the kingdom they had no  
time for rejoicing, but rather were intent on tears and mourning.  
Ferrand count of Flanders, who had been kept in a prison of the  
lord king in Paris for twelve and a half years, was set free around  
Epiphany for a large sum of money.  
In this year Pope Honorius died. He it was who, on learning that  
the Emperor Frederick had rebelled against him and had set himself  
against the church, excommunicated him and released his barons  
from their fealty to him. Honorius was succeeded by the bishop of  
Ostia, who took the name Gregory.

[1226:  
8 Nov.]

[29 Nov.]

1227:  
6 Jan.

[18 Mar.]

- At about the same time Hugh count of La Marche and Theobald  
count of Champagne conspired against Louis their new king and made  
a bond with each other. Whereupon the count of Brittany, who had  
returned home from the land of the Albigensians against the express  
orders of Louis the late king, fortified and victualled the castle called  
St James-de-Beuvron, along with Bellême, which had formerly been  
given into his custody by the same Louis. And so the new young king,  
accompanied by Cardinal Romano the then legate of the apostolic see,  
and his uncle Philip count of Boulogne, as well as Robert count of  
Dreux, hurried from Curçay to Chartres with a great army. When the  
count of Champagne saw this he was afraid, and abandoned his wicked  
plan, quickly disassociated himself from the counts of La Marche and  
Brittany, and came over to the side of the king of France. And so the  
king summoned the two other counts (of La Marche and Brittany) by  
royal command to a meeting with him, once and then again, but they  
scornfully did not come. Lest he seem to do anything unlawful, he  
ordered them also a third time to attend his parliament. Then they  
carefully weighed their foolish pride against the [new] king's clemency  
and humbly sent word to him that if it so pleased him they would at  
Vendôme make amends for everything they had done wrong, and they  
did indeed fulfil this promise.

[16 Mar.]

- But not long afterwards these same counts with certain other barons  
of France gathered a huge army against the count of Champagne,  
because the counts could not forget that he had gone over to the king's  
side against their wishes and in breach of the bond which he had made  
with them and revealed to the king their evil schemes. Also they bore  
a grudge against the royal house because Queen Blanche had the guard-  
ianship of her son the king and the kingdom. And entering his territory  
they laid it waste by burning castles, towns, villages and cities. And  
thus they raged as far as Chaource, which they besieged and started to  
storm. When the count of Champagne saw this he sent to the king as

[1230]

ilio et consilio baronum Francie fretus contra dominum suum regem  
 insurgens Henricum Anglie regem in auxilium suum cum maxima mul- 50  
 tudine Anglorum fecit transfretare pugnaturus adversus regem Fran-  
 cie. Unde rex Ludovicus zelo justicie divinitus animatus eundem com-  
 item primo debellare disposuit et collecta milicia Belesmum expugnavit  
 ac cepit. Tunc rex Anglie cum rubore rediens velociter transfretavit.  
 Anno tamen sequenti dictus comes cepit infestare terram domini sui. 55  
 Unde rex iterum exercitu congregato contra eum usque ad castrum  
 Adon festinavit, quod et obsidens expugnavit et accepit. Inde ad aliud  
 quod Chistiaucians dicitur exercitum duxit et ipsum per dedicionem  
 recepit.

## 46

*De tirannide episcopi Dunelmensis monachos de Duram  
 profligantis et aliis incidentibus*

Anno domini m<sup>o</sup> cc<sup>o</sup> xxvi<sup>to</sup> obiit Ricardus de Marisco Dunelmen'  
 episcopus, qui tantam tirannidem ecclesie Sancti Cuthberti Dunelm'  
 intulit quod jura monachorum et possessiones eorum pro posse suo  
 abstulit, nulli eorum, quamdiu vixit, pepercit. Sed cum audacius 5  
 predictam ecclesiam impugnare visus est, Deus, qui injustos opprimit  
 et justos dirigit, mundum ab eo subito denudavit. Post illum monachi  
 Dunelmen'<sup>a</sup> elegerunt magistrum Willelmum de Stichell nacione Sco-  
 tum, magne sciencie virum mansuetum. Unde rex Anglie hoc audiens  
 indignatus est, dicens quod Scoti infra Angliam<sup>b</sup> non debent bene-  
 ficiari, et propterea contra eleccionem fecit appellacionem, virtute 10

<sup>a</sup> + timentes sibi Anglicum ulterius prefici  
<sup>CA</sup> <sup>b</sup> terram quam dicebat suam for Angliam CA

his lord asking him for help. And when the attackers refused to obey  
 letters patent from the king which told them to withdraw from the  
 siege, the king himself gathered together a large number of armed men,  
 set off and hurried against them with a strong force. When they learnt  
 that he was approaching, they withdrew from their position as quickly  
 as they could. 55

But Peter count of Brittany, relying upon the help and advice of the  
 barons of France, rose against his lord the king and caused King Henry  
 of England to cross the sea to his aid with a huge band of Englishmen [1230: May]  
 to fight against the king of France. And so King Louis, divinely inspired  
 with the zeal for justice, made plans firstly to wage war against this [1229: Jan.]  
 count, and gathering an army stormed and captured Bellême. Where- [1230: Oct.]  
 upon the king of England covered in shame quickly went back across  
 the sea. But in the following year the said count began to attack his [1230]  
 lord's territory, and so once more the king gathered together an army  
 and hastened against him as far as the castle of Oudon, which he  
 besieged and took by storm. Then he led his army to another place, [June]  
 which is called Champtoceaux, and received its surrender.

## 46

*The tyranny of the bishop of Durham, who ruined  
 the monks of Durham, and other events*

In 1226 the death occurred of Richard Marsh bishop of Durham, 1226:  
 who inflicted tyranny on the church of St Cuthbert at Durham in [1 May]  
 that he removed the rights of the monks and their possessions for  
 his own use, sparing none of them as long as he lived. But when he  
 was seen to be unashamedly attacking the said church, God, who  
 oppresses the unjust and guides the just, suddenly took him from this  
 world. After him the monks of Durham [fearing that an Englishman  
 would be set over them again] elected Master William de Stichill, a [1 Aug.]  
 Scot and a mild-mannered man of great learning. When the king of  
 England heard of this he protested, saying that Scots should not hold  
 benefices in England; he therefore appealed against the election, on  
 the strength of which the election was quashed at the Roman court. [1228:  
 3 May]  
 From this it follows that Scots act ill-advisedly when they admit

G ii,57

cuius cassata est eleccio in curia Romana. Ex hoc sequitur<sup>c</sup> quod  
inconsulte Scoti faciunt | qui admittunt Anglos infra regnum suum  
beneficia possidere,<sup>d</sup> cum non debeant ad imparia quoad hoc judicari.  
De hoc dicetur infra <libro xi capitulo xxi>. Hoc anno Willelmus  
de Bosco cancellarius regni propter infirmitatem officio cessit; cui  
propterea Thomas de Strivelyne predicti cancellarii clericus sive  
socius accessit, regi et toti regno dilectissimus, qui quamdiu in dicto  
officio stetit maiorem dileccionem promeruit.

fo.199

Anno sequenti circa festum Sancti Martini venit Richardus frater  
| regis Anglie dux Cornubie<sup>e</sup> ad dominum regem Scocie et cum eo  
totam Laudoniam circumiens cum magno apparatu tandem venit ad  
Kingorn locuturus cum matre regis et filiam eius minorem natu  
visurus Margaritam, quam pecierat in uxorem. Sed quia non fuerat  
de voluntate regis Anglie, sed et insuper quia idem Ricardus propter  
nupcias plus justo exigebat terras et pecuniam, Deo melius provi-  
dente, de consilio optimatum Scocie infecto negotio munifice tamen  
dimissus rediit in Angliam, per Karleolum iter faciens, nolens obviare  
regi fratri suo, qui venerat usque ad Dunelmum, ut dicebatur, ipsas  
nupcias impediturus. Postmodum tandem<sup>f</sup> reconciliati obviaverunt  
sibi invicem apud Eboracum. Hoc in tempore floruit Antonius Sanc-  
tus de Ordine Fratrum Minorum, quem predictus papa G[regorius]  
canonizavit. Hic in Hispania civitate Ulixbunda oriundus, a puericia  
sanctus in baptismo Fernandus appellatus, primo quidem in Ordine  
Sancti Augustini<sup>g</sup> religionis habitum suscepit, deinde Fratrem Mino-  
rem se induit. Sancta etiam Elizabeth filia regis Hungarie conjunx  
landegravii Thuringie in Almania claruit, xvi mortuos potenter susci-  
tavit; quam idem papa G[regorius] canonizavit. Hoc anno scilicet  
gracie m<sup>o</sup> cc<sup>o</sup> xxvii obiit Thomas cancellarius regis, et magister  
Matheus Scotus factus est regis cancellarius.

Willelmus abbas de Sancta Cruce senilem etatem allegans onus  
virge pastoralis in manu ordinarii sui resignavit, et statim post resig-  
nacionem Insulam de Keth<sup>h</sup> intravit desiderans ultra modum vitam  
heremiticam ducere. Cum autem spacium novem ebdomadatum ibi  
complesset et corporis sui tenuitatem comperisset, ad domum Sancte  
Crucis<sup>i</sup> non puduit remeare. A quo cum peteretur cur heremum  
reliquit, respondit sicut quidam scolaris olim necessitatus, ait:

Quid faciam cum nudus eam? Iam preterit estas,  
ad patriam remeare meam me cogit egestas.

Illi successit Helias filius Nicholai sacerdotis, vir in superna solacione  
solicitus, et jocundus, devotus et affabilis sermone.

c argumentatur CA  
d optinere CA  
e dux Cornubie interlin.C  
f tamen CA

g + canonicus CA  
h CA; Kethe C,D,R  
i + unde exiit CA

Englishmen to hold benefices within their kingdom, since they should  
not be considered an unequal party in such a matter. This topic is  
discussed below in Book XI, Chapter 21.

In this year William del Bois the chancellor of the kingdom  
resigned office because of infirmity; he was succeeded therefore by  
Thomas de Stirling, a clerk or colleague of the said chancellor, a man  
who was highly regarded by the king and the whole kingdom, who  
earned greater love as long as he remained in the said office.

In the following year around Martinmas Richard [earl] of  
Cornwall, the brother of the king of England, came to the lord king  
of Scotland, and while visiting with him all parts of Lothian with a  
great show of pomp came at length to Kinghorn to speak with the  
king's mother and to see her daughter the younger Margaret whom  
he was seeking as his wife. But because it was not in accordance with  
the wishes of the king of England, and in addition because the same  
Richard was demanding more lands and money for this marriage  
than was reasonable, with God intending something better, the nego-  
tiations were broken off on the advice of the leading men of Scotland.  
Nevertheless he was sent away with gifts, and returned to England,  
taking the Carlisle route since he did not wish to meet the king his  
brother, who had come as far as Durham supposedly to prevent the  
marriage. At length they were reconciled later and met up with each  
other at York.

At this time St Anthony of the Order of Friars Minor, whom the  
said Pope Gregory canonized, was in his prime. Born in Spain in the  
city of Lisbon, a saint from boyhood, called Ferdinand at his  
baptism, he first took on the religious habit [as a canon] in the Order  
of St Augustine, and then dressed as a Friar Minor.

Another famous person was St Elizabeth, the daughter of the king  
of Hungary and wife of the landgrave of Thuringia in Germany, who  
effectively raised sixteen men from the dead, and whom the same  
Pope Gregory canonized.

In this year (1227) the death occurred of Thomas the king's chan-  
cellor, and Master Matthew Scot was made the king's chancellor.

William abbot of Holyrood, pleading old age, resigned the burden  
of his pastoral rod into the hands of his ordinary; and immediately  
after his resignation moved to Inchkeith, wishing to lead a hermit's  
life of an extreme kind. But when he had spent a period of nine  
weeks there and realized how thin his body had become, he was not  
ashamed to return to the house of Holyrood. When he was asked  
why he had abandoned his hermitage, he replied as a certain scholar  
said when at one time he was in financial need:

What should I do when I am destitute? Summer is already passing;  
poverty compels me to return to my native land.

*De incidentibus*

G ii, 58

Anno domini m<sup>o</sup> cc xxviii Scotus quidam nomine Gillescop succendit quasdam municiones ligneas in Moravia et occidit quendam latronem nomine Thomam de Thrilstane nocte ex improviso municionem eius invadens. Postea succendit | magnam partem de Invernes et de terris domini regis circumvicinis abduxit predas circa 5 Nativitatem Beate Marie. Dominus autem rex cum paucis suorum illuc festinans, cum aliquamdiu illuc moram fecisset, commisit custodiam terre Moravie comiti de Buchan iusticiario suo tradens ei magnam peditum multitudinem. Hoc anno obiit Aberdonensis episcopus. Post quem eligitur magister Matheus Scotus cancellarius regis; sed 10 fortasse sereniorum auram expectans tam parvi honoris sublimitatem resignavit; cui tunc electus est magister Gilbertus de Strivelyne. Obiit etiam magister Stephanus de Langton Cantuar' archipresul, qui<sup>a</sup> fecit psalterium Nostre Domine. Anno etc. xxix facta est abbacia Sancti Eadwardi de Balmurinach a rege Alexandro et Ermegarda 15 matre eius et missus est ibi conventus de Malros cum domino Alano abbate suo in die Sancte Lucie Virginis.

Alanus de Galweia profectus in Hiberniam duxit filiam Hugonis de Lacy in uxorem. Cuius homines quamplures in redeundo submersi sunt, ipso Alano cum paucis evadente. 20

Obiit Malcolmus comes de Fiffe sepultusque in ecclesia Sancti Servani de Culenros, quam ipse fundaverat. Cui successit Malcolmus nepos eius, scilicet filius fratris eius, quia sobole caruit comes. Qui Malcolmus postea duxit filiam Leulini regis Wallie.

Quidam legatus missus est a latere domini papae ad colligendas 25 decimas in Anglia et in Scotia. Qui prohibitus fuit a rege Scocie fines suos introire.

Ipsa anno pie memorie Hugo episcopus Dunkeldensis de hac vita subtractus est, vir mansuetissimus, qui dicebatur pauperum episcopus. Ad cuius presulatum eligitur magister Matheus cancellarius 30 regis Scocie, sed ante consecrationem suam nature debita anno m<sup>o</sup>

<sup>a</sup> + eleganto stilo P*Some events*

He was succeeded by Elias the son of Nicholas the priest, a man painstaking in heavenly consolation, cheerful, devout and courteous 60 in his conversation.

In 1228 a certain Scot called Gillescop set fire to some wooden 1228 defensive works in Moray and killed a certain thief called Thomas de Thirlestane after attacking his castle unexpectedly during the night. Afterwards he burned a large part of Inverness, and about 5 [the time of the feast of] the Nativity of the Blessed Mary he plundered some neighbouring lands belonging to the lord king. But the 8 Sept. lord king hurried there with a few of his men, and after making a stay there for some time entrusted the custody of the land of Moray to his justiciar the earl of Buchan, providing him with a large number 10 of troops.

In this year the bishop of Aberdeen died. Master Matthew Scot 1228 the king's chancellor was elected after him; but perhaps in the expectation of a fairer turn of fortune resigned his elevation to so small an honour; then Master Gilbert de Stirling was elected.

15 Master Stephen de Langton also died, the archbishop of Canterbury who composed the Psalter of Our Lady. [9 July]

In 1229 the abbey of St Edward at Balmerino was erected by King 1229 Alexander and his mother Ermengarde, and a community was sent 13 Dec. there from Melrose with sir Alan as their abbot on the day of St 20 Lucy the Virgin.

Alan of Galloway set out for Ireland and married the daughter of Hugh de Lacy. A great many of his men were drowned on their way back, but Alan and a few others escaped.

Malcolm earl of Fife died and was buried in the church of St Serf 1230 at Culross which he himself had founded. He was succeeded by his nephew Malcolm, that is the son of his brother, because the earl was childless. This Malcolm afterwards married the daughter of Llywelyn king of Wales.

A certain legate *a latere* was sent by the lord pope to collect tenths 30 in England and Scotland. He was forbidden entry by the king of Scotland into his territories.

In this year Hugh bishop of Dunkeld of pious memory was 1230 removed from this life. A man of most gentle disposition, he was

cc xxix<sup>b</sup> persolvit. Electus est ad regimen Dunkeldense Gilbertus quondam capellanus predicti Hugonis episcopi. Hoc anno Gillescop, de quo superius dictum est, interfectus est et duo filii eius, et capita eorum allata fuerunt domino regi. Anno sequenti, id est domini m<sup>o</sup> 35 cc xxx, ingrediuntur primo<sup>c</sup> fratres Jacobini, quos allexit Alexander rex et in magna reverencia<sup>d</sup> tamquam patronus vel procurator singularis eis astitit, loca designavit, ornavit et fundavit. Primo etiam ingrediuntur Scociam monachi de Valle Olerum sive Vallis Caulium, cuiusmodi sunt Ardkatani,<sup>e</sup> Pluskardyni<sup>f</sup> et Bewlini.<sup>h</sup> 40

Facta est Parisius magna inter scolares dissencio, quam mox secuta est eorum ad tempus multipharia dispersio. Alii namque Remis, alii Andegavis, alii vero Aurelianis, alii quoque in Angliam vel in alias mundi provincias studii causa profecti sunt.

Eodem anno Henricus Anglie rex instinctu Petri Britannie comitis 45 ut terram a predecessoribus suis possessam et amissam recuperaret, | precipue Normanniam, in Britanniam transfretavit, sed in proposito suo nullatenus proficere valens inanis et vacuus rediit. Eodem anno rex Ludovicus urbem Andegavis et castrum Belesme dicto Petro ad vitam concessa recuperavit. 50

b -i- interlin. C

c + Scociam CA

d teneritudine CA

e + quos fundavit Duncanus Maccowlo CA

f -ni interlin. C

g + quos fundavit isdem rex Alexander CA

h + quos fundavit Johannes Biset CA

### *De aliis incidentibus<sup>a</sup>*

Anno domini m<sup>o</sup> cc<sup>o</sup> xxxi dominus rex Scocie tenuit Natale suum apud Elgin et in reditu suo apud Sanctum Andr' fecit<sup>b</sup> Walterum filium Alani, qui fuit senescallus ipsius, justiciarium Scocie paulo ante Purificacionem Beate Marie. Obiit Thomas frater Alani de

a the correct chapter number del. and xlix written beside it, thus causing confusion in chapter numbering until c.51 C

b interlin. C

called the bishop of the poor. Master Matthew the chancellor of the 35 king of Scotland was elected to his see, but before he could be consecrated he paid his debt to nature in 1229. Gilbert who was previously a chaplain of the said Bishop Hugh was elected to rule Dunkeld.

In this year the Gillescop who has been mentioned above was 1229 40 killed along with his two sons, and their heads were brought to the lord king.

In the following year (1230) the Jacobin Friars entered [Scotland] 1230 for the first time. King Alexander had attracted them, and holding them in great respect helped them as their patron and special agent, 45 assigning places to stay, furnishing and founding them.

For the first time also the monks from Val-des-Legumes or Val-des-Choux entered Scotland. They formed communities at Ardchattan [which Duncan Macdougall founded], at Pluscarden [which King Alexander founded], and at Beaully [which John Bisset found- 50 ed].

There was a great dispute among the scholars of Paris, which soon 1229 led to their dispersion in many different directions for a time. Some left to study at Rheims, some at Angers, some at Orleans, and others also in England or other parts of the world.

In the same year Henry king of England, at the instigation of Peter 1230: May] count of Brittany, crossed over to Brittany in order to recover the land once held and then lost by his predecessors, especially Normandy; but he had nothing like the resources needed to achieve his aim, and returned empty-handed. In the same year King Louis recovered the city 1231: Oct.] of Angers and the castle of Bellême, which had been granted to the said Peter for life. 60

### *Some other events*

In 1231 the lord king of Scotland spent Christmas at Elgin, and on 1230 his return he appointed his steward Walter son of Alan as justiciar of Scotia at St Andrews a little before [the feast of] the Purification of Blessed Mary. 1231: 2 Feb.

5 Thomas brother of Alan of Galloway earl of Atholl died and was buried at the abbey of Coupar. At this time the Friars Minor entered Scotland for the first time. 1231]

John earl of Caithness was killed in his own house and burned. 1231]



Galweia comes de Atholia sepultusque in abbacia de Cupro. Hic 5  
primo ingrediuntur Fratres Minores Scociam.

Johannes comes de Katania occisus est in domo sua et combustus  
et merito talem mortem promeruit<sup>c</sup> qualem venerabili episcopo  
Adam intulit.

Alexander rex Scocie dedit cancellariam suam Willelmo de Bon- 10  
dyngton quondam clerico Thome cancellarii.<sup>d</sup> Obiit Osbertus epis-  
copus Dunblanensis canonicus de Sancta Cruce professus. Obiit  
Willelmus de Bosco quondam cancellarius regis Scocie. Anno  
sequenti obiit Walterus episcopus Glasguensis anno episcopatus sui 15  
xxvii. Post quem electus est Willelmus de Bondington regis can-  
cellarius.<sup>e</sup>

Obiit Ranulphus comes Cestrie. Cui successit Johannes Scotus  
nepos eius comes Huntintonie, filius nobilis David fundatoris mon-  
asterii de Lundoris. Patricius comes de Dunbar<sup>f</sup> eger corpore con-  
vocavit filios et filias, cognatos et vicinos ut festa Dominice Nati- 20  
vitatatis secum celebrarent. Peractis iii<sup>or</sup> diebus vocat Adam abbatem  
de Melros et ab eo extremam accepit unccionem, ac habitum reli-  
gionis induit se monachum, et ultimum valedicens omnibus diem  
clausit extremum. Cui successit Patricius filius eius nepos regis, sepul-  
tusque est in ecclesia de Eglez. Anno sequenti, id est domini m<sup>o</sup> cc<sup>o</sup> 25  
xxxiii obiit Emergarda regina scocie mater Alexandri regis iii<sup>o</sup> idus  
februarii anno desponsacionis sue xlvii et sepulta est apud Bal-  
murinach, quam ipsa fundaverat. Hoc anno dedicate sunt ecclesie de  
Newbotil, Abirbroth<sup>g</sup> et Cupro. Alanus de Galweia dedit filiam suam  
uxorem Johanni de Bailiol et sororem suam Waltero Biseth. Clemens 30  
frater de Ordine Predicatorum electus ad episcopum Dunblane et  
consecratus est a Willelmo episcopo Sancti Andr<sup>i</sup> in die Translacionis  
Sancti Cuthberti apud Wedal. Item consecratus est Willelmus epis-  
copus Glasguensis ab Andrea episcopo de Moravia in ecclesia Glas-  
guensi. Obiit Willelmus Comyn comes de Buchan fundator abbacie 35  
de Der. Anno sequenti rex Francie Ludovicus desponsavit Mar-  
garitam filiam comitis Provincie. Sanctus Eadmundus consecratus  
est in episcopum<sup>h</sup> Cantuar<sup>i</sup>. Obiit<sup>h</sup> Alanus filius Rotholandi dominus  
Galweie et constabularius Scocie et sepultus est apud | Dundranane  
relinquens tres filias heredes. Quarum primam duxit Rogerus de 40  
Quincy comes Wintonie, secundam Johannes de Bailiol, terciam  
comes Albemarle; inter quas divisa est terra dicti Alani. Quod indi-  
gene non equo animo ferentes irati sunt valde quia a domino rege  
impetrare nequerant quod Thomas filius naturalis dicti Alani exhere-

G ii,60

<sup>c</sup> assecutus est for promeruit CA  
<sup>d</sup> G; cancellar<sup>i</sup> C,R; cancellario D,CA  
<sup>e</sup> + Eodem anno CA  
<sup>f</sup> de Dunbar comes Marchie for comes de  
Dunbar CA

<sup>g</sup> archiepiscopum CA  
<sup>h</sup> + magnus CA

He richly deserved the same kind of death as he had inflicted on  
10 Bishop Adam.

Alexander king of Scotland gave the chancellorship to William de  
Bondington, formerly a clerk of Chancellor Thomas. Osbert bishop  
of Dunblane died as a professed canon of Holyrood. The death  
occurred of William del Bois the former chancellor of the king of  
15 Scotland.

In the following year Walter bishop of Glasgow died in the twenty- 1232  
seventh year of his episcopate. As his successor William de Bon-  
dington the king's chancellor was elected. [In the same year] Ranulf  
earl of Chester died. He was succeeded by his nephew John the Scot [26 Oct.]  
20 earl of Huntingdon, the son of the noble David who founded the  
monastery of Lindores.

Patrick earl of Dunbar in his old age summoned his sons and 1232  
daughters, kinsmen and neighbours to celebrate Christmas with him. 25 Dec.  
After four days he sent for Adam abbot of Melrose and received  
25 extreme unction from him; he donned the habit of the religious life  
as a monk, and bidding his last farewell to all ended his last day. He [31 Dec.]  
was succeeded by his son Patrick the king's nephew, and was buried  
in the church at Eccles.

In the following year (1233) Ermengarde queen of Scotland, King 1233:  
30 Alexander's mother, died on 11 February and was buried at Balmer- 11 Feb.  
ino, which she herself had founded. In this year the churches at  
Newbattle, Arbroath and Coupar were dedicated. Alan of Galloway [Mar.-  
gave his daughter in marriage to John de Balliol and his sister to May]  
Walter Bisset. Clement, a friar of the Order of Preachers, was elected  
35 bishop of Dunblane and consecrated by William bishop of St  
Andrews at Wedale on the day of the Translation of St Cuthbert. 4 Sept.  
Likewise William bishop of Glasgow was consecrated by Andrew  
bishop of Moray in the church of Glasgow. William Comyn earl of  
Buchan, the founder of Deer, died. [11 Sept.]

In the following year Louis king of France married Margaret, a 1234:  
40 daughter of the count of Provence. St Edmund was consecrated as [27 May]  
[arch-] bishop of Canterbury.

Alan son of Roland lord of Galloway and constable of Scotland 1234:  
died and was buried at Dundrennan, leaving three daughters as his 12 Feb.  
45 heirs. The first of these married Roger de Quincy earl of Winchester,  
the second John de Balliol, the third the count of Aumale. Alan's  
land was divided between these daughters. But the natives were upset  
and extremely angry because they could not get the lord king to  
agree that Alan's three daughters, who were his legitimate heirs,  
50 should be disinherited and Thomas his natural son become the heir  
and their lord. On this account they rose in a serious rebellion against  
the king and laid waste by fire and sword some of his lands nearby.  
But it did not turn out well for them as the sequel will make clear.



datis tribus filiabus suis heredibus legitimis fieret heres et eorum dominus; propter quod insurrexerunt rebellione maxima contra regem et quasdam terras suas vicinas ferro et flamma vastaverunt, quod eis in prosperum non cessit, ut sequencia decernent. Tam equus enim ubique iudex censebatur rex ut in iudicio numquam contempsit pauperem, nec oppressit viduam, personam divitis non recepit sed in omnibus iudiciis suis iusticiam conservavit. <De Alano de Galwey habentur hec metra:

M semel et bis c, si jungas x ter et i ter,  
 hoc anno subiit mortis Alanus iter.  
 Gloria Scotorum, rosa cleri, flos laicorum,  
 dandi larga manus, jacet hic venerandus Alanus.  
 Tot bona qui dederit vix fuit, est vel erit.  
 O tu, qui legere vel qui potes ista videre,  
 disce bona facere. Sum mortuus et moriere.  
 Nunc vermes unius homines Alanus alebam  
 nunc alo; tunc alui sic ex 'alo' nomen habebam.  
 Ergo velut canere pro me Pater<sup>i</sup> ait: 'Miserere!'  
 Qui legis hec metra, que continet hec mea petra,  
 ores ut petra Christus me ponat in ethra.<sup>i</sup>>

i word written in larger, clearer letters C

## 49

*Quomodo rex domavit Galwidienses<sup>a</sup>*

Hoc in anno facta est magna valde fames in Francia, maxime in Aquitania, ita ut homines herbas campestras sicut animalia comederent. Valebat enim sextarius bladi centum solidos in Pictavia; et secuta est magna pestilencia. Eodem anno Theobaldus Campanie comes exercitum colligens adversus regem Ludovicum insurgere attemptavit. Quod agnoscens rex ex adverso cum exercitu usque ad nemus Vicenarum properavit. Quo audito comes ad eum nuncios misit rogans ut iram deponens offensam remitteret. Et ut in oculis eius gratiam inveniret, duas eidem villas, scilicet Braium et Mosterolium in Fordiona, tradidit imperpetuum quiete possidendas.

Anno domini m° cc° xxxv<sup>to</sup> Alexander rex Scocie collecto exercitu

<sup>a</sup> correct chapter number accompanied by c.1 written beside it, following wrong chapter numeration established in c.48 C

For the king was regarded as such a fair judge that on the bench he never despised the poor man, nor oppressed the widow: he did not acknowledge the standing of a rich man, but preserved justice in all his judgments. The following verses about Alan de Galloway are known:

One thousand and twice one hundred, then if you add thrice ten to thrice one,  
 this was the year in which Alan took the road of death.  
 Here lies the venerable Alan, who was the glory of the Scots,  
 rose of the clergy, flower of laymen, whose hand was liberal in giving.  
 There scarcely ever was, is or will be a man to give so many good things.  
 You who can read or see these lines,  
 learn to do good deeds. I am dead and you will die.  
 Now I, Alan, who used to care for the followers of one leader, now I am food for worms;  
 I was then the carer, thus taking my name from 'I care'.  
 Therefore as if singing for me the Father says: 'Have mercy!'  
 You who read these lines on this tombstone of mine  
 pray that Christ my rock place me in heaven.

## 49

*How the king subdued the Galwegians*

In this year there was an extremely severe famine in France, especially in Aquitaine, so that men ate the grass of the countryside like animals. A measure of corn indeed was worth one hundred shillings in Poitou; and a major pestilence followed. In the same year Theobald count of Champagne gathered an army together in attempted rebellion against the king. When he learned of this, the king hurried against him with an army to the Bois de Vincennes. On hearing this the count sent messengers to him asking the king to lay his anger aside and forgive his offence. And in order to obtain grace in the king's eyes he handed over two estates to him, namely Bray-sur-Seine and Montereau-faut-Yonne, to be held freely in perpetuity.

In the year 1235 Alexander king of Scotland collected an army and entered Galloway to pacify the land and take revenge on the rebels. When the inhabitants learned of this, they emerged from the

Galwalliam intravit terram sedaturus et de rebellibus se ulturus. Quod indigene comperientes, dum rex cum suo exercitu in papi-  
 lionibus suis quiesceret, de montibus et silvis exeuntes inopinate  
 assilierunt regem. Ipse enim locus<sup>b</sup> paludibus plenus et herba visut-  
 enus formosus non parvam fiduciam eis dabat. In quos Thomas  
 Rossensis Machentagard a tergo valide debachatus multos prostravit  
 et multos fugere compulit. Thomas autem filius Alani domini de  
 Galwallia nothus, qui antea patre vivente filiam reguli de Man  
 desponsaverat, dux huius sceleris cum fautore suo Gilroth Hiberniam  
 rediit. In crastino quoque Galwalenses omnes qui collo funes  
 imponebant et gratiam regis et pacem poscebant benigne rex admisit  
 in pacem suam, quia etsi, ut prediximus, iusticiam suam semper  
 exercuit, rigorem tamen suum misericordia interdum temperavit,  
 quia, ut dicit<sup>c</sup> Cassiodorus in epistola: 'Benigni principis est ad cle-  
 mencie commodum transilire terminos equitatum, quando sola est  
 misericordia cui omnes virtutes honorabiliter cedere non recusant.'  
 Thomas denuo bastardus magni Alani filius, qui supra ex Hibernia  
 cum quodam filio regis Hibernie et aliis multis ad Galwalliam rediit,  
 et mox ibidem veniens naves confregit ne Hibernici de fuga cogitar-  
 ent. Qui statim videns suos regie majestati non posse resistere, con-  
 silio episcopi Candide Case et Patricii comitis de Dunbar et abbatis de  
 Melros pacem regis humiliter petiit; quem rex in Castro Puellarum<sup>d</sup>  
 detinuit ac sic abire permisit. Reliquos Hibernienses de patria fugere  
 volentes cives de Glasgw uno impetu occiderunt, sed duos natu  
 majores apud Edinburgh rex ab equis decerpi precepit. Ipsi quoque  
 Scoti eo tempore de exercitu regis in reditu suo inaudita crudelitate  
 terras Galwallie despoliaverunt et ecclesias adeo ut monachum apud  
 Glenluss<sup>e</sup> in extremis agentem nudum relinquerent preter cilicium.  
 Et apud Tungland priorem cum sacrista in ecclesia interficerent.  
 Obiit Willelmus Candide Case.<sup>e</sup> Cui successit | Gilbertus<sup>f</sup> monachus  
 et magister noviciorum de Melros. Ipso anno Alexander rex Scocie  
 dedit Marjoriam sororem suam marescallo Anglie comiti de Pen-  
 brugh<sup>g</sup> in die Sancti Petri ad Vincula apud Berwik<sup>h</sup>.

b + Ipse enim locus *del.C*

c scribit *CA*

d + ad tempus *CA*

e + episcopus *CA*

f + venerabilis episcopus Dunk<sup>g</sup> et in insula  
 Sancti Columbe sepultus *del.C*

hills and woods to rush unexpectedly on the king while he was resting  
 15 with his army in their tents. The place indeed gave them no little  
 confidence, being swampy and beautiful with grass as far as the eye  
 could see. [But] Thomas MacTaggart of Ross vented his fury on  
 them forcefully from the rear, cutting many down and compelling  
 many to flee. But Thomas the natural son of Alan lord of Galloway,  
 20 who had previously while his father was alive been betrothed to a  
 daughter of the under-king of Man, as the leader of this criminal  
 affair returned to Ireland with Gilroth his accomplice. Also the next  
 day all the Galwegians with ropes round their necks begged for grace  
 and peace from the king. The king was kind enough to admit them  
 25 to his peace because although (as we have said) he was always just  
 in his actions, he nonetheless tempered his severity with mercy from  
 time to time, because as Cassiodorus says in a letter: 'A liberal prince  
 should ignore the bounds of equity in the interest of leniency, for it  
 is to mercy alone that all the virtues are not unwilling to yield with  
 30 honour.' Thomas the bastard son of mighty Alan (as above) came  
 back once again from Ireland to Galloway with a certain son of an  
 Irish king and many others, and as soon as he arrived there he broke  
 up his ships to prevent the Irish thinking of flight. As soon as he saw  
 that his men could not resist the king's majesty, on the advice of the  
 35 bishop of Whithorn, Patrick earl of Dunbar and the abbot of Melrose  
 he humbly sought the king's peace. The king detained him in Edin-  
 burgh Castle and then let him go. The rest of the Irish who wanted  
 to flee the country were killed in one attack by the citizens of Glas-  
 gow; but the king ordered two of the more important by birth to be  
 40 torn apart by horses at Edinburgh. The Scots themselves also who  
 were then in the king's army ravaged the lands and churches of  
 Galloway after his return with unheard-of cruelty, to the extent that  
 they left a monk who was at the point of death at Glenluce naked  
 except for his hair-shirt. And at Tongland they killed the prior and  
 45 sacrist in the church.

[Walter] [bishop] of Whithorn died, and was succeeded by Gilbert, [25 Feb.]  
 a monk and master of the novices at Melrose.

In that year Alexander king of Scotland gave his sister Marjorie 1 Aug.  
 in marriage to the marshal of England, the earl of Pembroke, on the  
 50 day of St Peter ad Vincula at Berwick.

*De epistola Helinandi missa cuidam apostate monacho<sup>a</sup>*

Tempora circa ista in territorio Belvacensi fuit Helinandus Frigidi  
 Montis monachus vir religiosus et facundia disertus, qui tam  
 eleganter et utiliter composuit et diligenter ab inicio mundi usque ad  
 tempus suum famosissimam quamdam cronicam in maximo quodam  
 volumine digessit. Et hoc quidem opus ita dissipatum est et dispersum  
 ut nusquam totum reperiatur. Fertur enim quod idem Helinandus  
 cuidam familiari suo dompno Garrino Silvanectensi episcopo quos-  
 dam eiusdem operis quaternos accomodaverit. Sicque sive per obli-  
 vionem sive per negligenciam sive alia de causa penitus amiserit.  
 Inter multa alia bona que composuit, scripsit et epistolam cuius  
 titulus est De reparacione lapsi, protractum satis libellum in se con-  
 tinentem, missam ad Galterum clericum, qui fuerat canonicus in  
 Ordine Premonstratensi et novicius in Ordine Cisterciensi, et tandem  
 quasi liberum se a voto existimans, eo quod minime fuisset professus,  
 rediens ad secularem vitam duxit uxorem nomine Rixendam. Super  
 quibus rogatus Helinandus a Guillelmo, scilicet fratre eiusdem  
 Galteri, socio et conclaustrali ipsius Helinandi, scripsit epistolam ad  
 eundem Galterum sub eiusdem Guillelmi persona ita ut ipsius esse  
 videatur. Cuius quidem epistole principium et finem dignum duxi  
 presentibus intermisceri:

Galtere,<sup>b</sup> lamentaciones et veh, de carmine nichil ad te. Carmen enim  
 illis debetur quibus 'bonum est confiteri Domino et psallere nomini  
 Altissimi'. Carmen illis debetur<sup>c</sup> quorum in cordibus cantatur Domino,  
 psallitur spiritu, mente jubilatur, et quorum operacio Christo citharizat,  
 oracio timpanizat, devocio organizat. Nichil enim tibi et carmini; non  
 est enim tibi cantare canticum Domini in terra aliena. Nichil tibi et  
*Ave*, qui non mutas nomen Eve. Nichil tibi et *Salve*, qui non salvas  
 commendata, dum mandata non servas. Dum te non paras ad iudicium,  
 non comparas auxilium advocati tui Christi, sed Salvatori tuo crucem  
 reparas secundam, mortisque tibi preparas secunde<sup>d</sup> cruciatum. Nichil  
 tibi et *Vale*, qui non vivis nisi male, qui valere non affectas, dum  
 detractas penitere. Tu ergo, anima mea, fratri meo expectanti et reexpec-  
 | tanti modicum in seculo nimium in peccato manda remanda lamen-  
 taciones et veh. Perlustrata namque cum omni sollicitudine materie

fo.200v

<sup>a</sup> li after xlviii del.C<sup>b</sup> + large rubricated capital G in red ink,  
followed by ge in ordinary ink, as a guide  
to the rubricator C<sup>c</sup> + quibus bonum est confiteri Domino et  
psallere nomine Altissimi del.C<sup>d</sup> Vincent; sodem C,R; sedem D*Helinand's letter sent to a certain apostate monk*

About that time in the district of Beauvais lived the monk Helinand [ca 1210]  
 de Froidmont, a man of the religious life and a skilful writer, whose  
 compositions were so elegant and useful, and who diligently put  
 together a certain most famous chronicle from the beginning of the  
 world until his own day in a certain volume of great size. And this  
 work was so broken up and dispersed that it is nowhere found as a  
 whole. It is said indeed that the same Helinand loaned to his friend  
 sir Warin bishop of Senlis some quires of the same work, and thus  
 whether through forgetfulness or carelessness or some other cause  
 he lost it completely. Among the many other good things that he  
 composed he wrote a letter with the title *The Recovery of the Lapsed*  
 which makes quite a lengthy pamphlet. This was sent to a clerk called  
 Walter who had been a canon of the Premonstratensian Order and  
 a novice in the Cistercian Order, and who then, considering himself  
 free from his vow because he had not been fully professed, returned  
 to secular life and married a lady called Rixenda. When Helinand  
 was asked about these matters by one William (who was a brother  
 of the same Walter, and Helinand's associate and fellow-monk), he  
 wrote a letter to the same Walter in the name of the same William,  
 so that it seemed to be his. I have thought it suitable to include here  
 the beginning and end of this letter.

Walter, I offer you 'lamentations and woe', but no song'; for the people  
 who deserve to receive [a] 'song' [of comfort] are those who think it  
 'good to confess to the Lord and to sing in honour of the name of the  
 Most High'. The people who deserve to receive 'song' are those in  
 whose heart there is singing to the Lord, in whose spirit there is hymn-  
 singing, in whose mind there is praise, and whose work is harp-playing  
 for Christ, whose prayer is drum-playing, whose devotion is organ-  
 playing. You and 'song' have nothing in common, for you do not sing  
 the Lord's song in a foreign land. There is no *Ave* for you, since you  
 do not renounce [her who bears] the name of Eve. Nor do you have a  
*Salve*, since you do not save things that have been entrusted to you, so  
 long as you are not observing instructions. While you are not preparing  
 yourself for judgment, you do not secure the help of Christ as your  
 advocate, but you prepare once more a second cross for your Saviour  
 and prepare the agony of a second death for yourself. There is no *Vale*  
 for you while you live only an evil life, while you do not strive after  
 salvation and decry the doing of penance. You therefore, my soul, send  
 this reply of 'lamentations' and 'woe' again and again to my brother

presentis tota multitudine nil invenire potui quod mitterem pro carmine; 35  
sed plenus amaritudine, plenus anxietudine, quod scripsi scripsi. Salus  
a non sano missa nugatoria est: missa vero invito superflua. Denique  
quid prodest alicui salus illa destinata cui nulla salus grata? Plane  
frustra salutatur a quo salus non optatur.

## 51

*De eodem<sup>a</sup>*

G ii,63

'Quis dabit aquam capiti meo et oculis meis fontem lacrimarum' ut  
copiose lugeam dignum mei fratris interitum? Justus es, Domine, etiam  
si disputem tecum. Verumptamen juste loquar ad te, non tamquam  
tecum disputans, sed tamquam tecum computans que mecum supputo 5  
et fratri meo imputo. Adhuc enim frater meus mendicat siliquas por-  
corum in regione illa in qua fames oritur nec moritur, ubi egestas incipit  
nec desinit; nec recordatur infelix quanti, non solum filii sed etiam  
mercennarii, in domo patris sui habundent panibus. Ipse vero nec  
dolore vincitur nec rubore confunditur quod et fame pereat et siti 10  
torreat et labore fatigetur et servitute prematur. Et O quam facili  
transitu hec omnia transiret! Duobus tantum passibus a tam gravi exilio  
resiliret: quorum primo reverteretur ad se, ad te vero, pater; altero  
converteretur. Jussisti autem michi non solum eum sed et quemlibet  
proximum meum diligam quam meipsum. Sed quis michi proximior 15  
fratre meo? Nusquam ergo totus assum ubi abest frater meus: dimidium  
est enim anime mee. Nonne, Domine, tu jubes diligere in tota anima?  
Quomodo ergo tota anima mea te diligit, nisi utraque eius medietas te  
diligat? Non enim bene diligeris ad medietatem. Ut ergo te totus  
diligam, fac, oro, ut te diligat frater meus. Si vis ut sequar te, sequatur 20  
te et frater meus, obsecro; neque enim dimidius sequi te potero. Ut me  
totum salvum facias, salvum fac et fratrem meum, qui totum hominem  
salvastis in sabbato; quippe nichil facis ad medietatem, sed quicquid  
facis perficis. Alioquin non diceretur de operibus tuis: 'Dei perfecta  
sunt opera.' Galtere,<sup>b</sup> lamentaciones et veh! Lamentacio de presenti  
est; carmen et veh de futuro! Veh tibi proposui, ut ab eo fugeres; 25  
lamentaciones proposui, ut ad eas confugeres; carmen vero nec posui,

<sup>a</sup> C returns to the correct chapter numeration here by deleting 49 and adding 51 with both these numbers placed in margin  
<sup>b</sup> Ge with large rubricated capital G C

40 who repeatedly expects little in the world and is too much in sin.  
Certainly after scrutinizing the present evidence in all its many aspects  
with every care, I have not been able to find anything to send you by  
way of 'song'; but I have written what I have written full of bitterness,  
full of worry. A greeting sent by someone who is out of sorts is worth-  
less: when it is sent by someone against his will it is unwarranted. Finally  
45 what is the use of a greeting that is intended for someone to whom no  
greeting is welcome? The man who does not wish to receive a greeting  
is clearly greeted in vain.

## 51

*The same*

'Who will provide water for my head and a fountain of tears for my  
eyes' that I may abundantly lament in a worthy way the untimely death  
of my brother? You are impartial, Lord, even if I debate with you.  
Nevertheless I shall legitimately speak to you, not to debate with you, 5  
but to assess with you what I reckon on my side and what I credit to  
my brother. For my brother is still begging the husks of the swine in  
that country where a famine has arisen and still persists, where des-  
titution has come over him and is not being relieved. The unhappy man  
does not recollect how many people (not only sons but also hired  
servants) have bread enough in his father's house. He therefore is not  
convinced by grief nor troubled by shame that he may both perish with  
hunger and be parched by thirst, worn out by labour and burdened by  
slavery. And how easy is the path by which he will experience all these  
things! Only by two steps might he recoil from such a burden of exile:  
10 by the first of these he would himself come to his senses, turn to you  
in fact, Father; and by the second he would be converted. You have  
ordered me to love not only him but also each of my neighbours as  
myself. But who is nearer to me than my brother? Nowhere therefore  
am I completely present if my brother is not there: he is indeed half of  
my very being. Do you not, Lord, command that you be loved with all  
our being? How therefore can my whole being love you if my other half  
does not love you? For you are not properly loved by halves. For me  
therefore to love you wholly, I pray you to make my brother love you.  
If you wish me to follow you, let my brother also follow you, I pray;  
25 for I shall not be able to follow you as a half. So that you can arrange  
my salvation, arrange also for my brother to be saved, you who saved  
the whole of mankind on the day of rest; for you do nothing by halves,  
but anything you do, you make perfect. Otherwise it would not be said  
of your actions: 'The works of God are perfect.'  
30 Walter, I offer you 'lamentations and woe'. The 'lamentation' relates

ut remota omnis lete rei memoria nulli transitorio dulcori cor tuum  
 apponeres. Sed quamdiu te juxta flumen Babilonis sedere cognosceres,  
 fleres, plorares, gemeres, et in eius salicibus organa suspenderes, et te  
 totum medullitus dolori exponeres. Nulla tibi de carmine mencio fiet 30  
 donec illud impleas preceptum: 'Exite de Babilone, fugite a Chaldeis.'  
 Sed iam loquatur ad te ipsa lamentacio, scilicet que actenus locuta est  
 pro te: 'Quomodo cecidisti, Lucifer, qui mane oriebaris', qui jubilabas  
 Domino cum matutinis astris, quando in cetu noviciorum, in fletu  
 monachorum, in metu conversorum, in conspectu angelorum psallebas 35  
 Altissimo! Quomodo attractiva illa cauda draconis cum sua parte tertia  
 stellarum te eciam traxit, cui Deus dederat lucem sapientie, splendorem  
 sciencie, jubar intellectus, ut cum stellis stantibus luceres, si velles in  
 perpetuas eternitates! Non parco tibi, frater amantissime, ut michi et  
 tibi parcat Deus. Cecidisti. Numquid qui cecidit non resurget? 'Sepcies 40  
 cadit justus et resurgit', id est quocienscumque cadit, tociens resurgit.  
 Tu qui cadis tota die, cecidisti cotidie; cur non resurgis vel uno die?

## 52

*Admonicio lapsi ut resurgat*

G ii, 64

Surge igitur, frater, surge! Non enim impossibile est surgere, quamvis  
 sit difficile, et tam difficile quam facile est cadere. 'Facilius est', ait  
 Arestotiles, 'destruere quam astruere.'

Facilis (ait poeta) descensus [averno];<sup>a</sup>

sed revocare gradum superasque evadere ad auras, 5  
 hoc opus, hic labor est etc.

Non dixit: 'Hoc impossibile est,' sed: 'Hoc', inquit, 'opus, hic labor est',  
 id est possibile est, etsi difficile sit. Possibile est si exhibeatur opus,  
 prebeantur opera, labor adhibeatur. Festina igitur ut resurgas; nam si  
 difficile<sup>b</sup> est hodie surgere, cras erit difficilius. 10

<sup>a</sup> animum C,D,R,B,H,E

<sup>b</sup> D; difficilem C

to the present; the 'song' and 'woe' to the future. I have mentioned  
 'woe' to you so that you might escape from it. I have mentioned  
 'lamentations' so that you might flee to them for safety; but I have not  
 mentioned 'song', so that once the recollection of everything pleasant  
 35 has been erased, you should not direct your heart to transitory pleasure.  
 But as long as you realised that you were sitting by the waters of  
 Babylon, you would weep, lament and groan, and hang your instru-  
 ments on the willows there, and expose yourself totally to sorrow in  
 your very marrow. May there be no mention to you of 'song' until you  
 40 fulfil the instruction: 'Come out of Babylon, flee from the Chaldaeans.'  
 But now may this 'lamentation' speak to you, that is what has up till  
 now spoken for you: 'How you have fallen, Lucifer, who rose in the  
 morning', who shouted to the Lord with the morning stars, when you  
 sang hymns to the Most High in the company of novices, in the tears  
 45 of monks, in the veneration of lay brothers, in the sight of angels! How  
 that attractive tail of the dragon with its third part of the stars drew  
 down you also, to whom God had given the light of wisdom, the glory  
 of knowledge, the radiance of understanding, so that you might shine  
 among the fixed stars if you wish for everlasting eternity! I do not spare  
 50 you, dearest brother, for I want God to spare both myself and you.  
 You have fallen. Can it be that someone who falls cannot rise again?  
 'A good man can fall seven times and rise again', that is as often as he  
 falls, so often does he rise again. You who fall for the whole day have  
 fallen daily; why can you not rise again perhaps in one day?

## 52

*A warning to the lapsed monk to bestir himself*

Arouse yourself therefore, brother, arouse yourself! For it is not impos-  
 sible to rise, although it may be difficult, just as difficult as it is easy to  
 fall. As Aristotle says: 'It is easier to destroy than to build.' As the poet  
 puts it:

5 [ ... ] The descent [into hell] is easy;  
 but to retrace your steps and climb to the upper world,  
 this is an effort, this is hard work etc.

He does not say: 'This is impossible'; but: 'This,' he says, 'is an effort,  
 this is hard work', that is it is possible, though it may be difficult. It is  
 10 possible if one makes a show of effort, if action is taken, if some hard  
 work is put into it. Hurry therefore to rise again; for if it is difficult to  
 rise today, it will be more difficult tomorrow.

He who is not ready today will be less ready tomorrow.

Qui non est hodie, cras minus aptus erit.

fo.201

Omne autem tempus quod more addicitur, addicitur et casui. Quanto  
jacebis diucius, tanto cades profundius; ipsum namque jacere | est  
cadere. Cadere, fateor, humanum est; sed nichilominus humanum est  
resurgere juxta illud: 'Numquid qui cecidit non resurget?' id est: Nonne  
qui potuit cadere potest<sup>c</sup> resurgere? Non resurgere nullomodo  
humanum dicendum est, sed diabolicum, cuius tota vita ruina est.  
Adjuro ergo te, frater amantissime, hortor et obsecro 'per viscera mis-  
ericordie Dei nostri, in quibus visitavit nos oriens ex alto', ut taliter  
adicias resurgere, taliter mecum festines collaborare, ne infernus dividat  
inter nos. Cur enim nati ex uno carnali utero, et ex uno spirituali renati,  
uno inferno dividamur? Vel etiam, ut melius dicam, ne dividat inter  
nos et Christum, qui eius precioso sanguine redempti sumus? Excutere  
de pulvere dum opus est remedio, qui turpiter et temere jaces in ster-  
quilinio. Surge, curre pro bravio dum licet comprehendere; cum pen-  
itenti filio ad patrem tu revertere.

De huiusmodi apostatis et fidei religiosi qui impetrant falsas dis-  
pensationes ut possint laxius vivere vel uxores ducere, vide nimum  
terribile libro primo capitulo xxviii Revelacionum domine Brigitte  
de quodam nobili canonico et subdiacono qui optenta falsa dis-  
pensatione desponsavit virginem divitem, sed preventus morte subita  
non optinuit quod concupivit, ubi agitur de terribili et horribili sen-  
tencia illata a Deo et ab omnibus sanctis contra eum. Anno domini  
m<sup>o</sup> cc xxxvi obiit Gilbertus episcopus Dunkeldensis et in insula Sancti  
Columbe de Emonia sepultus. Post quem electus est ad Dunk' Gal-  
fridus de Liberatione. Ipso anno reges Anglie et Scocie convenerunt  
apud Novum Castrum, ubi habuerunt colloquium adinvicem de  
utriusque regni pace et arduis negociis post Nativitatem Beate Marie  
per tres dies, ubi intererat regina Scocie soror ipsius regis Anglie. Hoc  
anno Henricus rex Anglie duxit Elianoram filiam comitis Provincie in  
uxorem.

<sup>c</sup> + et ne et C,R, with first et probably del.C;  
+ ne et D,B,H,E

15 All passage of time indeed which is additional delay means additional  
risk. The longer you lie there, the deeper you will fall; for to lie there  
is to fall. To fall, I admit, is human; but it is no less human to rise  
again, according to the text: 'Can it be that someone who falls cannot  
rise again?' that is: 'Cannot someone who has fallen rise again?' To fail  
to rise can in no way be called human, but diabolic, which means the  
20 ruin of all life.

Therefore I entreat you, dearest brother, I urge and pray 'through  
the tender mercy of our God whereby the morning sun from heaven  
has risen upon us' that you set about rising again in a such a way, and  
make haste to work along with me in such a way, that hell will not  
25 cause division between us. For why should we who were born from one  
womb in the flesh and reborn from a spiritual one be divided by hell  
alone? Or even, to put it better, is hell to cause division between us and  
Christ, when we have been redeemed by His precious blood? Be roused  
from the dust while there are resources for a cure, lying as you do  
shamefully and blindly in a midden. Get up, run for the prize while you  
30 can seize it; return to your father with the penitent son.

On the subject of apostate and false monks of this kind who seek  
spurious dispensations to allow them to live with fewer restrictions  
and even to marry wives, see the extremely alarming story in the  
35 *Revelations* of the lady Bridget (Book 1, Chapter 28) concerning a  
certain noble canon and subdeacon who obtained a spurious dis-  
pensation and married a rich young girl; but he was prevented by  
sudden death from obtaining what he coveted. Then the story tells  
of the terrible and horrible sentence imposed on him by God and the  
40 saints.

In 1236 Gilbert bishop of Dunkeld died and was buried on Inch- 1236:  
colm (that is Emonia). After him Geoffrey de Liberatione was elected [6 Apr.]  
to Dunkeld.

In that year the kings of England and Scotland met at Newcastle Sept.  
45 and had a discussion together on the peace of each kingdom and  
[other] difficult business for three days after the Nativity of Blessed  
Mary. The queen of Scotland, the sister of that king of England, was  
present there. In this year Henry king of England took Eleanor [20 Jan.]  
daughter of the count of Provence as his wife.



*De tractatu inter reges et morte  
regine Scocie*

Anno domini m° cc° xxxvii° Henricus et Alexander reges<sup>a</sup> cum suis reginis et utriusque regni proceribus convenerunt apud Eboracum in die Sancti Mauricii, ubi per quindecim dies tractaverunt de arduis negociis regnorum presente Othone legato domini pape. Peractis quoque tractatibus rex Scocie prospere repatriavit; sed regina Scocie cum regina Anglie causa devocionis Cantuariam adiit; que juxta London' defuncta est anno sequenti iiii<sup>to</sup> nonas marci inter manus Henrici regis Anglie et Ricardi ducis Cornubie fratrum dicte regine. Cuius corpus sepeliri fecerunt in ecclesia monialium de Tharent cum honore. Hoc anno, scilicet xxxviii, obiit Willelmus Mavesy episcopus Sancti Andr'. Post quem eligitur magister David de Bernhame camerarius domini regis. Obiit magister Hugo de Potton archidiaconus Glasguensis, post cuius obitum divisus est archidiaconatus, quia magister Matheus dictus est archidiaconus Glasguensis et magister Petrus de Halington' dictus est archidiaconus Thevidalie. Obiit dominus Willelmus abbas de Dumf', cui successit Galfridus prior eiusdem domus. Hoc anno oritur lamentabile bellum inter papam Gregorium<sup>b</sup> <ix><sup>c</sup> et Fredericum imperatorem, qui dicebatur Puer de Pulia, inter quos sancta ecclesia inauditas persecuciones perpessa est. <Pro isto [vide]<sup>d</sup> supra libro ix capitulo iii [versus].<sup>d</sup>>

Nam<sup>e</sup> imperator excommunicatus contra Romanam ecclesiam acrius insurgens, itinera quoque obsidens Romipetis insidiatur. Ob hoc Jacobus Prenestinus episcopus in Franciam legatus a domino papa petendi subsidii causa latenter dirigitur et peracto negocio<sup>f</sup> revertens ab imperatore patitur. Sed et dominus Otho cardinalis in Angliam ab ipso papa missus eodem tempore rediens eciam ipse ab imperatore detinetur. Eo eciam tempore dominus papa consilium episcoporum ad se vocare nititur et multi iter aggressi similiter capiuntur. Ex quibus fuit Petrus de Collemedio archiepiscopus Rothomagensis, abbates quoque Cluniaci, Cistercii et Clarevallis. Interea obiit papa, qui xiiii annis in pontificatu sedit, et anno domini m° cc° xl migravit<sup>g</sup> <et Fredericus

<sup>a</sup> Henricus et Alexander omitted and Scocie et Anglie inserted after reges CA

<sup>b</sup> + vii interlin. and del. with marginal correction C

<sup>c</sup> Gregorium vii CA

<sup>d</sup> D; lac. C

<sup>e</sup> + comminatorie sic imperator scripsit papa then includes the verses to be found above c. 2 CA

<sup>f</sup> + divertens del. C

<sup>g</sup> + ad Dominum CA

*A treaty between the kings and the death  
of the queen of Scotland*

In 1237 the kings Henry and Alexander met at York on St Maurice's Day with their queens and magnates of both kingdoms. They negotiated there on difficult business of the kingdoms for fifteen days in the presence of Otto the legate of the lord pope. Once the negotiations were complete, the king of Scotland returned home safely; but the queen of Scotland went to Canterbury with the queen of England on a pious exercise, and died near London in the following year on 4 March in the arms of Henry king of England and Richard [earl] of Cornwall the said queen's brothers. They arranged for her body to be honourably buried in the church of the nuns of Tarrant.

In this year (namely 1238) William Malveisin bishop of St Andrews died, and Master David de Bernham the lord king's chamberlain was elected to succeed him.

Master Hugh de Potton archdeacon of Glasgow died. After his death the archdeaconry was divided. Master Matthew was styled archdeacon of Glasgow, and Master Peter de Alinton was styled archdeacon of Teviotdale.

Sir William abbot of Dunfermline died, and was succeeded by Geoffrey the prior of the same house.

In this year a most unfortunate war broke out between Pope Gregory IX and the emperor Frederick (who was called the Boy of Apulia). Between the two of them Holy Church suffered unheard of persecutions. (On this see the verses above, Book IX, Chapter [2].)

For once the emperor had been excommunicated he rose bitterly against the Roman church, waylaying those travelling to Rome so as to ambush them. On this account James [cardinal] bishop of Palestrina, who was legate in France, was secretly directed by the lord pope to seek a subsidy, and while returning on the completion of his business suffered at the hands of the emperor. Sir Otto the cardinal who had been sent to England by the pope himself was also himself detained by the emperor when returning at the same time. At the same time also the lord pope strove to call a council of bishops to his side, and many were similarly seized while on their way. Among them was Peter da Collemezzo archbishop of Rouen, and also the abbots of Cluny, Cîteaux and Clairvaux. Meanwhile the pope died after a pontificate of fourteen years. He passed away in 1240 (and Frederick died suddenly – see below in the same Chapter 56). His successor was Celestine IV; but because he

[1237:  
22 Sept.]

[1238:  
4 Mar.]

[9 July]  
[1239:  
3 June]

[1238:  
[Jan./Mar.]

[1238]

[1238]

[1239:  
20 Mar.]

[1241:  
3 May]

[1241:  
22 Aug.]  
[Oct.-Nov.]

subito moritur, ut infra eodem capitulo lv[i].<sup>d</sup> > Cui Celestinus iii<sup>i</sup>us successit, sed quia senex et infirmus erat ultra xviii dies ecclesiam non valuit regere, quia morte prohibitus est permanere. Postea dissencientibus inter se paucis qui a mortis invasione remanserant cardinalibus vacavit apostolica sedes xx<sup>ti</sup> et duobus mensibus.

G ii,66

fo.201v

<Hic Fredericus mordacissima scripta fecit contra dominum apostolicum incipiens processum suum contra papam in hec verba: 'Collegerunt principes et pharisei [etc.].'<sup>d</sup> Dehinc scribit generaliter omnibus regibus et principibus mundi ut non obediant papae incipiens sic processum: 'Illos felices describit antiquitas.' Dehinc scribit regi | Francie significans aliqua faciencia ad tractatum pacis inter ipsum et dominum papam. Invective eciam scribit Romanis eo quod non opposuerunt se domino pape quando excommunicationis sententiam protulit in eundem. Scribit eciam regibus Castelle et Anglie et eciam indifferenter omnibus regibus etc. mirabilem processum incipientem sic: 'Levate in circuitu oculos vestros etc.'. Iste maximam tyrannidem exercuit in ecclesiasticos volentes venire ad vocacionem pape consilio generali, ut premittitur; et tandem a legato pape et Parmenensibus turpiter devictus, consequenter subito miserabiliter ymmo et mirabiliter mortuus est, ut patet infra [capitulo lvi].<sup>d</sup> > Anno precedenti obiit Gilbertus episcopus de Aberdon. Cui successit Radulphus de Lamley abbas de Aberbroth'. Natus est Eadwardus primogenitus regis Anglie ii kl' junii. Henricus | abbas de Jedwod ob imbecillitatem corporis cure pastoralis renunciavit. Cui successit Philippus eiusdem domus canonicus. Elevata sunt ossa Ade episcopi de Katania de loco ubi post martyrium fuerunt sepulta et ad sedem episcopalem delata.

d D;lac.C

40

was old and ill, he was not well enough to rule the church for more than eighteen days, because death prevented his survival. Afterwards the apostolic see was vacant for twenty-two months while the few cardinals who were then alive quarrelled among themselves.

45

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This Frederick prepared a very caustic letter against the apostolic lord, beginning his missive against the pope with these words: 'The chief [priests] and pharisees came in a body' etc. Next he wrote in general terms to all the kings and princes of the world that they should not obey the pope, beginning his missive thus: 'Antiquity describes those men as fortunate' etc. Then he wrote to the king of France telling him of certain things which would have to be done to achieve a peace between him and the lord pope. He also wrote reproachfully to the Romans because they had not opposed the lord pope when he had pronounced a sentence of excommunication on him. He wrote also to the kings of Castile and England, and also to all kings etc. indiscriminately an astonishing missive beginning thus: 'Raise your eyes and look around you' etc. And he was extremely tyrannical towards clerics who wished to come to the general council called by the pope, as has been said. At length he was shamefully defeated by a legate of the pope and the people of Parma, and as a result he died suddenly, rather wretchedly and amazingly (as is clear below, Chapter 56).

In the previous year Gilbert bishop of Aberdeen died and was succeeded by Radulf de Lamley abbot of Arbroath.

Edward the eldest son of the king of England was born on 31 May.

Henry abbot of Jedburgh resigned from his pastoral charge on account of his bodily infirmity. He was succeeded by Philip, a canon of the same house.

The bones of Adam bishop of Caithness were exhumed from the place where they were buried after his martyrdom and brought to the episcopal see.

[1239:  
20 Apr.][1248:  
18 Feb.][1250:  
13 Dec.]

[1239]

[17/18  
June]

*De Othone legato Anglie et Scocie et laude eius  
et falso<sup>a</sup> consiliario<sup>b</sup>*

Hoc anno scilicet gracie m<sup>o</sup> cc<sup>o</sup> xxxix intravit Otho diaconus cardinalis sedis apostolice legatus primo terram Scocie circa festum Sancti Mathei Apostoli et in crastino Sancti Luce Evangeliste celebravit consilium suum apud Edingburgh<sup>c</sup> et post festum Omnium Sanctorum a Scocia discessit et in manus imperatoris, ut premittitur, incidit. Cuius laudem celebrem commemorat Alexander Nekkam in quodam sermone quando Londoniis<sup>c</sup> consilium celebravit dicens:

Hic est qui regibus exhibet se Johannem, Egipciis Moisen, fornicatoribus Finees, idolatris Heliam, Heliseum avaris, Petrum mentientibus, Paulum blasphemantibus, negociantibus Christum; qui wlgum non spernit sed docet, divites non palpat<sup>d</sup> sed curat, pauperes non gravat sed fovet, minas principum non pavet sed contempnit; qui ecclesias non spoliatur sed emendat; qui marsupia<sup>e</sup> non exhaurit sed corda reficit et crimina corrigit, fame providet sue nec invidet aliene; qui orandi studium gerit et usum habet; ac de omni re orationi plus confidit quam sue industrie vel labori; cuius ingressus pacificus, modestus exitus erit; cuius sermo edificatio, cuius vita iusticia, cuius presencia gracia, cuius memoria in benedictione erit; qui se amabilem prebet non verbo sed opere, reverenciam exhibet sed actu non fastu; qui humilis est cum humilibus, cum innocentibus innocens, duos dire redarguit, malignantes cohercet, retributionem<sup>f</sup> superbis; qui non de dote vidue et patrimonio Crucifixi se ditari festinat, gratis dans quod gratis suscepit, gratis faciens iudicium injuriam patientibus, vindictam in nationibus, increpaciones in populis.

Hec ille. In quibus verbis bonus prelatas sufficienter describitur. 25

G ii,67

Circa hoc tempus Vetulus rex Arcidas misit in Franciam precipiens ut occiderent Ludovicum regem. Sed Deus cor eius immutavit eique cogitaciones pacis et non occisionis immisit, mandans ei ut a primis nunciis se custodiret. Unde rex ex tunc corpus suum diligencius fecit custodiri per homines clavas cupreas assidue deportantes. Primos interim nuncios alii solcite quesierunt et inventos ad regem Ludovicum adduxerunt. Quibus visis rex gaudens utrosque muneribus honoravit

<sup>a</sup> pestifero et corrupto for falso CA  
<sup>b</sup> et falso consiliario interlin. and not underlined in red ink like the rest of the rubric C  
<sup>c</sup> ibidem CA

<sup>d</sup> pauperat non for non palpat CA  
<sup>e</sup> marsupias CA  
<sup>f</sup> + reddit CA

*Otto the legate to England and Scotland and his merits;  
a false councillor*

In this year (namely 1239) the cardinal deacon Otto, who was a 1239:  
legate of the apostolic see, entered the land of Scotland for the first 21 Sept.  
time around the feast of St Matthew the Apostle, and on the morrow  
of St Luke the Evangelist held his council at Edinburgh. After the 19 Oct.  
5 feast of All Saints he left Scotland and fell into the hands of the 1 Nov.  
emperor (as has been said). Alexander Neckam recalls his famous  
merits in a certain sermon when holding a council at London to this  
effect:

Here is a man who conducts himself as John to kings, as Moses to the Egyptians, as Phinehas to fornicators, as Elijah to idolators, as Elisha to the greedy, as Peter to liars, as Paul to blasphemers, as Christ to money-changers; who does not spurn ordinary folk, but teaches them; who does not flatter the rich, but cares for them; who does not oppress the poor, but comforts them; who does not fear the threats of princes, but despises them; who does not despoil churches, but repairs them; who does not drain purses, but mends hearts and corrects sins; who takes care of his own reputation without envy for that of other people; who both studies and practises prayer, and in everything trusts more to talk than to his activity or toil; whose entry will be peaceful, and whose exit orderly; whose talk will be edifying, whose life harmonious, whose presence gracious; who will be remembered as a blessing; who will behave aimably, not [just] in word, but in deed; who will show deference, but in his behaviour, not as a matter of pride; who is humble with the humble, principled with those of principle; who skilfully shows up those who have no pity, keeps the malicious in order, and [brings] retribution to the proud; who is anxious not to be enriched from the widow's dower and the patrimony of the Crucified One, giving away free what he has received free, offering justice free to those suffering injury, punishment for nations, rebukes for peoples.

30 In these words the good prelate is adequately described.

About this time the Old Man, the king of the [Assassins], sent men to [1236]  
France to kill King Louis. But God changed his heart, and he sent plans for peace with Louis rather than his death, telling him to protect himself against the first agents. Therefore the king from then on arranged for his person to be most carefully guarded by men continually carrying copper maces. Meanwhile some men diligently sought out the first agents, and when they had been found, brought them to King

regique Vetulo regalia exennia et dona quamplurima preciosa in signum  
 pacis et amicitie delegavit. Hic rex Ludovicus eodem anno instigante  
 fratre Henrico de Colonia peroptimo predicatore<sup>g</sup> sub pena mortis 35  
 congregari fecit Parisius nephandissimum Judeorum librum qui Tal-  
 muth dicitur, in quo inaudite hereses et blasphemie contra Christum et  
 matrem eius locis plurimis scripte erant. Huius libri diversa exemplaria  
 ad comburendum Parisius adlata sunt. Flentes igitur Judei adierunt 40  
 archipresulem qui regis consiliarius summus erat et pecuniam pro con-  
 servacione librorum innumerabilem optulerunt. Qua corruptus regem  
 adiit et ad voluntatem suam juvenilem animum mox invenit. Redditis  
 autem libris Judei solemnem diem agi constituerunt omni anno sed  
 invanum aliud Dei Spiritu ordinante. Revoluto enim anno die certo et  
 ipso loco quo libri execrabiles redditi sunt Judeis (hoc est in Vicenis 45  
 prope Parisius) dictus archiepiscopus ad consultacionem regis veniens  
 diro viscerum dolore correptus et eadem die cum ejulatu maximo vite  
 finem accepit. Fugit autem rex de loco cum tota familia nimirum verens  
 ne cum archiepiscopo divinitus feriretur. Nec multo post ut prius insti-  
 gante dicto magistro Henrico Judeorum libri congregati sunt sub mortis 50  
 pena et in maxima multitudine combusti sunt.

g + ipse rex *del.C*

## 55

*De eodem et secunda sponsa regis Alexandri*

Sciendum est quod omnes orientales Judei hereticos et excommunicatos  
 reputant hos Judeos qui contra legem Moisi et prophetas hunc librum  
 qui Talmuth dicitur recipiunt et conscribunt. Sed tunc qualiter archi-  
 presul legis Christi defensor puniri meretur hiis versibus insinuat:

Peccat in auctorem; pervertit jus; tribulatur  
 pax status ecclesie; pro quo reus hic feriat.

5

fo.202

Cum igitur rex Alexander de prima conjuge sua natos non haberet,  
 consilio suorum procerum uxorem duxit filiam nobilis viri Ingelrami  
 de Cowcy Mariam nomine die Penth' idus maii apud Roxburgh<sup>a</sup>  
 anno domini m<sup>o</sup> cc<sup>o</sup> xxxix. De qua genuit filium cui nomen patris  
 impositum est: Alexander natus est apud Roxburgh' pridie non' 10

a Edinburgh FF

Louis. On seeing them, the king was happy to reward each of them  
 with gifts, and he sent kingly presents and very many precious gifts to  
 the Old Man king as a sign of peace and friendship.

40

This King Louis that same year at the urging of the excellent preacher [1239]  
 Friar Henry of Cologne ordered under pain of death the collection at  
 Paris of [copies of] that most abominable Jewish book, the Talmud, in  
 which unheard of heresies and blasphemies against Christ and his  
 mother are written in many places. Various copies of this book were  
 brought to Paris for burning. In tears therefore the Jews approached  
 the archbishop who was the king's chief councillor, and offered a  
 countless sum of money for the preservation of the books. Corrupted  
 by this, he went to the king and soon bent that young man's mind to  
 his wishes. When the books had been returned, the Jews instituted the  
 holding of a day of celebration every year; but in vain, for the Spirit of  
 God ordained otherwise. For when a year had passed, on a certain day  
 and at the place where the detestable books had been returned to the  
 Jews – that is Vincennes near Paris – the said archbishop on coming to  
 counsel the king was seized with a terrible pain in his bowels, and on [1240:  
 the same day his life came to an end with a great deal of wailing. But 6 July]  
 the king fled from the place with his household, presumably fearing lest  
 he be struck down by divine agency along with the archbishop. And  
 not much later, at the instigation of the said Master Henry as before, [1242]  
 the Jews' books were collected under pain of death and burnt in very  
 large quantities.

60

## 55

*The same topic and King Alexander's second wife*

It is common knowledge that all Eastern Jews reckon as heretics and  
 excommunicates these Jews who against Mosaic law and the prophets  
 acquire and copy this book called the Talmud. But then the extent to  
 which an archbishop as defender of the law of Christ should be punished  
 is suggested in these verses:

5

He offends against authority; he subverts justice; the peace and state of  
 the church are afflicted;  
 for its sake this culprit should be struck down.

Since therefore King Alexander had no children by his first wife,  
 on the advice of the magnates he married the daughter of the noble [1239:  
 man Ingram de Coucy called Mary at Pentecost, 15 May 1239, at 15 May  
 Roxburgh. By her he fathered a son who was given his father's name.  
 Alexander was born at Roxburgh on 4 September (that is the feast  
 of the Translation of St Cuthbert) on a Wednesday, when his father [1241:  
 4 Sept.

septembris, videlicet festo Translacionis Sancti Cuthberti, feria iiii<sup>a</sup>,  
etatis anno patris sui xliiii incipiente et regni sui xxvii pene finito.

G ii,68

Quo | anno a dominica post Natale Domini usque ad Exaltacionem  
Sancte Crucis fuit siccitas magna vinaque tam forcia fuerunt ut non  
possent bibi comode sine aqua. Eo tempore apud Cremonam facta est 15  
tempestas maxima ceciditque lapis grandinis in quo erat crux et imago  
Salvatoris expressa, desuper quoque literis scriptum: 'Jhesus Nazarenus  
Rex Judeorum.' Cecidit autem in monasterio Sancti Gabrielis et de  
aqua in quam liquefactus est inunxerunt monachi cuiusdam fratris  
oculos cecucientis statimque clare vidit. Hoc eciam anno, antequam 20  
Tartari Turquiam destruxissent, quidam Turquinianus in regno Tur-  
quie contra soldanum in regno se extulit, ac per duos menses et fere  
dimidium debacacionem suam exercuit; hic Paperoissole vocabatur et  
bajulacionem habebat super iiii<sup>or</sup> casalia. Qui cum die quadam equitaret 25  
per campos jumentum suum pulchrum, quidam rusticus pedester ei  
occurrit ejulans et clamans quia lupus rapuerat et in silvam deportaverat  
eius filium. 'O,' inquit rusticus, 'audi me, homo, et adjuva miserum  
faciamque te divitem hominem vel, si malueris, soldanum.' Cui Papero-  
issole audita eius causa et accepto de promissione juramento lupum  
insecutus ei puerum abstulit et ad patrem reportavit. Rusticus ergo 30  
puerum vivum letanter recipiens Paperoissole dixit: 'Elige quod vis de  
duobus promissis.' Ille respondit: 'Quis es tu?' 'Ego sum', inquit, 'qui  
de nocte vado cum dominabus que Nimphe vocantur et sum Dei  
nuncius. Et quicquid dixerō tibi eveniet.' Tunc ille: 'Satis', inquit, 'dives  
sum, sed fac me soldanum.' Rusticus quoque ait: 'Vade statim ad 35  
parentes tuos quia magne es parentele, et congregatis in unum; dic quod  
nuncius Dei tibi apparuit dicens Deum te velle soldanum esse.' Quod  
cum ille fecisset, incepit multa circa se casalia invadere atque destruere  
omnibusque cum quibus preliabatur prevalere eosque animare ut viri-  
liter pugnarent nichilque mali timerent quia nullus moreretur neque 40  
vulneraretur. Hac confidencia contra Armenos insultum fecerunt ubi  
Paperoissole cum suis vulnerati occubuerunt.

56

### *De aliis incidentibus*

Anno domini m cc° xl Gregorius papa ex omni regno Christiane  
fidei mandavit episcopis ut personaliter Romam venirent. Inter quos  
vocati sunt nominatim Willelmus episcopus Glasguensis et David de

15 had recently entered his forty-fourth year and the twenty-seventh  
year of his reign was nearly completed.

In this year from the Sunday after Christmas until [the feast of] the [1240:]  
Exaltation of the Holy Cross there was a great drought, and vintages 1 Jan.-14  
were so strong that it was unpleasant to drink them without water. Sept.

20 At the same time at Cremona there was a very great storm and a 1240  
hailstone fell on which was portrayed a cross and an image of the  
Saviour; above it also were written the words: 'Jesus of Nazareth King  
of the Jews.' It fell moreover on the monastery of St Gabriel, and with  
the water into which it melted the monks anointed the eyes of a certain  
brother who was blind, and at once he saw clearly. 25

Also in this year, before the Tartars destroyed Turkey, a certain Turk 1240  
in the kingdom of Turkey exalted himself in the kingdom against the  
sultan, and for nearly two and a half months exercised his fury. He was  
called Paperoissole and had bailiff's authority over four villages. One  
day when he was riding his beautiful mare in the fields, a certain serf  
ran up to him on foot shrieking and shouting because a wolf had  
snatched his son and carried him off into the wood. 'Hear me, you  
there,' said the serf, 'and help a poor wretch! And I shall make you a  
rich man, or sultan if you prefer it.' When Paperoissole had heard his  
case and had made him take an oath about his promise, he followed  
the wolf, removed the boy from it, and brought him back to his father.  
The serf accordingly received his boy alive with delight and said to  
Paperoissole: 'Choose what you want from my two promises.' He  
replied: 'Who are you?' 'I am one,' he said, 'who walks at night with  
the ladies who are called the Nymphs, and I am a messenger of God;  
and whatever I say, it will happen to you.' Then the other said: 'I am  
rich enough; but make me sultan.' The serf also said: 'Go at once to  
your relatives, because you belong to a large family, and when they are  
gathered together say to them that a messenger from God has appeared  
to you saying that God wishes you to be sultan.' When he had done  
this, he began to attack and destroy many villages around him, and to  
overcome all with whom he fought, and to inspire them to fight like  
men and to have no fear of injury because no one would die or be  
wounded. Bolstered by this they launched an attack against the Armen-  
ians, in which Paperoissole and his followers were wounded and slain. 50

56

### *Other events*

In 1240 Pope Gregory ordered bishops from every kingdom of 1240:  
Christendom to come personally to Rome. Among those called by [9 Aug.]  
name were William bishop of Glasgow and David de Bernham



Bernhame episcopus Sancti Andr', qui ipso anno in die Vincenci  
consecratus fuit in sede sua a predicto episcopo Glasguensi; qui in 5  
Adventu Domini versus papam iter arripuerunt.

Obiit Galfridus abbas de Dunf', cui successit Robertus de Kel-  
deleth eiusdem domus monachus. Et transitus Sancti Eadmundi  
Cantuar' episcopi<sup>a</sup> in exilio apud Pontiniacum et per papam canon-  
izatum. Obiit Walterus filius Alani junioris. Anno scilicet domini m<sup>o</sup> 10  
cc<sup>ob</sup> xli<sup>o</sup> Willelmus Glasguensis et David Sancti Andr' episcopi cum  
episcopis Francie et Anglie repatriaverunt facta appellacione contra  
legatos qui eorum ductores fuerunt. Dicebant enim se sine mortis  
periculo ad presenciam domini papae | non posse venire. Illis ergo 15  
repatriantibus procuratores eorum cum aliis magnis et multis viris  
religiosis iter per mare arripuerunt propter insidias imperatoris.  
Wallenses, qui sunt reliquie Britonum qui a diebus Bruti, qui primus  
princeps erat, principem de gente sua propria habuerunt, illo anno  
ita subjugati sunt ut apud London' Anglorum more causas suas  
determinent, secundum prophetiam Merlini dicentis quod rubeus 20  
draco (id est Britones) languet in extremitate stagni (id est insule)  
oppressus ab albo dracone, per quem Angli designantur.

Hoc anno obiit papa G[regorius] ix, qui sentenciam quam | Honorius  
predecessor suus contra Fredericum fulminaverat roboravit. Hic per 25  
fratrem Reymundum Ordinis Fratrum Predicatorum penitenciarium  
et capellanum ex pluribus voluminibus decretalium compilavit unum  
volumen, quod Summa Reymundi vocatur, mandans ubique<sup>c</sup> doc-  
toribus illo uti. Hic etiam Fredericus proprium filium Henricum nomine  
regem tunc Alemannie accusatum sibi de rebellione captum in Apuliam  
ducens in squalore carceris suffocavit. Hic Fredericus excommunicatus 30  
post suam ab imperio destitucionem, cum inter civitates Lombardie  
Parmem tamquam magis exosam sibi forti manu obsideret, a legato  
domini papae et a Parmensibus est devictus. Ubi amissis thesauris et  
aliis rebus suis in Apuliam rediens subito est defunctus. Istius etiam  
tempore in Burgundia imperiali per terram solidam a montibus circiter 35  
quinque milia hominum suffocantur. Nam unus maximus mons se  
dividens ab aliis montibus per plura miliaria cuiusdam vallis transiens  
ad alios montes accessit et in valle omnes villas terra et lapidibus  
obruendo. Eodem tempore in Tholeto Hispanie quidam Judeus com-  
minuendo unam rupem pro vinea amplianda in medio lapidis invenit 40  
quandam concavitatem nullam penitus divisionem habentem neque  
scissuram et in concavitate illa reperit unum librum quasi folia lignea  
habentem; qui liber tribus linguis scriptus, videlicet Hebraice, Grece,  
Latine; tantum de litera habebat quantum unum Psalterium et loque-  
batur de triplici mundo ab Adam usque ad Antichristum proprietates 45  
hominum, cuiusque mundi exprimendo principium vero tercii mundi  
posuit in Christo sic: 'In tercio mundi filius Dei nascetur ex Virgine

<sup>a</sup> archiepiscopi CA  
<sup>b</sup> + xx del.C

<sup>c</sup> que interlin.C

bishop of St Andrews, who had been consecrated at his see by the 22 Jan.  
5 said bishop of Glasgow on St Vincent's Day of that year. They 2 Dec.  
started their journey to the pope at the time of Advent.

Geoffrey abbot of Dunfermline died, and was succeeded by Robert 1240  
de Keldeleth a monk of the same house. And St Edmund [arch-]  
bishop of Canterbury died in exile at Pontigny; he was canonised [16 Nov.]  
10 by the pope. [1247]

Walter son of Alan the younger died.

In 1241 William bishop of Glasgow and David bishop of St [1241]  
Andrews returned home with the bishops of France and England  
after making a protest against the legates who were accompanying  
15 them. For they said that they could not come to the presence of the  
lord pope without danger to their lives. Therefore while they turned  
for home, their messengers set off along with many other important  
members of religious orders, going by sea on account of the emper-  
or's ambushes.

20 The Welsh, who are descendants of the Britons [and] who from 1241  
the time of Brutus their first prince have had a prince from among  
their own people, were in that year subdued to such an extent that  
they had to decide their lawsuits at London following the customs [Aug.-Oct.]  
of the English. This accorded with a prophecy of Merlin when he  
25 said that the red dragon (that is the Britons) lies sick at the end of  
the pool (that is of the island) oppressed by the white dragon (mean-  
ing the English).

In this year the death occurred of Pope Gregory IX, who confirmed 1241:  
the sentence which his predecessor Honorius had fulminated against [22 Aug.]  
Frederick. He ordered the compilation by Friar Raymond O.P. his [1230]  
penitentiary and chaplain of a single volume (called the *Summa Ray-*  
*mondi*) from the great number of volumes of decretals, instructing its  
universal use by doctors [of law]. [1234:  
5 Sept.]

This Frederick, when his own son Henry then king of Germany was 1241:  
accused of rebellion against him, had him led captive to Apulia and [1242]  
smothered in a squalid prison. This Frederick, who had been excom-  
municated after his deposition from the empire, when he was besieging [1245:  
17 July]  
Parma (which he hated more than the other cities of Lombardy) with  
a strong force, was overcome by the legate of the lord pope and the [1248:  
18 Feb.]  
men of Parma. After losing his treasure there and his other possessions,  
he returned to Apulia and suddenly died. [1250:  
13 Dec.]

In his time also in imperial Burgundy five thousand men were suffo-  
cated on firm ground by the surrounding hills. For when one huge hill  
split away from the other hills and moved across many miles of a certain  
valley, it came up against other hills, burying all the townships in the  
valley with earth and stones.

At the same time in Toledo in Spain a certain Jew, when breaking  
up a rock to enlarge a vineyard, found in the middle of the stone a  
certain cavity entirely without division or crack, and in that cavity he



Maria et pro salute hominum paciatur.' Quod legens Judeus statim cum domo sua baptizatus est. Erat eciam in libro scriptum quod tempore regis Castelle Ferandi debebat liber inveniri. Quod utique sic evenit. 50

Simile legitur accidisse tempore Constantini vi<sup>ti</sup> circa annos domini octingentos qualiter quedam lamina aurea apud Constantinopolim in quodam sepulcro cum quodam defuncto ibidem jacente inventa est cum hac scriptura: 'Christus nascetur de Virgine Maria et credo in eum; sub Constantino et Hirene imperatoribus invenietur; O sol, 55 iterum me videbis.'

## 57

G ii,70

*De probitate Francorum contra Tartaros etc.*

Anno sequenti contigit Turcos cum adiutorio Francorum Tartarum fortiter debellare, et in quodam conflictu capti erant duo Franci apud Arsengan a Tartaris, quorum unus vocabatur de Brundusio, alter vero Reymundo Guasco. Cumque tenerentur captivi, quidam Tartarorum qui audierant quod Franci fortes bellatores erant suggererunt ceteris 5 majoribus ut illi duo pugnarent inter se, quia modum pugnandi eorum libenter aspicerent, congaudentes eorum interfeccioni manibus ipsorum faciente. Itaque de communi majorum assensu factum est ut inter se pugnarent illi duo Franci, equis et armaturis prout fieri potuit competenter preparati. Cum autem armarentur et prepararentur, inter se 10 sunt collocuti quod sive sic sive sic de necessitate ac sine dilacione oportebat eos mori. Ideoque quod Tartari sperabant ipsos invicem facturos de seipsis, ipsimet facerent de Tartaris. Hoc itaque communi assensu inter se firmaverunt Dei misericordiam sibi affuturam invocantes ac invicem sibi de peccatis suis confitentes. Preparati ergo ad 15 duellum, alter altri cominus quasi congregiens ac velut in comparem suum insiliens, in Tartaros irruerunt. Primo quidem lanceis et postea gladiis eos confodientes ac detruncantes ita quod quindecim ex eis interfecerunt et alios xxx<sup>a</sup> graviter vulneratos antequam ab illis interfecti fuissent. Ibi reliquerunt probitatis sue argumenta. 20

50 found a book with wooden leaves as it were. This book was written in three languages, namely Hebrew, Greek and Latin: it contained as much writing as a Psalter, and told of the tripartite world from Adam to Antichrist, with a portrayal of the characteristics of the men of each world. It placed the beginning of the third world indeed with Christ 55 thus: 'In the third world the son of God will be born to the Virgin Mary and will suffer for the salvation of mankind.' On reading this the Jew was immediately baptised along with his household. It was also written in the book that the book was due to be found in the time of Ferdinand king of Castile. This is inevitably what happened.

60 Similarly we may read how it happened in the time of Constantine VI about the year 800 that some gold plates were found at Constantinople in a certain tomb beside a dead body there with the inscription: 'Christ will be born to the Virgin Mary and I believe in Him; [this] will be found under the emperors Constantine and Irene. 65 Sun, you will see me again!'

## 57

*The integrity of the French against the Tartars*

In the following year it happened that the Turks were stoutly fighting [1243] the Tartars with the help of the French, and in one fight two Frenchmen were captured by the Tartars at Erzincan, one of whom had the name de Brundusio and the other was called Raymond the Gascon. When 5 they were held prisoner, some of the Tartars who had heard that the French were brave fighters, suggested to the others of the elders that those two men should fight each other so that they might have the pleasure of watching their fighting style, enjoying together their slaughter when effected by their own hands. And so by the common agreement of the elders it was arranged that those two Frenchmen should fight 10 each other, properly provided with horses and armour so far as could be arranged. When then they were armed and prepared, they talked over with each other how they had to die by one way or another inevitably and soon. And since the Tartars were hoping that they would act reciprocally against themselves, they in turn would act against the Tartars. And so by joint decision they agreed between themselves, 15 praying for the future mercy of God towards them and confessing their sins to themselves in turn. Prepared therefore for the duel, the one supposedly advancing on the other at close quarters and attacking as though against his comrade, they charged against the Tartars. First 20

Hoc eciam in anno Willelmus episcopus Ergadie in mare submergitur.

Rex Ludovicus contra Hugonem Marchie comitem in Pictaviam perrexit, qui scilicet comes contra eundem regem rebellis erat et Henricum Anglie regem ac Richardum fratrem eius<sup>a</sup> in auxilium habebat. Et hii duo uxores habebant filias comitis Provincie sorores scilicet regine Francie. Predictus autem Hugo habebat uxorem ipsius regis Anglie matrem. Anno quidem precedenti rex Ludovicus multam regni sui miliciam apud Salminum convocans Adefonsum fratrem suum ibidem novum militem fecit, | cui antea<sup>b</sup> filie comitis Tholosani nomine Johannis conjugaliter sociato terram Avernie, Pictavie terramque Albigensium possidendas concessit. Quibus peractis ab Hugone comite Marchie ut eidem fratri suo scilicet Adefonso comiti Pictavensi prout debebat hominum faceret<sup>c</sup> peciit, sed ille nullatenus se facturum asseruit. Unde rex huius presumptionis ac superbie non immemor anno sequenti exercitum regni congregavit et cum infinita multitudo bellatorum terram illius introivit. Et primo castrum quod Mosterolium in Gastina dicitur obsidens in brevi subjugavit. Postmodum ad turrim Berugie se convertens eamque capiens ipsam cum appendiciis suis dirui penitus fecit. Post hec et castrum Frontenaium Gaufridi de Lisegeo, qui erat in auxilium comitis Marchie, fortiter expugnavit, ipsumque cito sibi potenter subiecit. Similiter et aliud castrum eiusdem Gaufridi fortissimum quod appellatur Voventum.

<sup>a</sup> + ducem Cornubie CA  
<sup>b</sup> anna C,D

<sup>c</sup> facere C,D

## 58

*De preparacione regum Francie et Anglie  
contra se mutuo ad bellum*

In expugnacione Frontenaii balistarius quidam quarellum ad turrim<sup>a</sup> jaciens Adefonsum comitem Pictavensem fratrem regis Ludovici in pede graviter vulneravit. Quo viso rex castrum acrius impugnari jussit, eoque capto defensores eius scilicet filium Marchie comitis illegitimum et xli milites cum lxxx servientibus et aliis quamplurimis rex partim Parisius partim alibi per diversa loca misit. Interea Marchie comitissa

<sup>a</sup> turnum C,D

with lances and then with swords they stabbed them and cut them down so that they killed fifteen of them, and another thirty were seriously wounded before they were killed by the Tartars. Thus they left proofs of their integrity.

25 In this year also William bishop of Argyll was drowned at sea. [1241]

King Louis advanced into Poitou against Hugh count of La Marche; this count was evidently a rebel against the same king, and had help from Henry king of England and Richard his brother. The wives of these two men were daughters of the count of Provence, that is sisters of the queen of France. The wife of the said Hugh was the mother of the king of England himself. [1242]

30 In the previous year King Louis called together a great army from his kingdom at Saumur, and there made his brother Alphonse a new knight. Once he had been married to the daughter of the count of Toulouse called Jeanne, Louis gave him possession of the land of Auvergne, Poitou, and the land of the Albigensians. When this was put into effect, Louis sought the performance of homage by Hugh count of La Marche as owed to his same brother (namely Alphonse count of Poitou), but Hugh asserted that he would by no means perform it. [1241: 24 June]

35 Hence the king, not forgetting this presumption and show of pride, in the following year gathered the army of the kingdom and with a vast number of soldiers crossed into Hugh's territory. First he besieged the castle of Montreuil-Bonnin and took it quickly. Afterwards he moved to the tower of Béruges, and after taking it had it entirely demolished along with its associated buildings. After this he also bravely stormed the castle of Fontenay belonging to Geoffrey de Lusignan who was an ally of the count of La Marche, and speedily and effectively reduced it to his authority. It was the same with another very strong castle of the same Geoffrey, which was called Vouvant. [July]

40 [1242: April]

45 [9 May]

[6 June]

## 58

*The mutual preparations of the kings of France and England  
for war against each other*

At the assault on Frontenay a certain archer aiming his bolt at the tower gravely wounded in the foot Alphonse count of Poitou the brother of King Louis. When he saw this, the king ordered the castle to be attacked more fiercely. On its capture the king sent away its defenders (namely the bastard son of the count of La Marche and forty-one knights with eighty sergeants and many others) to different places, some to Paris, and some elsewhere. Meanwhile the countess of La Marche sent picked servants with gifts and promises to the court of [1242]

5

servientes donis et promissionibus illectos ad curiam Ludovici regis cum veneno, ut ipsum et fratres eius impocionarent, misit. Quos idem rex deprehensos<sup>b</sup> atrocissimo carceri mancipari jussit. Itaque postquam castra quedam Pictavie dirui, quedam vero guarnisionibus suis muniri fecit, cum esset in quodam marisco pontes elevari faciens, ulterius versus regem Anglie, qui in urbe Xanctonensi latitabat transire voluit. Quod quia importunitatem transitus absque dispendio implere non valuit, versus Talleburgum castrum Gaufridi de Ranconio rediit ibique tentoria super aque ripam fixit. In altra vero ripa stabat rex Anglie cum fratre suo Richardo et Hugone comite Marchie ac Simone de Monteforti ceterisque militibus et balistariis ac multitudine grandi. Qui scilicet rex Anglie, postquam exercitum Francorum deprehendit, licet ad bellum paratus tamen per tractum duarum balistarum et amplius cum suis militibus se retraxit. Tandem bellum commiserunt durum et asperum non sine magna strage Anglicorum. Denique rex Anglie et comes Marchie noctu de urbe Xanctonensi recesserunt castrumque vacuum reliquerunt. Tunc in mane cives ad regem Ludovicum accesserunt eique claves reddiderunt. Nec pretereundum est quod in predicto conflictu Anglici stupefacti ad vicecomitem Castri Eradi,<sup>c</sup> qui satis probe ibi se habuit, cum haberet arma Richardi comitis armis similia, confugebant perterriti seque dicentes esse de parte illa cogniti sunt ac retenti. Post hec Reginaldus de Pontibus potencia regis perterritus venit et fecit homagium comiti Pictavensi publice coram regis baronibus. Eadem quoque nocte Hugo miles comitis Marchie primogenitus ad regem venit sub hac forma cum ipso de pace tractaturus: videlicet quod tota terra quam idem rex super patrem suum acquisierat comiti Pictavensi remaneret. Et de residua comes Marchie cum filiis suis voluntati regis<sup>d</sup> omnimode staret, ita tamen ut idem comes Castrum Achardi cum duobus aliis regi traderet, in quibus rex ad expensas dicti comitis guarnicionem suam haberet. In crastino Marchie comes cum uxore sua predicta completurus venit, et genu flexo cum lacrimis ac suspiriis coram rege veniam de offensa petitam optinuit. Rex vero per eandem pacem quam idem comes secum fecit homagia que ipsius fuerant,<sup>e</sup> scilicet homagium Reginaldi de Pontibus et Gaufridi de Ranconio et comitis Augi et Gaufridi de Lisegnio, sibi retinuit.

<Hoc anno David Bernhame episcopus Sancti Andr' tenuit sinodum suam apud Muskilburgh, ubi multa laudabilia<sup>f</sup> fecit statuta scilicet die lune proxima post Invencionem Sancte Crucis.>

<sup>b</sup> corrected from apprehensos C  
<sup>c</sup> CA; Erandi C,D  
<sup>d</sup> voluntati regis om. CA

<sup>e</sup> erant CA  
<sup>f</sup> + sinodalia CA

10 King Louis bearing poison to kill him and his brothers. When they had been apprehended, the same king ordered them to be committed to a most terrible prison. And so after the destruction of some castles in Poitou, he fortified others with his own garrisons.

15 When he was in a certain marsh, he caused bridges to be erected when he wanted to cross further towards the king of England who was hiding in the city of Saintes. Because he was not strong enough to overcome the disadvantages of this crossing without loss, he returned towards the castle of Geoffrey de Rançon at Taillebourg and pitched his tents there on the bank of the river. On the other bank stood the king of England with his brother Richard, Hugh count of La Marche, Simon de Montfort and other knights and archers in vast numbers. The king of England to be sure, after discovering the army of the French, although ready for battle, nevertheless withdrew along with his knights over a distance of two bowshots and more. In the end they engaged in a hard and bitter battle with much bloodshed among the English. At length the king of England and the count of La Marche withdrew from the city of Saintes by night, leaving the castle empty. Then in the morning the citizens approached Louis and handed over their keys to him. And it is worth noting that in the said conflict the English in their confusion and terror fled for safety to the viscount of Châtellerault, since he bore arms similar to those of Earl Richard; he then behaved quite honourably, for as they claimed to be on his side, they were granted recognition and taken into his service. After this Reginald de Pons, frightened by the king's strength, came and performed homage to the count of Poitou openly before the king and barons. The same night also the knight Hugh the eldest son of the count of La Marche came to the king with the intention of negotiating peace with him, namely that all the territory that the king had acquired at the expense of his father should remain with the count of Poitou; and for the rest the count of La Marche with his sons would submit entirely to the king's will, even to the extent that the same count would hand over Château-Larcher and two other castles to the king, in which the king might maintain his garrison at the expense of the count. In the morning the count of La Marche with his wife came to settle these matters, and on bended knee before the king with tears and sighs he obtained the pardon which he requested for his offences. The king indeed in the same settlement which the same count made with him obtained for himself homages which had been held by the count, namely from Reginald de Pons, Geoffrey de Rançon, the count of Eu and Geoffrey de Lusignan.

50 In this year David Bernham bishop of St Andrews held his synod at Musselburgh, when he issued many praiseworthy statutes, that is on the Monday next after the [feast of the] Invention of the Holy Cross.

1242:  
5 May

*De combustione Patricii comitis de Atholia apud Hadyngton'*

fo.203v

Anno domini m<sup>o</sup> cc<sup>o</sup> xlii rege<sup>a</sup> Alexandro cum regina per-  
hendinantibus in Moravia, auditis rumoribus de adventu regis Anglie  
ad partes suas de transmarinis, acceleraverunt gressus versus ipsum  
regem. In cuius occursum nobilis ille satrapas Willelmus Biset com-  
pult regem opido ut apud eum maneret ad castellum suum Obeyn 5  
duabus noctibus. | Vix autem rex una nocte secum mansit. Idem vero  
Willelmus accepta licencia a domino rege dominam reginam per  
quatuor noctes perhendinavit. Eo tempore congregati sunt quasi  
omnes proceres magnates et milites regni ad quoddam hastiludium  
apud burgum regium de Hadyngton, quod in fine vertebatur in 10  
juguludium. Nam eadem nocte hastiludio finito quidam proditores,  
ex parte ut dicitur Bisetensium, Patricium comitem Atholie filium  
Thome de Galweia juvenem egregium in hospicio suo honorabili<sup>b</sup> a  
parte et in fine occidentali vici regii eiusdem ad circium, soporatum  
una cum duobus sociis suis nequiter et sceleratissime, pro quibusdam 15  
inimiciis apud antecessores suos inveteratis peremerunt. Et ut tan-  
tum facinus lateret, pulcrum manerium et palacium necnon domum,  
in qua jacuerunt, combusserunt ut ipsi non manibus occisi sed ab  
igne accidentaliter incenso<sup>c</sup> viderentur extincti. Post cuius obitum  
David de Hastings eius accepit comitatum provenientem sibi ex 20  
parte uxoris sue, que erat matertera Patricii comitis occisi. Hoc  
facinus multi impingunt domino Willelmo Biseti. Sed quomodo ipse  
illa nocte illi facinori poterat interesse, qui regine famulatui apud  
castrum suum de Obeyn opertuerat<sup>d</sup> deservire? Nam quia multi multa 25  
locuntur, quidam dicunt quod ibi in persona propria non erat, sed  
arma eius et milites et omne robur eius de ipsius sciencia ibidem  
intererant. Regina autem prestare juramenta parata fuit quod  
numquam dictus dominus Willelmus tantum nephas attemptare dis-  
posuit. 'Rara igitur fides adhibenda est' etc. Idem Willelmus Biset in  
capella sua omnes factores et fautores huius incendii et per omnes 30  
ecclesias<sup>e</sup> Scocie accensis et extinctis candelis excommunicare fecit.<sup>f</sup>  
Insuper supplicavit domino Episcopo Aberdonensi ut in<sup>g</sup> ecclesiis in  
diocesi sua constitutis predictam sententiam publicaret et eadem die

<sup>a</sup> corrected from regina C<sup>b</sup> + in del. C<sup>c</sup> accenso CA<sup>d</sup> oportuerat CA<sup>e</sup> + quasi CA<sup>f</sup> + an erasure; also the -t of fecit has been altered C<sup>g</sup> + omnibus CA*The burning of Patrick earl of Atholl at Haddington*

In 1242 while King Alexander was visiting Moray with the queen, 1242  
news came of the arrival home of the king of England from overseas,  
and they hurried in the direction of that king. On meeting King  
Alexander that noble officer [Walter] Bisset put extreme pressure on  
5 him to spend two nights with him at his castle of Aboyne. The king  
stayed with him for only one night; but the same [Walter] with the  
lord king's permission remained in the company of the lady queen  
for four nights.

At that time nearly all the nobles, magnates and knights of the [May/June]  
10 kingdom gathered at the royal burgh of Haddington for a certain  
tournament, which in the end was turned into a killing-game. For  
that same night when the tournament was over some traitors said to  
belong to the Bisset following killed Patrick earl of Atholl, son of  
Thomas of Galloway, an outstanding young man, in his estimable  
15 lodging at the side and at the end of the same king's highway to  
the north-west. It happened while he was asleep with two of his  
companions, in a villanous and heinous manner, as a result of long-  
standing hostility between their predecessors. And in order to hide  
this great crime they burnt down the fine manor, princely residence  
20 and house in which the men were sleeping, so that it might appear  
that they had not been killed by human hands, but had perished in  
an accidentally kindled fire. After Patrick's death David de Hastings  
acquired his earldom, which descended to him by right of his wife,  
who was a maternal aunt of the dead Earl Patrick.  
25 Many blamed [Walter] Bisset for this crime. But how could he be  
involved in that crime on that night when he had to look after the  
queen at his castle of Aboyne? Since many people say many things,  
some say that he was not there in his own person, but his equipment  
and knights and all his armed strength were there with his knowledge.  
30 But the queen was ready to take an oath that the said Sir [Walter]  
was never inclined to attempt such a horrific act. 'Rare therefore is  
the trust which should be invoked' etc. The same [Walter] Bisset had  
all those who took part in and were responsible for this conflagration  
excommunicated in his own chapel and in all the churches of Scotland  
35 with the lighting and extinguishing of candles. In addition he asked  
the lord bishop of Aberdeen to publish the said sentence in [all] the  
churches located in his diocese, and that on the same day the bishop  
would confirm it. And this was done.

episcopus confirmaret. Quod et factum est. Hiis enim diebus omnes  
 episcopi Scocie tenuerunt consilium cleri apud Perth, ubi rex interfuit 35  
 cum omnibus comitibus et baronibus totius terre sue vocatus ad  
 instanciam cleri, conquerentis<sup>h</sup> de militaribus infestantibus eum de  
 decimis et immunitatibus ecclesie. Intravit autem dominus rex con-  
 silium episcoporum et precepit ne quis miles aut baro<sup>i</sup> aliquam inju-  
 riam molestiam aut gravamen contra sacrosancte ecclesie con- 40  
 suetudinem eis<sup>j</sup> inferret statutis super hoc penis ulticibus. Secedente  
 rege cum suis baronibus<sup>k</sup> | in illo consilio seorsum apud se, conquesti  
 sunt omnes comites de combustione comitis Adolie. Et rex avisatus  
 qui nichil voluit de arduis emergentibus sine matura deliberacione et  
 discussione indicii facere, assignavit eis certos diem et locum apud<sup>l</sup> 45  
 <Forfar>, ubi eis<sup>m</sup> Willelmus Biset responderet.

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <p><sup>h</sup> clerus domino regi graviter conquestus est<br/> <sup>for</sup> vocatus ad instanciam cleri con-<br/>         querentis CA</p> <p><sup>i</sup> quacumque pre[e]minencia fulgeret <sup>for</sup><br/>         miles aut baro CA</p> | <p><sup>j</sup> et libertatem ecclesiasticis vel eorum reddi-<br/>         tibus <sup>for</sup> eis CA</p> <p><sup>k</sup> + de domo cleri CA</p> <p><sup>l</sup> + Castrum Puellarum del.C</p> <p><sup>m</sup> + dominus CA</p> |
|---|--|

*De impacabili commocione Atholiensium contra Bisetos*

In ulcionem tam immanis sceleris acceleraverunt se qui erant cognati  
 comitis Adolie, scilicet heres de Buchan et Johannes Ruffus nepos  
 eius, qui fuit in bello strenuus et in omni congressione militari pre-  
 stantissimus; depredati sunt depopulatique omnia jumenta, oves et  
 boves ac cetera singula que pertinebant ad aliquem ex parte<sup>a</sup> Willelmi 5  
 Biset vel aliqua consanguinitate vel aliquo titulo qui ad eum con-  
 tingebant. Ipse autem Willelmus Biset<sup>b</sup> in castro suo ibidem se tenens  
 incendit omnia orrea sua et omnes domos<sup>c</sup> que extra castrum fuerant.  
 Quod factum ut audivit rex, multum sibi displicuit; et sub omni  
 pena incumbenti per milites suos mittens prohibuit districte illis 10  
 Cumynensibus ne ultra talem invasionem in regno suo facerent,  
 sed se pacifice quoadusque iudicium super premissis scelere daretur  
 continerent. Ac cum clamor vulgi insonuisset auribus cunctorum  
 tirannide Cumuniensium regnum esse subvertendum, fertur sic

- <sup>a</sup> + domini CA  
<sup>b</sup> CA; B' C, D

- <sup>c</sup> interlin. over omnes del.C

At that time all the bishops of Scotland were attending a clerical [ca 15 July]  
 40 council at Perth, when the king was present with all the earls and  
 barons of the whole country. He had been called at the instance of  
 the clergy, who were complaining of fighting men who were harassing  
 them over teinds and the privileges of the church. The lord king in  
 fact came to the council of bishops and laid it down that no knight  
 45 or baron was to inflict any injury, annoyance or burden on them  
 against the custom of Holy Church, with retributive penalties decreed  
 in this connection. When the king had withdrawn with his barons  
 [from the clergy's meeting place] to his own separate quarters at that  
 council, all the earls complained about the burning of the earl of  
 50 Atholl. And the king took advice, and wishing to do nothing about  
 the growing difficulties without mature deliberation and discussion  
 of the evidence, assigned them a day and place at Forfar when  
 [Walter] Bisset would answer them.

*The turbulent agitation of the Atholl men against the Bissets*

In revenge for such a savage crime the relatives of the earl of Atholl  
 took speedy action, namely [Alexander] the heir to Buchan and John  
 the Red his nephew, who was a keen fighter and a most outstanding  
 participant in all knightly encounters. They plundered and pillaged  
 5 all the oxen, sheep and cattle and everything else that belonged to  
 anyone of [Walter] Bisset's party or to those who were connected  
 with him by any kind of kinship or legal title. [Walter] Bisset himself  
 remained inside his castle there, burning all his barns and all his  
 houses which lay outside the castle. When the king heard this, he  
 10 was very annoyed; and sending instructions by his own knights he  
 strictly ordered those of the Comyn party under every kind of pres-  
 suring penalty not to rampage in his kingdom any more, but to restrain  
 themselves peacefully until he pronounced judgment on the aforesaid  
 crime. And when the common report rang in everyone's ears that  
 15 the kingdom was being undermined by the Comyns' reign of tyranny,  
 the king is said to have replied: 'It is a shame that the wretched  
 people of this country think that every fly is an eagle, fearful at the

regem respondisse: 'Proth dolor, patriote miseri quamlibet muscam 15  
putant esse aquilam, timentes a facie murium (scilicet predonum)  
sicut ab incursu leonum.' Taliter igitur eos tandem compescuit rex  
ut desierent<sup>d</sup> persequi innocentes. Appropinquante igitur die respon-  
sionis Bisetensium, summonitus est exercitus de Mar et milites cir-  
cumquaque habitantes ad faciendum conductum<sup>e</sup> Willelmo Biset a 20  
castello suo Obeyn usque ad colloquium domini regis apud Forfar,  
ubi appecerunt | eum multis clamoribus de adustione comitis Atholie  
et sociorum eius. Quod ipse constanter abnegavit, offerens se ipsum  
in singulari conflictu contra militem quemlibet hoc probaturum,  
vel per iuramenta militum emeritorum quorumcumque vellent se 25  
innocentem ostensurum. Comites vero quicquid oblatum fuerat  
respuerunt, interrogantes tamen si vellet se committere iuramentis  
patriotarum<sup>f</sup> et super viciniam se ponere. Ipse autem preponderans  
maliciam rusticorum et inexorabiles inimicicias adversariorum elegit  
se potius summittere fideli consilio domini regis, possessionem,<sup>g</sup> infeu- 30  
daciones,<sup>h</sup> omnia<sup>i</sup> mobilia sua et immobilia libere dispositioni com-  
mendans quam iudicium super incertis sustinere. Dominus autem  
rex noluit eum subito dissaisire sed illas calumpnias differre; unde  
datus ei <terminus> ad se peremptorie excusandum et ad omnes 35  
excepciones<sup>j</sup> dilatorias proponendum in crastino beate virginis  
Katerine apud Castrum Puellarum. Interim rex Scocie adiit regem  
Anglie de transmarinis reversum apud Eboracum.<sup>k</sup> Obiit Andreas  
episcopus Moravie.

d + ultra CA

e + domino CA

f compatriotarum with com- interlin. CA

g possessiones et for possessionem CA

h feodaciones et for infeudaciones CA

i + bona CA

j + peremptorias del.C

k + Eodem anno CA

## 61

*De forbannicione Bisetensium de regno<sup>a</sup>  
et commocione regis Anglie  
contra regem Scocie*

Ad diem prefixum apud Castrum Puellarum comparuerunt<sup>b</sup> Wil-  
helmus Biset et milites sui. Astiterunt et comites cum infinita mul-

a + lix del.; chapter is then correctly num-  
bered lxi at the end of the rubric C

b + dominus CA

- sight of mice (that is brigands) as if at an invasion of lions.' By this  
means therefore the king at length made them desist from harassing  
20 innocent people. Then as the day approached for the Bissets to give  
their reply, the army of Mar was called out, with knights positioned  
on every side to escort [Walter] Bisset from his castle at Aboyne to  
the king's meeting at Forfar. There they attacked him amid a mighty  
clamour over the burning of the earl of Atholl and his companions.  
25 This he firmly denied, offering to prove this in single combat with  
any knight at all, or to demonstrate his innocence by the oaths of as  
many long-serving knights as they wished. But the earls rejected  
whatever was offered, asking nevertheless if he was willing to entrust  
himself to the oaths of his fellow-countrymen and put himself to the  
30 judgment of the neighbourhood. But he, giving more weight to the  
malice of peasants and the inexorable hostility of his opponents,  
chose to submit to the reliable judgment of the lord king, entrusting  
his possessions, lands held in feu, and all his [goods] movable and  
immovable to the king's free disposal rather than face a jury with an  
35 unpredictable outcome. The lord king refused to dispossess him at  
once, but [did not wish] to put off [consideration of] those vexatious  
proceedings. Therefore Bisset was given as a date for defending  
himself without appeal and bringing forward all pleas for delay the  
day after [the feast of] the blessed virgin Catherine at Edinburgh. 1242:  
26 Nov.  
40 Meanwhile the king of Scotland visited the king of England at  
York on his return from overseas.

[The same year] Andrew bishop of Moray died.

[Sept. x  
Dec.]

## 61

*The banishment of the Bissets from the kingdom  
and the agitation of the king of England against  
the king of Scotland*

[Walter] Bisset and his knights appeared at Edinburgh on the 1242:  
appointed day. And the earls were there with a very large crowd as  
their adversaries, condemning him and all his supporters to death.  
There were negotiations on both sides for a settlement, and what a  
5 disturbance it was! At length William, John and Walter Bisset the  
26 Nov.



titudine adversus eos, condemnantes eum et omnes suos fautores  
 usque ad mortem. Tractatumque est hinc inde de pace, et ecce tur-  
 bacio! Tandem Willelmus, Johannes et Walterus Biset avunculus 5  
 eorumque complices iudicio et consilio omnium procerum Scocie  
 exlegantur, terris eorum et uxoribus ac eorum liberis in manu domini  
 regis relictis. Et tactis sacrosanctis juraverunt coram domino rege et  
 voverunt se in Terram Sanctam sine aliqua dilacione profecturos,  
 ibidemque omnibus diebus vite sue pro anima dicti comitis pere- 10  
 grinatuos. Et ita recesserunt habentes licenciam manendi in terra  
 per xl dies; quorum posteritas Hiberniam inhabitat usque nunc.  
 Anno sequenti (id est m<sup>o</sup> cc<sup>o</sup>. xliii) quidam Scotus cuius nomen in  
 cronicis reticetur tamquam alter Triphon factus in Anglia regem 15  
 Henricum et fratrem eius Richardum<sup>c</sup> adulacionibus cum infinitis  
 accusacionibus fingendo, componendo, menciendo necnon omnes  
 proceres Anglie provocavit ut insurgerent adversus regem Scocie et  
 convenirent simul adversus regnum eius; et quanto familiarior fuit  
 aliquando regi Scocie, tanto liberior et audacior fieret modo ad  
 proponendum verba nequicie et fallacie. Teste veritate que ait: 'Inim- 20  
 ici hominis domestici eius.' In tantum enim exasperaverat regem  
 Anglie et regni principes ut toto annisu suo universum regnum Scocie  
 suo, si posset, dominio vellet subjugare. Propter quod coadunato  
 Henricus rex Anglie exercitu suo copioso venit ad Novum Castrum 25  
 super Tynam commissurus bellum contra regem Scocie Alexandrum  
 occasionem pretendens eo quod quoddam castellum erectum fuit per  
 Scotos in marchiis inter Scociam et Angliam, valle scilicet de Lidall,  
 quod appellatur Heremitage. Cui rex Alexander premunitus non  
 segniter occurrit cum exercitu suo bene expedito usque Caldenle. Ubi  
 omnes majores natu fidelitatem domino regi renovatam fecerunt; 30  
 et unanimes processerunt usque Penteland contra regem Anglie, si  
 Laudonie partes intraret, congressuri. Quod cum audisset rex Anglie,  
 miratus est<sup>d</sup> audaciam Scotorum. Et ad instanciam Eboracensis archi-  
 episcopi et aliorum magnatum rex Anglie de facili bello cessit, et pax  
 inter reges reformata est. Et quia comperit rex Anglie se modicum in 35  
 Galliis et Scocia bellando proficere, versus Walliam convertit abenas.  
 Et anno sequenti ortum est bellum inter regem Anglie et David  
 principem nepotem suum. <Hoc anno Wallenses reliquie Britonum,  
 qui a diebus Bruti de gente sua proprium principem | habuerunt, illo  
 anno ita subjugati sunt ut apud Londonias Anglorum more causas 40  
 suas determinent secundum prophetiam Merlini: Rubens draco (id  
 est Britones) languet in extremitate stagni (id est insule) oppressus ab  
 albo dracone, per quem Angli designantur.> Griffinus filius Leulini  
 putans se evadere de Turri London' cecidit de eadem et fracto collo  
 expiravit. Hoc anno combusti sunt omnes fere burgi Scocie, videlicet 45

c + ducem Cornubie CA

d + ultra modum CA

uncle and their associates were outlawed from Scotland by the judg-  
 ment and advice of all the nobles, with their lands, wives and children  
 at the king's disposal. And touching holy objects they took an oath  
 before the king and vowed to set out for the Holy Land without  
 10 delay, and to remain there as pilgrims for all the days of their lives  
 for the soul of the said earl. Thus they left, with permission to remain  
 in the country for [only] forty days. Their descendants live in Ireland  
 at the present day.

In the following year (that is 1243) a certain Scot whose name is not 1243  
 15 reported in the chronicles acting like a second Tryphon in England  
 aroused King Henry and his brother Richard and all the magnates  
 in England with flattery, inventions, fabrications and lies and very  
 many accusations to march against the king of Scotland and at the  
 same time to assemble a force against his kingdom; and the more  
 20 familiar he had formerly been with the king of Scotland, the more  
 he would be free and bold in the way he propounded words of villainy  
 and falsehood. There is truth in the saying: 'A man's enemies are the  
 members of his household.' He incensed the king of England and the  
 leaders of the kingdom to such an extent that he aimed if he could  
 25 to reduce with all his might the whole realm of Scotland to his  
 authority. With this in mind Henry king of England gathered his  
 sizeable army and came to Newcastle-upon-Tyne with the intention  
 of engaging in a war against Alexander king of Scotland on the  
 pretext that the Scots had erected a certain castle in the marches  
 30 between Scotland and England (that is in Liddesdale) which was  
 called Hermitage. King Alexander was warned and was not slow in  
 going to meet him as far as Caddonlee with his army ready for action.  
 There all those of important birth took a renewed oath of fealty to  
 the lord king, and in full accord advanced to Ponteland to come to  
 35 grips with the king of England if he should enter the district of  
 Lothian. When he heard this, the king of England was amazed at  
 the bold front of the Scots. And at the instance of the archbishop of  
 York and other magnates the king of England readily gave up the  
 war, and peace was re-established between the kings. [13 Aug.]  
 40 And because the king of England found that he was having only  
 moderate success in fighting in France and Scotland, he turned his  
 slings against Wales. And in the following year war broke out 1245:  
 between the king of England and Prince David his nephew. This year [summer]  
 the Welsh, who are the descendants of the Britons [and] who from 1241  
 45 the time of Brutus have had a prince from among their own people,  
 were in that year subdued to such an extent that they had to decide  
 their lawsuits at London following the customs of the English in  
 accordance with a prophecy of Merlin: 'The red dragon (that is the  
 Britons) lies sick at the end of the pool (that is the island), oppressed  
 50 by the white dragon (meaning the English).' Gruffudd son of

Haddington, Roxburgh, Lanark, Striveline, Perth, Forfar, Monross' et Aberdene usque ad cineres. Novum eciam opus canonie, ubi corpus bone memorie Andree Moraviensis episcopi<sup>e</sup> tumulatum, in modico lesum est. Cuius bustum fratres Valliscaulium de Pluskardi ad ecclesiam suam asportaverunt ad sepeliendum; quod rapido cursu<sup>f</sup> 50 Moravienses clerici nullo obice reduxerunt et condigno honore sepe-  
lierunt.

Dominus rex videns quod nichil fecerunt iusticiarii quos constituit ad reformandum invasiones quas fecerant Alexander de Buchan et Johannes Ruffus et complices sui super terram<sup>g</sup> | Willelmi Biset, 55 et quod nec voluerunt transgressores prohibere nec domino regi nunciare, eos amovit et dominum Alanum Durward iusticiarium constituit, qui regni et regis negocia diligenter et moderate tractavit.

fo.204v

<sup>e</sup> corrected from ecclesie C  
<sup>f</sup> + Aberdon' del. C

<sup>g</sup> + domini CA

## 62

*De aliis eventibus et incidentibus*

Quidam autem spurius quondam filius Thome Atholie frater illius qui combustus est vocabulo Alanus abiit in Hiberniam; eo quod esset ex nobili matre, quoddam mansiuncium<sup>a</sup> Johannis Biset Viteris vocatum invasit, et in ulcionem fratris sui quicquid generis erat in eo masculini in ore gladii occidit, boves et oves ac iumenta omnia 5 depredatus est. Quod cum innocuit Johanni Biset, lacrimabilem querelam deposuit coram rege <Anglie> et proceribus suis, accusans graviter regem Scocie eo ut dicebat quod homo eius esset. Propter quod rex Anglie mandavit regi Scocie ut mitteret ei illum qui tantum nephas operatus est in terra sua. Ac rex Scocie renunciavit, dicens 10 quod homo suus non est, sed sicut vagabundus vel externus ad veniendum et ad recedendum nunc in Anglia nunc in Hibernia nunc in Norweya suam melius quesiturus victitacionem. Cuius instinctu apparebat verisimiliter inter regna discordia exoriri. Sed anno sequenti videlicet domini m<sup>o</sup> cc xlv reges adinvicem concordati sunt. 15 Rex Francie Ludovicus de gravi morbo mirabiliter convaluit. Nam triduo sine motu vitali jacuit et stupentibus qui aderant subito elevatis

<sup>a</sup> manerium domini for mansiuncium CA

Llywelyn, while trying to escape from the Tower of London, fell 1244:  
from it and died of a broken neck. 1 Mar.]

In this year nearly all the burghs of Scotland were burned to ashes, [1244] namely Haddington, Roxburgh, Lanark, Stirling, Perth, Forfar, 55 Montrose and Aberdeen. Also the new building of the cathedral in which the body of Andrew bishop of Moray of good memory was buried was slightly damaged. The Valliscaulian brothers of Pluscarden took away the body to their church for burial; the Moray clergy made speed to bring it back without meeting any obstacle, 60 and buried it with appropriate honour.

When the lord king saw that the justiciars whom he appointed to curb the attacks which Alexander de Buchan and John the Red and their accomplices were making on [Walter] Bisset's land had done nothing, and that they were not willing to restrain offenders nor to 65 report them to the lord king, he removed them and appointed Sir [1243-4] Alan Durward as justiciar, who handled the affairs of the kingdom and of the king with diligence and moderation.

## 62

*Other events and occurrences*

A certain bastard son of the late Thomas of Atholl called Alan, a 1243 brother of the man who was burned, went away to Ireland. As the son of a noble mother, he attacked a certain small house of John Bisset called 'Viteris', and in revenge for his brother killed with the 5 edge of the sword anything there that was male; he plundered cattle and sheep and all the oxen. When John Bisset learned of this, he laid a pitiful complaint before the king of England and his magnates, making a serious accusation against the king of Scotland because (he asserted) Alan was his man. On this account the king of England 10 ordered the king of Scotland to send to him this man who had committed such a wicked crime within his territory. But the king of Scotland refused, saying that Alan was not his man, but as a vagabond and foreigner he was seeking better means of support as he came and went between England, Ireland and Norway. Arising from 15 his activities it appeared that discord was likely to arise between the kingdoms; but in the following year (that is 1244) the kings came to 1244: [Aug.] a mutual settlement.

Louis king of France made a remarkable recovery from a serious [Dec.] illness; for he lay for three days with no signs of life, and suddenly

oculis benedixit nomen Domini et signum crucis per episcopum  
 Parisiacensem humero suo imprimi fecit. Hoc anno destructa est  
 terra Jerosolimorum a Saracenis. Abbas Henricus de Insula Sancti  
 Columbe cure pastoralis resignavit et paulo post obiit. Cui successit  
 Thomas vir magne moralitatis et sciencie. Anno gracie m° cc° xlv<sup>o</sup>  
 obiit abbas Adam de Harkarris, qui domum de Melros quamdiu vixit  
 honorifice gubernavit. Cui successit Matheus eiusdem cellerarius et  
 a Willelmo Glasguensi episcopo in ecclesia de Melros benedicitur.  
 Anno sequenti corpus Henrici de Ballioff a Sancto Jacobo | depor-  
 tatur et apud Melros honorifice sepelitur. Anno domini m° cc° xlvii  
 obiit Radulphus episcopus Aberdonensis, qui primo fuit abbas de  
 Aberbr', vir magne honestatis. Cui successit magister Petrus de Ram-  
 seya vir nobili ortus prosapia et clara ornatus sciencia. Qui per  
 rescriptum apostolicum impetravit ut quelibet vicaria in episcopatu  
 suo ad quindecim marcas taxaretur argenti. Quod videntes abbates  
 de Abberbr' et Londor' se in hac taxatione indebite gravari fecerunt  
 quasi omnes abbates et majores priores Scocie convocari;<sup>b</sup> et, ne  
 ceteri coepiscopi alios quosque religiosos huiusmodi taxationibus  
 gravarent, unanimi consensu dicti abbates sedem apostolicam appel-  
 laverunt et sic ordinationi dicti magistri Petri Aberdonensis cas-  
 saverunt. <Hoc anno Sanctus Eadmundus Cantuariensis archi-  
 episcopus, cuius sacri corporis gleba in Ponteignacensi monasterio<sup>c</sup>  
 requieverat, de terra est elevatus, qui anno precedenti auctoritate  
 apostolica fuerat canonizatus et in cathalogo sanctorum deputatus.  
 Hic presul pro justitia et defensione ecclesie sue relegatus mare  
 transito ad Ponteigniacum pervenit, noverat enim ibi esse commune  
 refugium omnium de regno Anglie exulancium pro justitia prela-  
 torum. De quo sic ait quidam:

Est Ponteigniacum pons exulis, ortus, asilum.

Hic graditur, spaciatur in hoc, requiescit in illo.

In quo ante erant exules Sancti Ancelmus, Thomas Cantuariensis,<sup>d</sup>  
 Stephanus Langton, et ipsi omnes primates Anglie et archipresules  
 Cantuarienses.>

Anno domini m° cc° xlviii° nobilissimus rex Francorum Ludovicus  
 iter transmarinum arripuit, videlicet feria vi post Penthec' exiens de  
 Parisius. Cum quo Odo Tusculanus episcopus apostolice sedis legatus  
 et duo fratres eiusdem regis, Robertus videlicet comes Attrebatensis et  
 Karolus comes Andegavensis, multisque cum Francie regni baronibus  
 et episcopis. Alfunsus quoque dicti regis frater comes Pictavensis cru-  
 cem acceperat transmarinam, sed illo anno cum domina Blanca regina  
 matre sua remansit ad regni custodiam. Rex cum suis in insulam Cipri  
 hiemaverunt.

<sup>b</sup> ad capitulum generale vocari for convocari  
 CA

<sup>c</sup> cenobio CA  
<sup>d</sup> D; Cantuariensis C

20 to the astonishment of bystanders opened his eyes, blessed the name  
 of the Lord, and had the badge of the cross applied to his shoulder  
 by the bishop of Paris.

In this year the land of Jerusalem was destroyed by the Saracens. [summer]

Abbot Henry resigned from the pastoral care of Inchcolm and  
 25 died soon afterwards. He was succeeded by Thomas, a man of great  
 character and learning. 1244

In 1245 Abbot Adam de Harcarres died, after ruling the house at  
 Melrose honourably until his death. He was succeeded by Matthew  
 the cellarer of the same house, who was blessed by William bishop  
 30 of Glasgow in the church at Melrose. [1246:  
 17 May]

In the following year the body of Henry de Balliol was brought  
 from St James and honourably buried at Melrose. [1246]

In 1247 the death occurred of Radulf bishop of Aberdeen, who  
 was previously abbot of Arbroath, a man of great integrity. He was  
 35 succeeded by Master Peter de Ramsay, a man of noble birth and  
 equipped with illustrious learning. Armed with a papal rescript he  
 ensured that every vicarage in his diocese was valued at fifteen marks.  
 When the abbots of Arbroath and Lindores saw that they were  
 unduly burdened by this valuation, they called together nearly all  
 40 the abbots and major priors of Scotland [in a general chapter]; and,  
 lest the others of the episcopate burden each of the other monastic  
 houses with valuations of this kind, the said abbots unanimously  
 appealed to the apostolic see; and so they cancelled the ordinance  
 made by the said Master Peter of Aberdeen.

45 In this year St Edmund archbishop of Canterbury, whose sacred  
 mortal clay was entombed at the monastery of Pontigny, was taken  
 out of the ground. He had been canonized the previous year by  
 apostolic authority, and included in the catalogue of saints. When  
 this bishop was exiled [when fighting] for the jurisdiction and defence  
 50 of his church, he crossed the sea and came to Pontigny, for he knew  
 that there was there a universal refuge for everyone exiled from the  
 kingdom of England in the name of the jurisdiction of prelates. On  
 this someone says:

There is at Pontigny a bridge, a garden, a sanctuary for the exile.

55 On the one he walks, in the second he promenades, in the third he lies  
 at rest.

Previous exiles there were St Anselm, St Thomas of Canterbury, St  
 Stephen Langton, all of them primates of England and archbishops  
 of Canterbury.

60 In 1248 the most noble Louis king of the French started on a journey  
 overseas, leaving Paris six days after Pentecost. With him were Odo  
 bishop of Tusculum as legate of the apostolic see, and two brothers of  
 the same king, namely Robert count of Artois and Charles count of  
 1248:  
 13 June

In ipsa autem peregrinatione Patricius venerabilis comes de Dunbar 60  
et curialis miles<sup>e</sup> de Lyndesey et alii quamplures nobiles Scoti inter  
alios<sup>f</sup> Francigenas ab hac luce migraverunt. Qui franci fuerunt  
Robertus episcopus Belvacensis et comes Montis Fortis, comes  
quoque Vindocinensis, Guillelmus de Melloto et Guillelmus de 65  
Barris, Herchenboldus de Borbone et comes Drocensis et alii quam-  
plures milites ducenti et quadraginta. Obiit Hugo abbas de Kalchou.  
Cui successit Robertus de Smalhame eiusdem domus monachus.

<sup>e</sup> + space for about six letters CA

<sup>f</sup> + frangi del.C

## 63

G ii,77

*De morte nobilis regis Alexandri secundi*

Anno domini m<sup>o</sup> cc<sup>o</sup> xlix rex Ludovicus illam famosissimam civi-  
tatem Damietam viriliter debellans interfectis hostibus cepit et cum  
suo exercitu xi kl' julii introivit.<sup>a</sup> Obiit Philippus abbas de Jedwod.  
Cui successit Robertus de Giseburn.

fo.205

Eodem anno inclitus ille Scotorum rex Alexander secundus, qui 5  
semper iniquitatem odivit et equitatem ac iusticiam dilexit, dum ad  
sedandas partes Ergadie proficiscitur, gravi infirmitate corripitur et  
ad insulam, que Kervevey<sup>b</sup> dicitur<sup>c</sup> portatur,<sup>d</sup> ubi perceptis salutis  
eterne sacramentis eius felix anima ab hac luce eripitur et cum sanctis 10  
| omnibus, ut pium est credere,<sup>e</sup> in celis collocatur. Corpus vero  
suum, ut ipse adhuc vivens delegaverat, ad Melrosensem ecclesiam  
transportatur, et in ea celebratis solemniter exequiis debitis more  
regio terre gremio commendatur, anno etatis sue li et regni sui xxxv,  
viii idus julii feria v<sup>a</sup> circa horam nonam. Erat enim annorum sedecim  
et semis quando unctus fuit in regem. Qui tamquam sidus matutinum 15  
in lucem et solem crescebat usque ad diem perfectum. Qui hanc  
sibi vivendi formam proponens suis commilitonibus exhibebat se  
confortem, religiosus gratum, presbyteris humilem, plebi modestum,

<sup>a</sup> + Ob hoc Franci nimium elati non humi-  
liter, ut debebant, gracias egerunt. Ideo ut  
ingrati a Deo sunt. CA

<sup>b</sup> Kernery D; Kernery S

<sup>c</sup> + trans del.C

<sup>d</sup> transportatur CA;S

<sup>e</sup> Dei electis, ut creditur for sanctis ... credere  
CA

65 Anjou, with many barons and bishops of the kingdom of France.  
Alphonse count of Poitou a brother of the said king had also taken the  
cross for overseas, but in that year remained with the lady Blanche the  
queen his mother to have custody of the kingdom. The king spent the  
winter on the island of Cyprus with his men. 1248-9

On that crusade the venerable Patrick earl of Dunbar and [ ] de  
70 Lindsay a knight of the royal court and many other Scottish nobles  
met their deaths along with other Frenchmen. These French were  
Robert bishop of Beauvais and the count of Montfort, also the count  
of Vendôme, William de Mello and William des Barres, Archibald  
de Bourbon and the count of Dreux, and very many other knights  
75 to the number of two hundred and forty.

Hugh abbot Kelso died, and was succeeded by Robert de Smalham 1248  
a monk of the same house.

## 63

*The death of the noble king Alexander II*

In 1249 King Louis subdued in manly fashion that most famous city 1249:  
of Damietta, and after killing the enemy captured it and entered it [6 June]  
with his army on 21 June.

Philip abbot of Jedburgh died, and was succeeded by Robert de  
5 Giseburn.

In the same year that renowned king of the Scots, Alexander II,  
who always hated wrong-doing and loved equity and justice, while  
setting out to pacify the Argyll region was overcome by a serious  
malady and taken to the island called Kerrera, where after receiving  
10 the sacraments of eternal life his blessed spirit was plucked from the  
light of this world and (as the faithful believe) rests in heaven with  
all the saints. His body however was conveyed to the church of  
Melrose, as he had instructed during his lifetime, and there when due  
funeral ceremonies had been solemnly celebrated in royal fashion it  
15 was commended to the bosom of the earth on Thursday 8 July about 8 July  
3 p.m. in the fifty-first year of his life and the thirty-fifth year of his  
reign (for he was sixteen and a half years old when anointed as king).  
Like the morning star he grew into the light and sunshine until the  
fulness of day. As a follower of this way of life he proved to be a  
20 source of strength to his fellow-soldiers, appreciative to religious,  
humble before priests, modest to his people, compassionate to the  
unfortunate, generous to those in need, kindly with horses, sober  
with the arrogant, alarming to malefactors and merciful towards the

compacientem miseris, profusum egenis, equis placidum, insolentibus serium, malefactoribus terribilem et misericordem prostratis. Mira illi circa religionis augmentum devocio, in construendis ecclesiis Fratrum precipue Predicatorum sollicitudo. Nulla apud eum personarum acceptio sed iudicabat in iusticia pauperes et arguebat in equitate pro mansuetis terre. Hic princeps fuit probissimus militum audacissimus, qui novit flere cum flentibus, et gaudentibus congaudere; erat tamen merencium consolator, orphanorum adjutor, fotor pupillorum, viduarum precipue et pauperum conquerencium in persona propria auditor piissimus et censor equissimus, ut ei possit competere quod scriptum est: 'Quia stetit in iusticia et timore Dei, fecit illum Dominus stare in reverencia gentis sue et in bonitate et alacritate anime sue placuit Deo Israel. Ideo statuit illi testamentum pacis principem gentis sue ut sit illi regis dignitas in eternum.' De quo dictum est:<sup>g</sup>

Ecclesie clipeus, pax plebis, dux miserorum,  
rex rectus, rigidus, sapiens, consultus, honestus,  
rex pius, rex fortis, rex optimus, rex opulentus;  
nominis istius ipse secundus erat (scilicet Alexander).  
Annis ter denis et quinis rex fuit ipse.  
Insula, que Kernery dicitur, hunc rapuit.  
Spiritus alta petit celestibus associatus,  
sed Malrosensis ossa sepulta tenet.

G ii, 78

Ipso anno pagani ob Francorum nimiam superbiam Christianos misera<sup>h</sup> cede affecerunt. Qui regem Francie vivum comprehenderunt <cum duobus fratribus suis> et apud se aliquamdiu honestissime retinuerunt. Et tandem redempcione data et treugis compositis repatriare permiserunt. Post cuius recessum ut condictum erat Damietam intrantes et templa sua cum simulacris subversa cernentes fractis treugis omnes Christianos captivos occiderunt.<sup>i</sup> Itaque gens illa sceleratissima preter blasphemias quas<sup>j</sup> proferebant in conspectu populi Christiani crucem quoque flagellis cedentes in eam spuebant, et in obprobrium fidei Christiane viliter pedibus conculcabant. Hoc eciam anno obiit episcopus Dunkeldensis Galfridus in die Sancte Cecilie apud Tybirmore et in ecclesia Dunkeldensi tumulatur, quam prediis et possessionibus ditavit,<sup>k</sup> quam regulis et institutis informavit, quam vestibus et ornamentis decoravit, quam fere per omnia exaltavit. Cuius epithafium tale perlegi:

Hac Dunkeldensis cleri decus, egis et ensis,  
Galfridus tumba pausat sub patre Columba.

<sup>f</sup> interlin. over ut del.C  
<sup>g</sup> quidam for dictum est CA  
<sup>h</sup> nimia CA  
<sup>i</sup> occidentes martires affecerunt for occiderunt CA

<sup>j</sup> interlin.C  
<sup>k</sup> dotavit CA

defeated. There was in him a wonderful zeal for the increase of religion, seen especially in his concern with building churches for the Friars Preacher. There was with him no regard for persons, but he judged the poor justly and brought forward arguments in equity on behalf of the meek of the land. This prince was a most upright character and the boldest of knights, who knew how to weep with those who were weeping and to rejoice with those rejoicing; he was nevertheless a comforter of those who were mourning, a supporter of orphans, protector of young men in wardship, most conscientious in hearing complaints personally, especially those of widows and the poor, and very fair in disposing of them, so that one can apply to him this quotation: 'Because he stood under the judgment and in fear of God, the Lord has made his people respect him, and he pleases the God of Israel in his goodness and his enthusiasm of spirit. Therefore He made a peace covenant with him to be the prince of his people, so that the dignity of king might be his for ever.' This is said about him:

Shield of the church, giver of peace to his people, guide to the wretched, a king upright, strict, wise, prudent, honest, a pious king, a brave king, a most virtuous king, a wealthy king; he was himself the second of this name (that is Alexander).  
He was himself king for three times ten and five years.  
The island called Kerrera has carried this man off.  
His spirit seeks the heights as it joins the heavenly bodies, but Melrose retains his buried bones.

In that year the pagans visited the Christians with wretched slaughter as a result of the overweening pride of the French. They took the king of France alive with two of his brothers and kept him honourably with them for some time. And eventually after payment of ransom and the negotiation of a truce they allowed him to return home. After his departure they entered Damietta as had been agreed; but when they observed how their temples had been corrupted with images, they broke the truce and killed all the Christian captives. And so that most accursed race, besides the blasphemies which they uttered at the sight of Christian people, also struck the cross with whips and spat on it. They trampled it underfoot in a contemptible manner to the shame of the Christian faith.

In this year also Geoffrey bishop of Dunkeld died on St Cecilia's Day at Tibbirmore and was buried in the church of Dunkeld, which he had enriched with lands and possessions, which he had shaped with rules and customs, which he had adorned with vestments and furnishings, which he had enhanced in almost all respects. I have read his epitaph along these lines:

Here Geoffrey the glory, shield and sword of the Dunkeld clergy rests in his tomb under the protection of our father Columba.

[1250]

[6 Apr.]

[6 May]

1249: 22 Nov.

## Notes

### Chapter 1 pp.3-5

First paragraph is elaborated from *Fordun* (280, annal 29); thereafter Bower uses other sources and returns to *Fordun* (281, annal 30) only at c.27 below. Part of this *Fordun* annal is discussed by W.W.Scott in *SHR*, I (1971), 198-200, with the suggestion that he must have been using a contemporary source independent of the Melrose chronicler. *Pluscarden* (56) is shorter, implies that William was buried before Alexander was crowned, dates the coronation 6 Dec., and states also that the queen attended the coronation feast. *Extracta* (86) dates the coronation 5 Dec. *Wyntoun* (v, 66-67) mentions the Scone ceremony under the year 1215.

Il.31-45 follow *Vincent* (XXX c.106); *Pluscarden* is similar but different; *Extracta* is brief.

6. *Glasgow*: Walter de St Albans, formerly a king's chaplain, bishop 1208-32 (Watt, *Fasti*, 145-6; cf. *RRS*, ii, 379 for surname).

*Ross*: Robert had been another of King William's chaplains, and was to be consecrated bishop 17 Feb. x 1 Mar. 1215 (*Melrose*, 57; *RRS*, ii, 33; Watt, *Fasti*, 266-7; *SHR*, I, 199); held this see probably 1215-49; see below c.25, Il.35-36.

7. *del Bois*: a royal clerk since 1193, chancellor 1211-26, and archdeacon of Lothian 1212 x 1214-1231 (*RRS*, ii, 30-32; Watt, *Fasti*, 309). See below cc.27, Il.48-49; 46, I.17; 48, Il.13-15.

9. Bower omits the earls of Fife and Lothian whom *Fordun* includes in this list. Malcolm was earl of Fife 1204-30 (*SP*, iv, 8-9; cf. *HBC*, 508); Patrick was earl of Dunbar or Lothian 1182-1232 (*SP*, iii, 252-3).

*Strathearn*: Earl Gilbert, 1171-1223 (*ibid.*, viii, 241-2).

*Atholl*: Earl Thomas of Galloway, husband of the heiress Isabel, x 1210-1231 (*ibid.*, i, 419-21; cf. *RRS*, ii, 447).

*Angus*: probably Earl Malcolm, x 1214-1236 x (*SP*, i, 165-6; cf. *SHR*, I, 200).

*Menteith*: Earl Maurice, 1213-1231 x (*SP*, vi, 126-7; *RRS*, ii, 469).

*Buchan*: Earl William Comyn as husband of the heiress Margaret, x 1212-1233 (*SP*, ii, 252-3; cf. *RRS*, ii, 455).

10. *St Andrews*: William Malveisin, bishop 1202-38 (Watt, *Graduates*, 374-9).

11. *three estates*: an anachronistic term not found in *Fordun*.

*hurriedly*: no explanation is offered for the extraordinary haste in arranging the new king's inauguration on the day after his father's death and before his funeral, and without the presence of the late king's widow and



some of his senior advisers. Perhaps the northern rising of MacWilliam and MacHeth early in 1215 was already anticipated (cf. Duncan, *Kingdom*, 196-7); or there may have been anxiety to prevent the growth of a superior claim to the throne by Earl David (see below l.24).

12. *a select ... enlisted*: this clause was added by Bower; but he is apparently not implying that Alexander was in some sense 'elected', though the altered language in *Pluscarden* was going to imply this. The exact translation of 'assumpserunt' (text l.12) is not clear.

13. *Alexander*: born 24 Aug. 1198 (*Melrose*, 50).

15. *Scone* PER: the traditional place for a royal inauguration.

*crowned*: 'coronatus est' (text l.15) is an anachronism; in *Melrose* (58) the phrase is: 'more regio et digna celebritate regni Scotorum gubernacula suscepit'; in *Fordun* it is: 'in regem sublimatus est'; see discussion below X c.1.

24. *prince*: 'princeps' (text l.20) is a word introduced by Bower; in his day it denoted simply the son of a king (W.C. Dickinson, 'An enquiry into the origin and nature of the title Prince of Scotland', *Economica*, iv [1924], 212-20, especially p.216; cf. *OED*, s.v.; and *ES*, ii, 400).

24. *Huntingdon*: Earl David, the younger brother of Malcolm IV and William I, lived 1152-1219; see Stringer, *Earl David*, passim. He had for long been heir to the throne, and as late as 1199 in England an adult brother had succeeded to the throne at the expense of the under-age heir by primogeniture. But David had done homage to the young Alexander in 1205, and had since then concentrated on his Anglo-Scottish concerns (ibid., 43). William on his death-bed had apparently secured agreement to his son's succession from the bishops, earls and barons who were present (see above VIII c.79). Cf. Duncan, *Kingdom*, 611.

25. *weak and ill*: this may explain 'his retirement from the political stage in Scotland' by this date (cf. Stringer, *Earl David*, 54); see also below c.27 for further details of David's share in these ceremonies.

28. *'Bayeux'*: the explanation of this alternative name for the abbey of Arbroath O.Tiron. ANG here and above VIII c.79 is not apparent (cf. Goodall, ii, 4n). It is not found in *Fordun*.

29. *buried*: Bower omits Fordun's date (10 Dec.) and his statement that the interment was before the high altar. Goodall (ii, 4) rightly comments on this passage as an example of Bower's carelessness over syntax in adapting his text from *Fordun*. See G.Henderson, 'A royal effigy of Arbroath', in *England in the Fourteenth Century*, ed. W.M.Ormerod (Woodbridge, 1986), 88-98 for a discussion of what was probably his tomb as erected considerably later.

31. Bower now deserts his narrative of Scottish events in favour of continental and English affairs. Only at c.27 below does he return to his *Fordun* model.

31-45. This paragraph to l.33 is a summary of the *Vincent* text, and therefore after a direct quotation.

31. *Otto*: Otto IV of the Welf family, king of Germany 1198-1218, emperor from 1209.

31-32. *Patrimony of St Peter*: the papal state around Rome itself.

32. *Apulia*: this southern Italian duchy was part of the kingdom of Sicily; when Otto invaded in 1210, it was being ruled for the young Frederick II of the Hohenstaufen family.

38. *excommunication*: proclaimed by Pope Innocent III on 18 Nov. 1210 (Van Cleve, *Frederick II*, 73).

40-41. *absolved ... fealty*: 31 Mar. 1211 (ibid., 75).

42-44. *landgrave ... Bohemia*: these five men were the leading ecclesiastical and lay princes of the German kingdom.

## Chapter 2 pp.5-9

The bulk of the chapter is taken from *Vincent*, ll.1-38 from XXXI c.1, and ll.39-48 from the following c.2. The verses are from a different source. *Pluscarden* (56) briefly mentions the Emperor Frederick; nothing in *Extracta*.

1. *kinsman of John*: Otto's mother had been a sister of John.

4. *electors*: Bower has replaced 'barones Alemanie' in Vincent's text by 'electores' (text l.3). It was only since the mid-13c that the right to elect the German king had come to be limited to just seven leading princes, who were called the electors.

*Philip*: Philip Augustus, king 1180-1223.

5. *Frederick*: elected in Germany Sept. 1211 (*CMH*, vi, 75).

12. *years*: Frederick did not die until Dec. 1250, but after papal deposition at the General Council of Lyons on 17 July 1245 he had faced rival kings in Germany from 1246 onwards (Van Cleve, *Frederick II*, 486, 494).

14-15. *Rome ... Genoa*: Frederick arrived at Rome in Apr. and at Genoa on 1 May 1212 (ibid., 81).

18. *Constance*: on south bank of the river Rhine where it leaves Lake Constance FRG.

19. *eagerly*: Bower adds 'ymmo et siciens' (text l.15) to the *Vincent* text.

20. *horses*: the source probably used by Vincent mentions cooks rather than horses (Van Cleve, *Frederick II*, 83).

23. *Then ... Breisach*: Bower omits two sentences from *Vincent* here, and the text fails to make sense. Breisach lies on the east bank of the Rhine near Freiburg-im-Breisgau FRG.

28. *Vaucouleurs*: dép. Meuse, France. See Van Cleve, *Frederick II* (85-86) for this meeting; it was held on 19 Nov. 1212 (*CMH*, vi, 77).

**28-29.** *bishop of Metz*: Conrad de Scharfenberg, already bishop of Speyer since 1200, became bishop of Metz as well by 23 Jan. 1213 (Eubel, *Hierarchia*, i, 337), and was probably the bishop in office at the time of this meeting. He was soon to be Frederick's imperial chancellor (cf. Van Cleve, *ut cit.*, 68, 105).

**31.** *Louis*: the heir to the throne, later King Louis VIII 1223-6.

**33.** *predecessors*: Emperor Frederick I and King Louis VII.

**34-38.** For work on the walls of Paris by King Philip, see Baldwin, *Government*, 297, 342-3.

**39.** *Miramamolén*: by this name (for 'amir-al-muminin', meaning 'prince of believers') Christian writers called the Almohade caliph al-Nasir (1199-1213). The battle fought at Las Navas de Tolosa in Jaen province on 16 July 1212 has been described as the greatest of all the victories of the Reconquest of Spain (J.F.O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain* [Ithaca and London, 1975], 244-9).

**42-43.** *although ... pagans*: this phrase was added by Bower to the *Vincent* text.

**45.** *king of Aragon*: Peter II 1196-1213.

**49-74.** These lines form a continuous paragraph inserted in the bottom margin of MS C.

**51-54.** Bower had already used these lines as a comment on the emperor Frederick I (see above VIII c.13). He may have taken them from Higden, *Polychronicon*, viii, 238, where they come under the year 1247.

**56-57.** These lines are not found elsewhere (Walther, *Initia*, no.10,481).

**59-71.** These ten lines of prophetic verse are found in many MSS in variable order and with minor variants. At least some are attributed to Michael Scot, the famous scholar who died in 1236 at the court of Frederick II. Variant forms from many MSS are given by O.Holder-Egger, 'Italienische Prophetien des 13. Jahrhunderts', *Neues Archiv*, xxx (1905), 335-49, 364, 714; xxxiii (1908), 106-7. See also Walther, *Initia*, nos. 6259, 6278, 6281, 6283, 11,811, 16,845. None of these correspond exactly to the wording of these ten lines here. Cf. for ll.59-66 Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora* (RS, 57), iii, 551 under the date 1239.

**70.** *Peter's fleet*: a variant of the phrase 'barque of Peter', meaning the church of Rome.

**72-74.** These overlapping cross-references are later additions to MS C.

### Chapter 3 pp.9-11

Nearly the whole chapter is taken from *Vincent*: ll.1-17 from XXXI c.3 (with ll.1-7 paraphrased and re-arranged, and ll.7-17 specific quotation); ll.17-37

are quoted from c.4; and ll.38-45 are paraphrased from c.5. The last lines are apparently not from *Vincent*. Nothing in *Pluscarden* or *Extracta*.

**1.** 1212: correctly 1211 (Lavissee, *Histoire*, III, i, 168).

**2.** *Boulogne*: Reginald de Dammartin, count of Boulogne by marriage with the heiress in 1190; received many other favours from King Philip, including the counties of Mortain and Aumale, which made him one of the richest lords of northern France (*DBF*, x, cols.56-57); see below ll.16-17.

**7.** *Mortain*: dép. Manche.

*Neustria*: this old name for much of north and north-west Francia in Merovingian times is here used as an alternative name for the smaller duchy of Normandy; see above III c.17, l.45.

**9.** *took it*: probably 19 Sept. 1211 (*Guillaume le Breton*, i, 243).

**13.** *feudal tenure*: Louis was his suzerain lord as count of Artois.

**14.** *Dammartin*: dép. Seine-et-Marne, Reginald's family inheritance, north-east of Paris.

**15.** *Aumale*: dép. Seine-Maritime, west of Amiens.

*Lillebonne*: dép. Seine-Maritime, near Le Harve.

*Domfront*: dép. Orne, east of Mortain.

**22.** *towns*: Bower chooses here to omit a passage in *Vincent*: 'accepta quidem a rege Philippo licencia, qui cum olim multum diligebat.' The intention appears to be to preserve Philip's reputation. At text l.32 below it is Bower who inserts the words 'principe Christianissimo' into *Vincent*'s text.

**24.** *Philip*: a son of King Philip by his mistress Agnes de Meran, known as Philip Hurepel. The daughter Matilda had in fact been fathered by Reginald. The marriage took place in 1216 (Isenberg, *Stammtafeln*, ii, table 14; Mas Latrie, *Trésor*, col.1565).

**28.** *English*: Reginald took John as his suzerain lord at London, 4 May 1212 (Lavissee, *Histoire*, III, i, 172).

**28-37.** For the quarrel of King John and Pope Innocent over Stephen Langton as archbishop of Canterbury and the Interdict in England from 1208, see above VIII c.66 and below IX c.4. Cf. Painter, *King John*, 164-83; not all the bishops fled to France – two went to Scotland, and two stayed in England.

**38.** *Flanders*: Ferrand, a brother of Alfonso II king of Portugal (1211-20), was married at Paris in Jan. 1212 to Joanna the young heiress to the country of Flanders. This had been arranged by King Philip as a means towards increasing his influence in Flanders; but after Louis took advantage of the situation to seize two castles on the borders of Artois and Flanders (see below), Ferrand rebelled against his patron the king (*CMH*, vi, 316; cf. Lavissee, *Histoire*, III, i, 172).

**40.** *Aire and St Omer*: near each other in dép. Pas-de-Calais.

**43.** *already allied ... John*: Ferrand met John at Dover, 20 July 1212; but it is wrong to say that he was formally allied to him before Philip entered Flanders in May 1213 (Lavissee, *Histoire*, III, i, 173-4); see below c.8.

46-47. ... *opportunities*: a proverb added here by Bower. It is known along with a French version in a mid-15c collection of French proverbs (*Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, lx [1899], 573, no.11; cf. Walther, *Proverbia*, no.39,163a3b).

#### Chapter 4 pp.11-13

No specific source has been traced for this chapter, though several English chronicles cover its topics. *Fordun* (282) is very brief; nothing in *Pluscarden*; *Extracta* (86) mentions the serf Peter. See *Wyntoun*, v, 56-59 for this Peter, called 'Carole' or 'Carl'.

1-17. Bower is following the same source as *Lanercost* (10) and *Fordun*, but offers a longer text than either. In other sources this man is called alternatively Peter of Pontefract or of Wakefield (*DNB*, lviii, 455; Norgate, *John Lackland*, 170). See below c.5.

18. *Pandulf*: a Roman and a subdeacon, but not a cardinal (*DNB*, xliii, 174-9); appointed with the Templar Brother Durand (both of them members of the papal household) by Innocent III as envoys to England, 14 Apr. 1211 (Cheney and Semple, *Selected Letters*, no.43); see below c.19.

20. *arrived*: 2 July 1211 (Powicke and Cheney, *Councils*, ii, 12).

22. *Canterbury business*: for this and the excommunication and interdict see above VIII cc.66, 68.

24. *king's heart was hardened*: Geoffrey of Coldingham (*Scriptores Tres* [Surtees Society, ix (1839)], 26-27) uses the same phrase in his account of this mission. The envoys met King John abortively at Northampton, 29 or 30 Aug., and left England on 29 Sept. 1211 (Powicke and Cheney, *ut cit.*, 12-13).

28. *expulsion from the kingdom*: the pope was said to have called on Philip Augustus to conquer England, late 1212 or early 1213 (Painter, *King John*, 190-2); but the chronicles are now thought to have been misleading (C.R.Cheney, in *Studies ... presented to F.M.Powicke*, ed. R.W.Hunt, W.A.Pantin and R.W.Southern [Oxford, 1948], 100-16; cf. W.L.Warren, *King John* [London, 1961], 310).

*interdict was lifted*: for the raising of the interdict in Wales during 1212, see *Brut y Tywysogion* (RS, 17), 273; cf. J.E.Lloyd, *A History of Wales* (London, 1911), ii, 638

33-50. The king's fearfulness is probable enough (cf. Poole, *From Domesday*, 455-6).

#### Chapter 5 pp.13-17

The three paragraphs of this chapter have all been developed further than has been traced in other chronicles. *Fordun* (282) has one sentence corresponding to the third sentence here. *Lanercost* (13-14) is here different about the prophet Peter (cf. above c.4). Nothing in *Pluscarden* or *Extracta*.

2. *day ... fixed by Peter*: see above c.4.

7. *explained below*: see below cc.19-20.

13. *devil*: see below c.6. Bower is including a fantasy prejudicial to King John.

25. *plotting*: baronial unrest developed into a treasonable plot in association with an abortive expedition to Wales, July-Aug. 1212 (Painter, *King John*, 266-7; Holt, *Northerners*, 79-83). Bower's chronology is confused here.

35. *fitzWalter*: *DNB*, xix, 219-23; see Norgate, *John Lackland*, 289-93 for a discussion of both him and Eustace de Vescy.

42. *Dover KNT*: this episode and other details here are not found in contemporary chronicles, but appear to be well-founded.

45. *Vescy*: *DNB*, lviii, 286-7; Norgate, *loc.cit.* See above VIII c.78. He had married in 1193 Margaret, an illegitimate daughter of King William (*AMW*, 290), and was lord of Alnwick NTB.

58-59. *alliance and peace treaty*: see above VIII cc. 72, 77 for agreement at Norham NTB of Feb. 1212. William is reported to have warned John of the plotting in the summer of 1212 (*AMW*, 384-5); Vescy's involvement would then have produced a new situation (cf. Duncan, *Kingdom*, 250-3).

60. *fell apart*: literally a step-mother situation was created.

#### Chapter 6 pp.17-19

Most of this chapter is taken by Bower from Higden, *Polychronicon*. *Pluscarden* (56-57) refers its readers to the *Polychronicon* as found here regarding the devilish ancestry of the Angevin kings of England. *Extracta* (86-87) has a short summary.

1. ...*Peter*: see above cc. 4-5.

2. *some people*: probably just Bower himself.

4. *Polychronicon*: in fact ll.5-12 have not been traced in Higden's book of this name. The story here appears to be an elaboration of the first sentence of the story told below ll.20-30, which is not attached to any particular countess of Anjou. In *MSC* the name 'Geoffrey' has been added to the text; four counts of this name preceded Geoffrey Plantagenet. Apparently Count Geoffrey I (960-87) is intended (cf. *DBF*, ii, col.1264); see below c.7, l.1.

12-16. *Their ... Henry V*: not in fact based on the account in Higden,

*Polychronicon* (vii, 466-8), where the Empress is said (as below 1.42) to have remarried while her first husband was still alive.

12. *Geoffrey Plantagenet*: count of Anjou 1129-51, duke of Normandy 1144-51 (*DBF*, ii, cols.1269-70).

13. *Empress*: Matilda, daughter of King Henry I, born 1102; married to the Emperor Henry V of Germany 1114 until his death in 1125; married to Geoffrey of Anjou 1128; claimed throne of England from 1135; her son Henry II succeeded as king in 1154; she died 1167 (*DNB*, xxxvii, 54-58).

14. *Matilda*: daughter of King Malcolm III and Queen Margaret of Scotland, queen of Henry I of England 1100-18 (*HBC*, 35; *DNB*, xxxvii, 52-53). It is Bower who calls her 'good'.

17-44. *So that ... Henry [II]*: Higden, *Polychronicon*, viii, 30-34. Bower has inserted 'devilish' (1.20), 'well-known' (11.33-34) and 'because ... father' (11.41-42).

20. *devilish wife*: Eleanor of Aquitaine (1122-1204) married Henry II in 1152 (*DNB*, xvii, 175-8). There was no legend of devilish origin in her family as there was in the family of Anjou (cf. the rubric to this chapter). Bower's insertion of the word 'devilish' is presumably a comment of disapproval on his part.

20-30. *One of ... again*: see above 11.5-12. Various versions of this legend are found in different sources (cf. Gerald of Wales, *Opera* [RS, 21], viii, 301 note).

23. *Secret Prayers*: prayers said during mass by a celebrant in a low voice after the Offertory and before the Preface (*OED*, s.v. 'secret'). The implication is that she did not wish to be present at the consecration of the Host (Norgate, *Angevin Kings*, i, 144).

30. *Richard*: Richard I, king 1189-99. Cf. *ibid.*, ii, 207. This story was recorded by the contemporary Gerald of Wales (*Opera*, viii, 301).

34. *Geoffrey*: count of Brittany 1171-86. This story is also found in a more elaborate form in Gerald of Wales (*ibid.*, 302), where the cleric is identified as Godfrey de Lucy, later bishop of Winchester 1189-1204 (see *DNB*, xxxiv, 244-6).

40. *this king Henry*: Henry II.

41. *still alive*: a reference to the legend that Henry V did not die in 1125, but came to Chester in England as a hermit (Higden, *Polychronicon*, vii, 466-8; Gerald of Wales, *Opera*, viii, 300).

41-42. *crime ... father*: Henry was said in these sources to have imprisoned his father Henry IV (d.1106).

## Chapter 7 pp.19-21

Some of this chapter is derived from William of Malmesbury and Higden. Nothing is taken into *Pluscarden*; but *Extracta* (87) includes part of it.

1-12. *... perpetuity*: based on William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum* (RS, 90), ii, 287-8.

1. *this Geoffrey*: apparently the count of Anjou mentioned above c.6, 1.5, since he preceded the next Geoffrey to be mentioned.

*another Geoffrey*: Geoffrey II Martel, count of Anjou 1040-60 (*DBF*, ii, cols.1266-7).

2. *count of Poitou*: William IV, count of Poitou and duke of Aquitaine 1029-38 (Mas Latrie, *Trésor*, col.1662). He was captured in 1033 by Geoffrey, who was then still count of Vendôme before his father's death, imprisoned for three years, and lived in fact for two years after that (O.Guillot, *Le Comte d'Anjou et son entourage au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle* [Paris, 1972], i, 53).

4. *Bordeaux*: dép. Gironde

7. *step-mother*: Agnes of Burgundy (Mas Latrie, *Trésor*, col. 1662); see Norgate, *Angevin Kings*, i, 174-5 and 197-200).

9. *Theobald*: count of Blois on his father's death 1037; also count of Champagne from 1047 or 1048; d.1089 (Mas Latrie, *Trésor*, cols. 1562, 1582). Captured at Tours, dép. Indre-et Loire, in 1044 (Norgate, *ut cit.*, 185-7).

13-23. This paragraph closely follows Higden, *Polychronicon*, viii, 34 (i.e. follows on directly from end of c.6 above); but at text 1.15 Bower has 'enecaverat' for the original 'eunuchaverat'. There is a version similar to Higden's, but with verbal differences, in Gerald of Wales, *Opera*, viii, 301.

13. *Bernard*: the saintly abbot of Clairvaux in Burgundy 1115-53 (*ODCC*, 162).

16. *Louis*: since Henry of Anjou (born Mar. 1133) is said to have been a baby at the time, this king was presumably Louis VI (1108-37) rather than Louis VII (1137-80); but see below 1.36, where it is Louis VII who is called Henry's foster-father.

17. *devil*: see above c.6 for association of the Angevin family with the devil. *alluding*; both events now mentioned are likely to have post-dated Bernard's words.

19. *bishop of Sées*: Bower is mistaken here; as his sources (see above 11.13-23) suggest, Geoffrey as duke of Normandy in 1144 opposed the election of one Gerard to this Norman see, and allowed his men to maltreat the bishop-elect in such a way that he was believed to have been castrated. Gerard did not die, but was confirmed as bishop and lived until 1157 (*Gallia Christiana* [Paris, 1715-1865], xi, cols.687-8; M.Pacaut, *Louis VII et les élections épiscopales dans le royaume de France* [Paris, 1957], 90).

20. *Canterbury*: murder of Thomas Becket archbishop of Canterbury in 1170.

21. *carried off Eleanor*: this tale was copied by Higden (*ut cit.*, 28, 34) from Gerald of Wales (*Opera*, viii, 300); cf. A.Kelly, *Eleanor of Aquitaine and the Four Kings* (Cambridge, Mass., 1959), 77).

23. *married*: May 1152.

25. *married ... Louis [VII]*: 1137.

26. *Philip*: Philip Augustus, king 1180-1223.  
*Alice*: she is usually so-called, rather than Adela.
27. *went overseas*: on the Second Crusade 1147-9.
- 28-29. *presents from Saladin*: an impossible story, since the Saracen leader had been born only in 1138 (NCE, s.v.). It was by indiscreet sexual conduct that Eleanor seems to have aroused her husband's suspicions (Kelly, *Eleanor*, 56-63).
- 31-32. ... *whore*: Helinand de Froidmont, *Chronicon* (PL, 212), col.1058. The quotation is not exact.
34. *Henry*: count of Anjou and duke of Normandy on the death of his father Geoffrey in 1151; king of England 1154. The marriage of Louis and Eleanor was annulled on 21 Mar. 1152.
37. *foster-father*: here 'nutricius' (text 1.31) is used where 'nutritor' would be expected.  
*Stephen*: king 1135-54.
39. *four sons*: see *HBC*, 36. There was also a fifth son (the first to be born) who died young.
42. *four daughters*: *ibid.* In fact only three daughters are known.
- 42-43. *one ... France*: Eleanor (born 1161) married Alphonso VIII of Castile; their daughter Blanche became the wife of King Louis VIII (1223-6) and the mother of Louis IX (1226-70).
- 43-44. *another ... Constantinople*: not known; the Emperor Alexius II Comnenus (1180-83) was in fact married in 1180 while still a boy to Agnes, a daughter of Louis VII by his third wife (*CMH*, iv [1927 edn], 379).
- 44-46. *the third ... above*: Matilda (born 1156) married Henry the Lion duke of Saxony; for Otto see above cc.1-2.
- 46-49. *the fourth ... for it*: Joan (born 1165) married Raymond VI count of Toulouse (1194-1222) as her second husband; he was already count when they married in 1196 (Mas Latrie, *Trésor*, col.1688), and it was he rather than his son Raymond VII (1222-49) who in 1212 ('eodem anno' [text 1.41] is unclear) was in trouble because of his support for the Albigensian heresy (*CMH*, vi, 25-26); see below c.21, 1.26-27.

## Chapter 8

pp.23-25

11.2-16 are taken from *Vincent*, XXXI c.5; then after 'efficeret' (text 1.14) Bower jumps to c.6 for 11.17-52, omitting material in c.5 which he had already used above in c.3; the last sentence is added by Bower. *Pluscarden* (57) has a short summary, which is independent of Bower's account; nothing in *Extracta*. See *Wyntoun*, v, 52-53.

1. Bower here continues the French story begun above c.3. His introductory phrases are again flattering to King Philip.

2. *Soissons*: dép. Aisne. This council met on 8 Apr. 1213 (*CMH*, vi, 317).
3. *Brabant*: Duke Henry (1190-1235) married Mary the daughter of King Philip on 22 Apr. 1213 (Isenberg, *Stammtafeln*, ii, table 8).
5. *Namur*: Count Philip (1205-12) had been married to the same lady in 1210 (*ibid.*, tables 10, 14).
- 5-6. *voyage to England*: this invasion may have been planned with some papal encouragement (cf. above c.4, 1.28); but when John submitted to Pope Innocent on 15 May 1213 (see below c.19), any papal support for Philip was withdrawn – a fact not mentioned here. See an account from the English point of view in Poole, *From Domesday*, 459-61.
10. *on the orders of the pope*: this phrase was added by Bower to the *Vincent* text.
11. *seven years*: the Interdict had started in Mar. 1208 five years earlier.
14. *Lackland*: this nickname was given to John by his father King Henry II at the time of his birth (Norgate, *John Lackland*, 2).  
*Arthur*: the young duke of Brittany whom John was suspected of having murdered in 1203 to safeguard his own succession to the English throne (Painter, *King John*, 27, 54, 250; Poole, *ut cit.*, 382-3).
15. *hostages*: see Painter, *ut cit.*, 266 for the hanging of twenty-eight sons of Welsh chieftains in Aug. 1212.
19. *Gravelines*: dép. Nord; Philip crossed here from Artois into Flanders on 22 May 1213 (*CMH*, vi, 317).
27. *Cassel*: dép. Nord.
- 27-30. Ypres, Bruges and Ghent, all now in Belgium, were all then in the county of Flanders.
29. *Damme*: on the river Zwyn was the port for Bruges.
33. *Salisbury*: William Longspée, a natural son of Henry II, held the earldom of Salisbury 1196-1226 after marriage to the heiress (*CP*, xi, 379-82; *DNB*, xxxiv, 115-18).  
*Boves*: an associate of Reginald de Dammartin (from near Amiens, dép. Somme) who was now in the service of King John as a mercenary captain (*Guillaume le Breton*, ad indicem; cf. Painter, *King John*, ad indices).
36. *Isangrin and Blavotin factions*: two armed factions in Flanders with anti-French aspirations, who were keen to support Count Ferrand at this time (*Guillaume le Breton*, i, 251).
- 47-48. *burnt them all*: see Lavissee, *Histoire*, III, i, 176 for a discussion of Philip's motives.
- 48-50. *For ... Bruges*: Bower has changed the sense of *Vincent*'s text by an apparent scribal omission after 'Brugis' (text 1.43): 'Insula Duaco in Franciam reiiit. Porro Gandavi ipse Brug'.
51. *Lille*: dép. Nord.
52. *Douai*: dép. Nord. The war continued over the winter of 1213-14 with much devastation (Lavissee, *Histoire*, III, i, 176-7).

Chapter 9  
pp.25-27

The source of this and the next three chapters is unknown. They comprise a moral tale for the benefit of Bower's contemporaries (see below c.12, ll.42-47). Nothing is taken into *Pluscarden* or *Extracta* from these chapters.

1-4. ... *Kendal*: William in fact was appointed abbot of Melrose at a general chapter of the Cistercian Order on 16 Nov. 1215 (*Melrose*, 61; Knowles and others, *Heads*, 135).

2. *Holm Cultram*: a Cistercian house at Abbeytown CMB, founded in 1150 as a daughter-house of Melrose ROX (*VCH Cumberland*, ii, 162-3); see above V c.43; VI c.32.

4. *Kendal*: Adam was abbot until 1223 (see below); Kendal was a lordship in WML.

6. *Carlisle*: Hugh of Beaulieu was bishop of Carlisle from Aug. 1218 until his death on 4 June 1223 (Le Neve, *Fasti 1066-1300*, ii, 20).

14. *King David*: David I had been one of the monastery's founders (cf. *VCH Cumberland*, ut cit.).

23. *Cîteaux*: monastery in dép. Côte d'Or, France, which was the mother-house of the whole Cistercian Order, and where its general chapter met.  
*lord king*: Alexander II.

26. *Rievaulx YON*: a Cistercian monastery founded in 1131, and mother-house of Melrose (*ODCC*, 1187).

27. *abbot of Rievaulx*: in fact William de Courcy (see above l.1), who had moved on from Melrose in 1216 and held office until 1223 or 1224 (Knowles and others, *Heads*, 140).

28-29. *fellow-abbot at Melrose*: presumably Adam de Harcarres, abbot since 1219 (see below c.34, l.13).

31. *cellarer*: see below c.10, l.52.

33. *deposed the abbot*: Abbot Adam resigned in 1223 (*Melrose*, 76), presumably before 4 June (see below c.10, ll.1-2). Note that the Melrose chronicler says nothing of faults on Adam's part.

*another man*: Radulf abbot of Grey Abbey, Co. Down, Northern Ireland (ibid.).

40. *Inglewood*: a forest south of Carlisle CMB; see *CDS*, i, no.615.

41. *Hildekirk*: i.e. St Hilda's Kirk, now Islekirk, south of Wigton CMB (F.Grainger and W.G.Collingwood, ed., *The Register and Deeds of Holm Cultram* [Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian Society Record Series, 1929], 76-77; *The Place-Names of Cumberland*, ii [English Place-Name Society, xxi, 1950], 330).

Chapter 10  
pp.27-31

2. *Carlisle*: Bishop Hugh died 4 June 1223 (see above c.9, l.6).

*day was fixed*: next bishop was elected 26 June x 22 Aug. 1223 (Le Neve, *Fasti 1066-1300*, ii, 20).

13-14. *seven penitential psalms*: Psalms 6, 32, 38, 51, 102, 130 and 143 (*NEB*); see *ODCC*, 1265.

28. *Passion Week*: apparently 31 Mar.-6 Apr. 1224, but the dates in this story do not fit.

52. *Thomas ... cellarer*: see above c.9, l.31.

Chapter 11  
pp.31-33

22-24. *who ... business*: Bower is here telling a story to some extent against himself, for as an Augustinian abbot he seems to have been regularly at the court of King James I and in his service; but perhaps he is just criticising undue concern among religious for litigation.

45-46. *abbots ... apartments*: it is conjectured that by Bower's time the abbot of Inchcolm had his own accommodation, though it is not agreed where it was sited (cf. *RCAHM [FIF]*, 12, and *Inchcolm Abbey and Island*, official guidebook [Edinburgh, 1989], 15).

61. *Ascension*: apparently 23 May 1224 is meant.

Chapter 12  
pp.33-37

23. *Ascension*: see above c.11, l.61.

26. *morrow-mass*: the first mass of the day.

42-47. *Now ... behaviour*: Bower explains his motive for including in his book this long story with a moral. No earlier version of it has survived.

52. *Lot's wife*: Genesis 19:26; cf. Luke 17:32.

*ploughman in the gospel*: Luke 17:31.

53-55. *tired ... Egypt*: Numbers 11:5-6; cf. Exodus 16.

55-56. *Jericho ... Joshua*: cf. Joshua 6:26 and 3 Kings (*Vulgate*) or 1 Kings (*NEB*) 16:34.

56-58. *dog ... place*: 2 Peter 2:22; cf. Proverbs 26:11.

59. *labyrinth of Daedalus*: *OCD*, 309-10.



Chapter 13  
pp.37-39

ll.1-20 are taken directly from *Vincent XXXI* c.8 (wrongly dated 1213 there); the marginal addition in MS C at ll.21-44 comes from another part of *Vincent* (XXXI c.52, dated 1214); part of the story of the Children's Crusade (ll.45-49) is from *Vincent* (XXXI c.5), correctly dated 1212; ll.50-58 are probably a comment by Bower; ll.59-69 are identical with *Melrose*, 56 (except the last word). *Pluscarden* (57) covers the various points in this chapter briefly, but Eleanor of Brittany is confused with Eleanor of Aquitaine, and there is nothing on the Children's Crusade; *Extracta* (87) mentions only the Lateran Council.

1. *sailed*: John left Portsmouth on 2 Feb. 1214 (Norgate, *John Lackland*, 196).

2. *La Rochelle*: dép. Charente-Maritime.

3. *count of La Marche*: Hugh lord of Lusignan in Poitou from 1165 and count of La Marche 1199-1219 (Mas Latrie, *Trésor*, cols. 1631, 1618).

*Geoffrey de Lusignan*: brother of Hugh (ibid.). John was certainly reconciled on 25 May with the Lusignan family, whom he had offended over his marriage to Isabella of Angoulême in 1200 (cf. Norgate, ut cit., 197-9). The surname is 'Lusignan' in *Guillaume le Breton* (i, 254) in the passage which was adapted for the *Vincent* text.

5. *Anjou*: John occupied Angers, dép. Maine-et Loire, on 17 June (Norgate, ut cit., 200-1).

6. *Beaufort [-en-Vallée]*: dép. Maine-et-Loire, east of Angers.

8. *Nantes*: dép. Loire-Atlantique, down river from Angers.

*Dreux*: for this family see Isenberg, *Stammtafeln*, ii, table 29. This Count Robert was a first cousin of King Philip. See below c.18, ll.41-44.

11-15. Peter Mauclerc, a younger son of Robert count of Dreux, married Alice daughter of Guy de Thouars in 1213. Her mother was Constance, the heiress of Conan IV duke of Brittany, who had previously been married to Geoffrey, a son of Henry II of England, who had held the duchy as her husband 1169-86. Her son Arthur had died in 1203 (see above c.8) while still under age. After his marriage to Arthur's half-sister, Peter held the duchy 1213-37 (ibid., ii, tables 29, 60; *CP*, x, 800-5).

16. *Eleanor*: *CP*, x, 799-800. She was to be kept a prisoner until her death in 1241, and had in fact been in John's hands already since before 1203. She was said to have accompanied John on this expedition (Norgate, ut cit., 196).

17. *eldest*: Geoffrey was in fact the fourth of Henry's five sons.

26. *La Roche-au-Moine*: on the river Loire to the west of Angers on the road towards Nantes.

26-27. *William des Roches*: seneschal of Anjou for Arthur count of Brittany in 1199 and for King Philip from 1204 (Baldwin, *Government*, 234-5).

33. *Chinon*: dép. Indre-et Loire

35. *withdrew*: 2 July 1214 (Norgate, ut cit., 201-2).

39. *victory*: at Bouvines on 27 July (see below c.16).

40-41. Bower adds 'excommunicatis' (text l.37) to Vincent's text.

46. *crusaders*: for the Children's Crusade see Setton, *Crusades*, ii, 325-42. It happened in 1212, not 1214. Cf. *Lanercost* (i, 14) which follows *Vincent* more closely, but under 1213.

47. *Marseilles*: dép. Bouches-du-Rhone, France.  
*Brindisi*: in Apulia, Italy.

47-49. 'quia nullus ... Terre Sancte' (text ll.42-43) are phrases added by Bower to Vincent's text.

52-55. Bower is here reflecting on the disorder in Scotland in the 1440s.

57. ... *these*: Matthew 19:14.

58. ... *dark*: cf. Matthew 25:30.

59. *issued*: the general summons to the Fourth Lateran Council was issued on 19 Apr. 1213 (*Innocentii Papae III Opera Omnia*, iii [PL, 216], cols.823-6). This summary does not follow this bull exactly – for example 'pastors' are not mentioned. See below c.26, ll.40-52.

67. *cross*: crusaders were recruited with a solemn ceremony of taking the crusading oath and having the badge of the cross attached to their clothing.

Chapter 14  
pp.41-43

No source has been identified for ll.1-7 regarding King Philip Augustus; cf. above VIII c.27 and c.42 (both from *Vincent*), and below cc.39-41 for more stories about him culled from various sources. The rest of the chapter appears to be Bower's own composition. *Pluscarden* (57) refers to this passage, but enlarges on it, saying that Philip expelled 'inutiles et ociosos personas' from his kingdom as well as from his court. Nothing in *Extracta*.

1-7. ... *lust*: cf. Baldwin, *Government* (358-9) for some parallel evidence of Philip's general attitude.

1. *In the same year*: the chronology is quite uncertain here – and not important for Bower's purpose in providing a text for the sermon which follows.

9. ... *mourners*: not identified. Possibly 'thoros' (text l.9) i.e. 'beds' should be read as 'choros' i.e. 'groups'.

11. *relaxation*: the word 'ludus' (text l.11) is used here and many times later in this chapter and the next one. There is no one English word which translates it adequately in all the quotations introduced by Bower and in his own discussion. It should be noted therefore that here 'relaxation', 'amusement', 'recreation' and 'leisure activity' all connote the same word 'ludus' in Latin.

14. *John ... Anthony*: these two appear to be mentioned with regard to the preceding sentiment rather than to that which follows. But in his revised text in MS CA, Bower introduces a long additional passage which reveals his reason for citing the apostle John here. After 'patet in Johanne Evangelista' (text l.13) add:

qui perdicem quasi demulcendo tangeret et contrectaret. Quidam ad[o]lescens hoc videns ad coevos suos ridendo dixit: 'Videte quomodo ille senex cum avicula sicut puer ludit.' Quod beatus Johannes per spiritum recognoscens juvenem ad se vocavit et quid in manu teneret inquisivit. Cui, cum se archum tenere diceret, ait: 'Quid inde facis?' Et juvenis: 'Aves inde ac bestias sagittamus.' Cui apostolus: 'Qualiter?' Tunc juvenis archum cepit tendere et tensum in manu tenere. Sed cum nil ei apostolus diceret, juvenis archum distendit. Cui Johannes: 'Quare, fili, archum distendisti?' Et ille: 'Quia, si diucius tensus teneretur, ad jacienda jacula infirmior redderetur.' Et apostolus ad hoc: 'Sic humana fragilitas ad contemplacionem minus valida fieret, si semper in suo rigore persistens, fragilitati sue interdum condescendere recusaret.' Nam et aquila cunctis avibus celsius volat et solem clarius conspiciat et tamen nature necessitate ad ima descendit. Sic et humanus animus cum se modicum a contemplacione retrahit, crebra innovacione ardencius ad celestia tendit. Simile legimus de Sancto Antonio. Et sic licet interdum eciam et perfectis ludere.

And omit 'et beato Antonio' (text l.13). This story about St John is found with different details, but with the same moral about the need for relaxation, in John Cassian (ca 360-435), *Conferences* (PL, 49), bk. xxiv, c.21, col. 1312-15. There is a reference to the Cassian version of the story in St Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, pt.3, quest.168, art.2co, in *Opera Omnia*, ed. R. Busa (Stuttgart, 1980), ii, 729. Bower's version does not come directly from either of these sources; but he does seem to have been acquainted with the passage in St Thomas (see below c.15, ll.30-33).

The opinion of St Anthony of Egypt, 251-356 (*ODS*, 22-23) is printed from 'In vitis patrum', bk.5, l.10 in a commentary on the Cassian version (PL, 49, col.1314n), where the story is told with St Anthony himself as the central figure.

16-18. ... *pursuits*: Cicero, *De Officiis*. bk.I, c.xxix, para. 103 (Loeb edn, p.104). St Thomas also uses this quotation in his discussion of the topic (*Summa Theologiae*, ut cit., quest. 168, art. 2ra2)

34. *young person*: after 'juvenem' (text l.30), MS CA adds: 'quamquam dicat metrista:

Res est pulchra senem juveniliter esse jocosum;  
sed magis est juvenem moribus esse senem.

These lines are untraced.

35-47. *Aesop ... master*: for a summary of this fable see B.E.Perry, ed., *Babrius and Phaedrus* (Loeb edn), pp.438-9, appendix, no.91; cf. p.167-9; a version in different words was available to Bower in *Vincent*, II c.3, now printed in L.Hervieux, *Les Fabulistes Latins*, ii (Paris, 1884), 237-8; another

version (printed *ibid.*, 338-9) was available in BL, Add.MS 11,619, fo.194, which Bower may have seen (see below c.48, l.44n).

47-49. The moral here is not the same as that attached to the Aesop fable in the sources quoted; probably it is Bower's own.

49. After 'complacere' (text l.43) MS CA adds:

Fabula nostra docet cunctis non cuncta licere,  
et debere suum quemque tenere modum.

These lines are untraced.

50. *Minerva*: see *OCD*, 689. This legend is untraced.

## Chapter 15

pp.43-45

This chapter is a continuation of c.14. It is presumably Bower's own composition.

7-15. ... *misfortunes*: pseudo-Seneca. i.e. Martin of Braga, *Opera*, ed. C.W.Barlow (New Haven, 1950), 243. Bower omits 'rectos potius quam obscundantes' after 'ama' (text l.7).

22. *Aristotle ... Ethics*: see Aristotle, *Ethica Nicomachea*, IV, viii, cc.1-5 (Loeb Greek edn, 244-7) or IV, xv, ll.27b32ff. (Aristotelis Latinus edn). 'ludus' (social amusement), 'eutrapelia' (wittiness) and 'bomolochia' (buffoonery) are defined also in II, vii, c.13 (Loeb edn, 102-5) or II, vii, line 08a25 (Latinus).

22-24. ... *joking*: Proverbs 26:19.

25-26. *Aristotle ... Ethics*: see Aristotle, *Ethica*, ut cit., IV, viii, c.9 (Loeb edn, 246-9) or IV, xv, ll.28a30-32 (Latinus).

30. *laws of the gentiles*: not identified.

30-33. *But ... states*: this topic is discussed in Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, pt.3, quest.168, art.2-4, in *Opera Omnia* (ut cit. above c.14, l.14), ii, 729-30. He identifies three conditions for virtuous recreation (not in fact the same as the conditions set out here by Bower).

38-40. *It is ... temples*: this is an adaptation rather than a quotation.

40-42. *And it ... end*: Gratian, *Decretum*, ii, *De Penitencia*, dist.5, c.1, para.9 (Friedberg, i, col.1240): 'Cohibeat se preterea a ludis et a spectaculis seculi, qui perfectam vult consequi gratiam remissionis.'

45-46. *David ... the Lord*: 2 Samuel 6.

49. *witty person*: see Aristotle, *Ethica*, ut cit., IV, viii, c.3 (Loeb edn, 246-7), or IV, xv, l.28a10 (Latinus).

51-53. *This word ... suitable*: 'epidexiotes' (Greek) or 'epidexiotis' (Latin) = quality of tact; 'epidexii' (Latin) = tactful. See Aristotle, *Ethica*, ut cit., IV, viii, c.5 (Loeb edn, 246-7) or IV, xv, l. 28a17 (Latinus).

55-56. ... *playing*: Zechariah 8:5. The quotation hardly fits with what has gone before.

59. *King Philip*: see above c.14, l.1.

## Chapter 16 pp.47-49

The bulk of this chapter comprises selections from *Vincent*, XXXI: ll.1-18 follow c.53 under the date 1214; ll.18-21 are a summary of c.54; ll.22-54 include all of c.55, with some insertions by Bower; ll.55-58 are a sentence added by Bower to MS C from an unidentified source; ll.58-62 are based on *Vincent*, c.58, and ll. 65-73 on c.60. The addition to MS C found in ll.74-81 contains names and figures similar to those (taken from information circulated within the Cistercian Order) found in *Melrose* (59) and *Lanercost* (i, 14). *Pluscarden* (58-59) contains most of this chapter with additions and variations, including the false statement that King John himself was at the battle of Bouvines, some elaboration of King Philip's speech, reflections on fighting on a Sunday, and praise for Philip's clemency. Nothing in *Extracta*.

1-2. *as mentioned above*: see c.13.

2-3. *Otto ... excommunicated*: see above c.1, ll.37-38.

4. *uncle*: see above c.7, ll.44-46.

5-6. *Hainault ... Flanders*: Valenciennes, dép. Nord, France, lay then in the imperial county of Hainault, which was held by Ferrand along with his largely French county of Flanders (Mas Latrie, *Trésor*, col.1612); cf. above c.3, l.38; and see above c.8 for events in Flanders in 1213.

7. *Boulogne*: see above cc. 3, 8.

*Salisbury*: see above c.8, l.33.

8. *Brabant*: Henry duke of Brabant (1190-1235) had married his daughter Mary to Otto IV in May 1214 (Isenberg, *Stammtafeln*, ii, table 8; *CMH*, vi, 65-66).

11-12. *forces ... Poitou*: see above c.13.

13. *Péronne*: dép. Somme.

15. *Tournai*: Belgium, then a separate French ecclesiastical fief.

17. *Brother Warin*: a professed brother of the Hospitallers of St John of Jerusalem, since ca 1201 the dominant member of King Philip's administration, and recently elected bishop of Senlis (Baldwin, *Government*, 115-18, s.v. Guérin; *DHGE*, xix, cols.1276-7, s.v. Garin); see below c.21, l.56, and c.50, l.8.

17-18. *St Pol*: Gaucher de Châtillon, count of St Pol (near Arras in North-East France) by marriage 1196-1219 (Mas Latrie, *Trésor*, col.1675; see Baldwin [ut cit., ad indicem] for his correct first name).

19. *Bouvines*: a bridge over the river Marcq, south of Lille, dép. Nord.

20. *dragon*: 'draco' was a standard displayed to indicate a fight to the death (*DML*, s.v.).

23-36. *Otto ... and ever*: Vincent copied this speech from the account of William the Breton who was present at the battle as one of King Philip's chaplains (*Guillaume le Breton*, i, 273); Bower has considerably lengthened it with extra phrases emphasizing, for example, the excommunicate state of King John the paymaster, the blessing of the apostolic see, and French respect for the pope.

36-38. *mindful ... heads*: another passage added by Bower to the *Vincent* text.

41. *chaplains*: just 'capellanus qui hec scripsit' in *Vincent* i.e. a mention of William the Breton.

44. ... [war]: Psalm 143:1 (*Vulgate*); 144:1 (*NEB*).

44-45. ... [scattered]: Psalm 67:2 (*Vulgate*); 68:1 (*NEB*).

45-46. ... [trouble]: Psalm 19:2 (*Vulgate*); 20:1 (*NEB*). This item was added by Bower in the margins of MS C to the list in *Vincent*.

46-47. ... [rejoices]: Psalm 20:2 (*Vulgate*); 21:1 (*NEB*).

47-54. *They ... kingdom*: these are the sentiments of William the Breton.

55-58. *The battle ... king*: in this insertion into the story taken over from *Vincent* (mostly added in the margin of MS C) Bower introduces an error over the date of the battle – for 'iii non' (text l.44) 'vi kal' should be read to obtain the correct date, 27 July. The authority for this description of the start of the battle is unknown; cf. detailed accounts from the French point of view in Lavissee, *Histoire*, III, i, 192-6; Baldwin, *Government*, 216-19.

59. *escaping on foot*: Bower adds this phrase to *Vincent*; it is improbable.

60. *Lowain*: an alternative title for the duke of Brabant (*Guillaume le Breton*, ad indicem).

*Limburg*: Henry duke of Limburg (an imperial fief) 1170-1221 (Isenberg, *Stammtafeln*, ii, table 6).

*Boves*: see above c.8, l.33.

64. *three*: *Vincent* has five.

72-73. *to spare ... proud*: Virgil, *Aeneid*, vi, l.853.

75. *on the side of the king of England*: this statement applies directly only to Salisbury; but the other two may have been in King John's pay. Both *Melrose* and *Lanercost* more correctly state that the captives were on the side of Otto.

76. *Tecklenburg*: Otto of Tecklenburg (near Osnabrück FRG); see *Guillaume le Breton*, ad indicem.

*Hairy Count*: an unidentified German count whose nickname perhaps implied 'savage' or 'rough' rather than 'hirsute' (ibid., ii, 298; cf. reference in Matthew Paris, *Historia Anglorum* [RS, 44], ii, 150: 'comes Alemannie quem Franci comitem Pelu nominabant').

Chapter 17  
pp.51-53

All of this chapter is taken continuously from *Vincent*, XXXI: ll.1-2 from end of c.60; ll.2-34 from c.61; ll.34-54 from c.62. *Pluscarden* (59) states just that many captives were imprisoned for a long time; nothing in *Extracta*.

1. The story continues from c.16.
3. *Bapaume*: dép. Pas-de-Calais.
5. *Ghent*: in North-East Flanders, now in Belgium.
12. *Aubrey*: Aubrey de Dammartin had been a minor vassal of the king (*DBF*, x, col.56).
23. *Mortain, Aumale and Warenne*: cf. above c.3, ll.14-15. Warenne or Varenne is near Bellencombe, dép. Seine-Inférieure near Dieppe (*Guillaume le Breton*, ad indicem).
27. *Damme*: see above c.8.
34. *Péronne*: dép. Somme.
39. *new tower*: in the Louvre outside the walls of the city (Baldwin, *Government*, 343).
40. *two small castles ... bridges*: the two 'châtelets' guarding the Grand Pont and Petit Pont, the two bridges which linked the city with either bank of the river (*ibid.*).
48. *Nevers*: Hervey de Donzy, count of Nevers and Auxerre 1199-1223 by right of marriage with the heiress (*Guillaume le Breton*, ad indicem; Mas Latrie, *Trésor*, col. 1552).
49. *Normandy*: for use of 'Neustria' as the old name of Normandy see above c.3, l.7.
50. *William des Roches*: see above c.13, ll.26-27.  
*Joel de Mayenne*: a grandson of the count of Meulan, a witness to royal acts since 1199 (*Guillaume le Breton*, i, 227, n.7; Baldwin, *Government*, ad indicem).
51. *viscount of Sainte-Suzanne*: identified as Radulf (*ibid.*, ad indicem). Sainte-Suzanne is near Evron, dép. Mayenne, an area then in the county of Maine which King John had lost to King Philip.

Chapter 18  
pp.53-55

Most of this chapter comes from *Vincent*, XXXI: ll.1-7 from c.62, and ll.16-40 from the rest of c.62, and ll.41-62 from c.63; but Bower appears to offer his own opinion when he inserts ll.8-15, whose source is unknown. Nothing in *Pluscarden* nor *Extracta*.

1. *they*: since this passage in *Vincent* follows directly the end of c.17 above, the reference is to the conspirators mentioned there in general.

3. *Vermandois*: an area of royal demesne in the upper Somme valley, centered on Péronne.

8-15. *For ... them*: these lines intruded by Bower into material copied from *Vincent* take up a story in *Guillaume le Breton* (i, 295-6) which Vincent had chosen to omit. Bower's wording, however (including the prophecy), is quite different from that in *le Breton*, so that he must have been following some other unidentified version of the story.

8-9. *sorceress ... Ferrand*: 'magam' (text l.7) is Bower's word: in *le Breton* she is just 'vetula' i.e. an 'old lady'. 'matrem' (text l.7) is a misleading error, for Ferrand was count of Flanders by right of his wife – his own mother had not been countess; *le Breton* supplies the correct word here, namely 'matertera' i.e. 'aunt'. In 1214 Ferrand's aunt, called either Teresa or Matilda, a daughter of King Alphonso I of Portugal, was still alive; she had married Philip of Alsace count of Flanders in 1183 and been widowed in 1191; apparently she then married Odo count of Burgundy in the mid-1190s and lived until 1218 (Isenberg, *Stammtafeln*, ii, tables 53, 24); but her royal Portuguese family link with Ferrand was no doubt well remembered in Flemish lore.

12. *Minerva*: the Roman goddess associated with both wisdom and war.

16-40. An eye-witness account of Ferrand's arrival in Paris by William the Breton lies behind this account in *Vincent* taken over with minor amendments by Bower. Cf. XV c.22 below for similar phrases used to describe the celebrations at the founding of the University of St Andrews in 1413.

41. *Salisbury*: see above c.8, l.33. Salisbury was exchanged soon before 2 Feb. 1215 (*Guillaume le Breton*, i, 293, n.1; cf. *CP*, xi, 380 where May 1215 is suggested).

44. *son of the said Robert*: see above c.13, l.8. Robert II held this county 1184-1218 (Mas Latrie, *Trésor*, col. 1593).

53. *Loudun*: dép. Vienne, north-west of Poitiers.

*Thouars*: Aymer VII viscount of Thouars had helped King John at the siege of La Roche-au-Moine earlier in the year; Thouars lies to the west of Loudun (*Guillaume le Breton*, ad indicem); cf. above c.13, l.26.

55. *when he reached Loudun*: the awkward repetition here comes at a place where Bower has shortened the *Vincent* text.

59. *Chester*: Ranulf earl of Chester 1188-1232 (*CP*, iii, 167-9).

*the legate*: Robert de Courson, an English cardinal (1212-19), who served as papal legate in France 1213-15; was considered by the French to have displayed English bias at this time (Emden, *BRUO*, i, 498-9; *DBF*, ix, cols. 990-1).

60. *Out of ... see*: Bower has added this phrase to the *Vincent* text; cf. similar additions above c.16.

61. *truce*: concluded at Chinon, dép. Indre-et-Loire, on 18 Sept. 1214 (*Guillaume le Breton*, i, 298, n.6; Lavissee, *Histoire*, III, i, 199-200).

### Chapter 19 pp.57

*Fordun* (282), like *Melrose* (58), dates the end of the Interdict in England at ca 1 July 1214. It did formally end then (Cheney and Semple, *Selected Letters*, 188, n.1); but Bower has been misled into dating his more elaborate account of John's submission to the pope in 1214 rather than the correct 1213. He is not following the *Melrose* version of events. *Pluscarden* (59-60) has a summary; a different summary appears in *Extracta* (87). See *Wyntoun*, v, 52-57.

1. *battle*: reference is to Bouvines (see above c.16).

4-16. Bower gives a different account here of the 1211 embassy of Pandulf and Durand from that which he has already provided above c.4. This version is apparently wrong in stating that John would not meet the envoys, and in stating that they absolved his subjects from their oath of allegiance (cf. Painter, *King John*, 186-7).

21-23. *when ... confederates*: Bower wrongly suggests that John's decision to submit to the pope was a consequence of the battle of Bouvines. In fact it had happened in the previous year. *Pluscarden* avoids this error.

25-26. *wrote ... pope*: John sent envoys to Rome in Nov. 1212; and in May 1213 he invited Pandulf (see above c.4) to come to England from France (Painter, *King John*, 189, 192).

27-36. Bower telescopes two stages of the story. John submitted to Pandulf as the pope's representative near Dover, 13-15 May 1213 (Powicke and Cheney, *Councils*, ii, 13-19). Nicholas was appointed legate to England on 6 July, came to England in Sept., and the ceremony of submission was repeated in the presence of both him and Pandulf at London on 3 Oct. 1213 (Norgate, *John Lackland*, 190).

28. *Nicholas*: Nicholas de Romanis, cardinal bishop of Tusculum 1205-19 (Eubel, *Hierarchia*, i, 38). Here and below c.20 he is wrongly styled bishop either of Castello near Venice or Civita Castellana north of Rome, both of which sees were held by ordinary rather than cardinal bishops (cf. *ibid.*, i, 171, 190).

30. *Ascension Day*: 23 May 1213; in fact Pandulf had landed by 13 May (see above).

30-31. *thirteenth year*: in fact the fourteenth year.

35. *golden charter*: so called because of its gold seal (see below c.20).

### Chapter 20 pp.59-61

Bower here gives a full text of John's act of submission to the pope (see above c.19). This is not in *Fordun*, though a text of his earlier submission

near Dover in May 1213 is included in MS FD (i.e. Dublin, Trinity College MS 498), pp.395-6 (datable 1450 x 1465); cf. Powicke and Cheney, *Councils*, ii, 17-19 for another version of this text. *Pluscarden* (60-62) copies this text with some extra information; *Extracta* (87-89) also gives a full text with different comments afterwards; both take the text from Bower.

This text was summarised in various English chronicles, and also in *Melrose* (58-59). It is not known where Bower found the full text. It may be collated with copies in *Rotuli Chartarum* (Record Commission, 1837), 195 or *Foedera*, I, i, 115, or a copy included in a papal bull of 21 Apr. 1214 (Cheney and Semple, *Selected Letters*, 177-83, with translation). Editorial emendations are made to the text in MS C here after collation with the first and third of these copies only when necessary for the sense. Other variants are not noted, except as mentioned below.

20. *Tusculum*: see above c.19, l.28. The name 'Castellanensis' (text l.19, 'Castellan' in MS C) is presumably a misreading at some stage of 'Tusculani', which is found in other copies, in ignorance of the correct name of the see of this cardinal-bishop, rather than a misapprehension about the see which he held.

35. *Peter's Pence*: a supposedly annual payment from the English church to the pope from Anglo-Saxon times, which was still being levied in the early 13c (*ODCC*, 1074).

46-59. These are the words spoken by John at the ceremonies held before the papal representatives on both 15 May and 3 Oct. 1213 (see above c.19, ll.27-36).

65-70. This witness-list omits the names of William bishop of London and Peter bishop of Winchester, wrongly calls the bishop of Ely Edward rather than Eustace, omits the statement that the earl of Salisbury was the king's brother, misreads 'Briwerre' as 'Berwick', and is wrong about the name of Saer earl of Winchester (who was also an important Scottish magnate).

### Chapter 21 pp.61-65

ll.1-15 follow on cc.19-20 above. Then *Vincent* (XXX) becomes the source for much of the rest of the chapter: ll.16-23 follow c.101 (where the date is 1208); ll.24-51 follow c.103, sometimes copied and sometimes reworked; ll.55-72 follow c.107. Bower then adds quotations from Augustine in the margins of MS C. *Pluscarden* (62) has a longer passage on the ending of the Interdict in England, then a summary of Bower's section on the Albigenian Crusade. *Extracta* (89) copies ll.1-15 only (including the verses).

2. *lifted*: for date see above c.19, introductory note.

3. *months*: the Interdict had begun officially in Mar. 1208 (Poole, *From Domesday*, 445).

7. *But ... effect*: the authority for Bower's comment here is unknown.

14-15. *you ... world*: a poetic way of saying '3 July'.

16. *Guala*: Guala Bicchieri, cardinal 1205-27, sent as legate to France in June 1208 (*DBI*, x, 314-24).

18. *Toulouse*: dép. Haute-Garonne.

19. *Albi*: dép. Tarn.  
*Narbonne*: dép. Aude.

20. *heretics*: the Cathari or Albigensians (after the town of Albi) had won wide influence in Languedoc i.e. South-West France in the later 12c; several bishops were sympathetic, and by this date Raymond VI count of Toulouse (see below 1.26) favoured them openly (*CMH*, vi, 22; *ODCC*, 31).

20-23. *And ... confessed*: the pope was here promising the same kind of indulgence as had previously been granted to participants in crusades to the Holy Land.

26. *Toulouse*: Count Raymond VI (1194-1222) had submitted to, and received absolution from, a papal legate at Valence, dép. Drôme, on 18 June 1209 (Setton, *Crusades*, ii, 286; Mas Latrie, *Trésor*, col.1688).

27. *Béziers*: dép. Hérault, captured 22 July 1209 (Setton, *Crusades*, ii, 288).

29. *Carcassonne*: dép. Aude.

*our men*: Bower has taken over here and later the language of the Northern French source used by Vincent.

*Roger*: Raymond Roger, viscount of Béziers and Carcassonne, nephew of Count Raymond, surrendered this city on 15 Aug. 1209, and died in prison during the following winter (*ibid.*, 288-9).

33. *Montfort*: Simon was a Northern French baron (Montfort l'Amaury, dép. Yveline, lies to the west of Paris near Versailles), who had been appointed commander of the royal army sent to fight this crusade. For details of his activities in Southern France until his death in 1218, see *Hystoria Albigensis*, passim; and J.Girou, *Simon de Montfort* (Paris, 1953).

36. *Cistercian abbot*: not identified.

37-51. *and Giraud ... them*: a horror-story included to discredit the heretics.

37. *Giraud de Pépieux*: from dép. Aude.

52-54. In introducing here an account from *Vincent* of the heretic Amaury de Chartres or de Bène, condemned after his death ca 1207 at an episcopal synod at Paris in 1210 (*ODCC*, 42, s.v. 'Almaric'; see *Martin*, 438 for further details about him), Bower wrongly associates him with the Albigensian heretics. Vincent's account was taken from *Guillaume le Breton*, i, 232-3.

56. *Paris*: Peter de Nemours, bishop of Paris 1208-19 (Eubel, *Hierarchia*, i, 391).

*Brother Warin*: see above c.16, l.17.

57. *Radulf de Namur*: for more on his part in this affair, see W.L.Wakefield and A.P.Evans, *Heresies of the High Middle Ages* (New York, 1969), 258-63.

65. *burnt*: 20 Dec. 1210 (*Guillaume le Breton*, i, 233, n.2).

70. *general council*: Fourth Lateran Council of 1215, canon 2 (Alberigo, *Decreta*, 231-3).

73. Bower introduces these sentences from Augustine as part of a reflection on the need to avoid similar behaviour in dealing with the Lollard heretics of his own day (see below XV c.20; XVI cc.20-22). But note that the marginal note in MS C becomes confusing when introduced into the text in MSS D and CA.

*Augustine*: *Ad consentium contra mendacium*, ed. J.Zycha (Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, xli, Vienna, 1900), 470 (first two quotations), 528 (third quotation).

77-78. *Let us ... come*: Romans 3:8

## Chapter 22 pp.67-69

Nearly all of this chapter is based on *Vincent*, XXX: ll.1-4 offer an introduction to St Dominic much shorter than in *Vincent* cc.94-95; then ll.5-29 are copied from c.96 and ll.30-45 from c.105. Nothing in *Pluscarden* or *Extracta*.

The first part of the chapter-title applies to c.23 below rather than here.

1. *Dominic*: St Dominic (1170-1221), native of Caleruega, Soria province, south-east of Burgos, Spain, Augustinian canon of cathedral of Osma nearby, founder of the Dominican order of friars known as the Order of Preachers (*ODCC*, 417; *DHGE*, xiv, cols.592-608; M.-H.Vicaire, *Saint Dominic and his Times* [London, 1964]).

2. *subprior of Osma*: Dominic probably joined the chapter at Osma in 1196 and became subprior ca 1200 (*ibid.*, 457, n.95). Bower follows the common error of naming this diocese 'Exoniensis' (i.e. Exeter) instead of the correct 'Oxomensis'.

3. *Diego*: Diego de Acebo, bishop 1201-8, previously prior of the cathedral chapter when Dominic had been admitted (*ibid.*, 35; cf. Eubel, *Hierarchia*, i, 382).

4. *Albigensians*: see above c.21; the bishop and subprior started preaching to the heretics in southern France in June 1206 (Vicaire, *Dominic*, 90; cf.80).

5-29. *There ... author*: for an account of this formal disputation said to have taken place at Fanjeaux, dép. Aude (but in fact at nearby Montréal) in Apr. 1207, see *ibid.*, 101 (citing a fuller account in *Hystoria Albigensis*, i, 47-49).

13. *when ... Osma*: a phrase added by Bower to the *Vincent* text. Bower too was an Augustinian canon.

27. *three boys*: cf. Daniel 3:20-27.

30. *At the same time*: not literally, for this extract is taken from a quite different chapter in *Vincent*.



**30-45.** ... *good men*: this description of his ascetic life is probably derived from the stories collected for his canonization in 1234 (cf. Vicaire, *Dominic*, 155-6 and the sources there cited; cf. *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum*, ed. J. Quetif and J. Echard [Paris, 1719-23, reprinted New York, 1959], i, 44-58).

**42-43.** *also a canon*: again an addition by Bower.

### Chapter 23 pp.69-71

All of this chapter is based on *Vincent*: ll.1-22 from XXX c.105, continuing directly from end of c.22 above; ll.23-38 based on XXXI c.65, but considerably abbreviated; ll.38-45 from first part of XXXI c.66, and then ll.46-48 from the end of the same chapter (altered a little). Nothing in *Pluscarden*; *Extracta* (89-90) has a brief section on the Dominican Order.

**1-22.** ... *people*: a continuation of material probably collected for Dominic's canonization (as above c.22, ll.30-45).

**13.** *even ... habit*: an addition by Bower to Vincent's text.

**17.** *deception*: 'ipocrisis' (text l.15) here and in the chapter-titles of cc.22-23 would normally imply pretensions of sanctity (*Lewis and Short*, s.v. 'hypocrisis'), but here implies praiseworthy acts performed normally in private.

**26.** *Toulouse*: dép. Haute-Garonne; Dominic moved here Jan. x Apr. 1215 (Vicaire, *Dominic*, 165).

**26-38.** *he went ... wanted*: for Dominic and Bishop Fulk at Rome Oct. 1215-Jan. 1216 at the time of the Fourth Lateran Council, see *ibid.*, 191-202.

**27.** *bishop of Toulouse*: Fulk de Marseilles 1205-31 (Eubel, *Hierarchia*, i, 488). For his act of June 1215 giving recognition to Dominic and his companions as a community, see Vicaire, *Dominic*, 171.

**30-34.** *one night ... vision*: Bower's summary of Vincent's text introduces this story of the pope's dream which is told also in the traditions surrounding the visit of St Francis to the pope in 1209, when seeking approval for his new rule (M.A. Habig, ed., *St Francis of Assisi: Writings and Early Biographies* [Chicago, 1973], 377, i.e. the *Second Life of St Francis* by Thomas de Celano [written in 1246], bk.1, c.11).

**31.** *Lateran*: the church of St John Lateran, where the pope had his see as bishop of Rome.

**36.** *approved rules*: the 13th canon of the Lateran Council had forbidden the founding of new religious orders (Alberigo, *Decreta*, 242).

**38-45.** *On his return ... constitutions*: for the community of sixteen who adopted the Rule of St Augustine, probably on 29 May 1216, see Vicaire, *Dominic*, 203-15.

**46.** *Innocent had died*: 16 July 1216.  
*Honorius III*, pope 1216-27.

**47.** *confirmation*: 22 Dec. 1216 (Vicaire, (Dominic), 219-21).

### Chapter 24 pp.71-73

Some of this chapter comes from two chapters in *Vincent* (XXX) which deal with St Francis at greater length: ll.1-19 are taken from the first part of c.97, and ll.19-32 from the end of c.98. ll.33-56 appear to have been collected from Franciscan sources by Bower himself. Nothing in *Pluscarden*; brief summary in *Extracta* (90).

**1-19.** ... *foolish*: a general account of the origin and conversion of Francis of Assisi (1181 or 1182-1226); cf. *ODCC*, 530.

**5.** *Assisi*: near Perugia, central Italy, then in the duchy of Spoleto, part of the Papal States.

**19-32.** *And so ... preaching*: Vincent takes his account of the conversion of Francis from the *First Life* by Thomas de Celano, cc.22-23 (*Francis ... Writings* [as above c.23, ll.30-34], 246-8). The date was 24 Feb., probably 1208 (*ibid.*, 565, n.67).

**20-24.** *gospel ... tunic*: cf. Matthew 10:9-10.

**33-36.** *Once ... know me*: this extract by Bower from Franciscan sources has not been traced.

**37-49.** *The lord ... greater*: from *Second Life* by Celano, c.148 (*Francis ... Writings*, 481). The date was probably 1220 (*ibid.*, 600-1, n.234).

**37.** *Ostia*: Ugento dei Conti, cardinal bishop of Ostia since 1206, later Pope Gregory IX 1227-41; took a special interest in both the Franciscan and Dominican Orders (*ODCC*, 596-7; *ODP*, 189-91).

**45.** *brothers*: there is no distinction in Latin between the English 'friars' and 'brothers'.

**49-56.** *He wanted ... superhuman*: from *Second Life* by Celano, c.201 (loc. cit., 523).

**54.** *Saint Laurence*: it has been suggested that St Laurence is chosen by Francis here because, like Francis, he was a deacon rather than a priest (*ibid.*, 606, n.371; cf. *ODCC*, 804).

**55.** *Word of Life*: 1 John 1:1.

**56.** MS CA has here an addition from an unidentified Franciscan source, which incorporates an extract from the First Rule of the Order, c.7 (cf. *Second Life* by Celano, c.128 [ut cit., 467-8 and 599, n.202]):

Super omnia detestabatur fratrem pretendentem se tristem vel turbulentem, faciens in quodam capitulo grandi litera hec verba scribi: 'Caveant summopere fratres ne se ostendant exterius nubilosos et ipo-

critas tristes, sed ostendant se gaudentes in Domino et jocundos ac convenienter graciosos, quia non possunt offendere demones Christi famulum quem viderint sancta jocunditate perfusum. Quando vero tristis est animus desolatus et merens, facile vel absorbetur tristitia vel ad gaudia vana transmittitur. Studeat proinde Christi servus letanter servare, spiritus unccionem oleumque leticie quo eat pretendere.'

## Chapter 25 pp.73-75

The bulk of this chapter is taken from *Vincent* (XXXI): ll.1-31 come from c.9, and ll.37-47 are adapted from c.10 (printed also in MGH, *Scriptores*, xxiv, 165-6). Between these two extracts is a note about bishops of Ross similar to *Melrose*, 57. Nothing in *Pluscarden; Extracta* (90) mentions the bishopric of Ross and (briefly) James de Vitry.

1. Bower here resumes the story of the Albigensian Crusade (see above c.21, ll.1-51). Following now a different part of *Vincent*, he repeats some of the story that he has already told; this version had been summarised by Vincent from *Guillaume le Breton*, i, 258-560.

*battle*: at Muret, dép. Haute-Garonne, south of Toulouse, 12 Sept. 1213 (see below l.21).

2. *Five years*: the crusade in southern France had in fact begun in the Spring of 1209 (Setton, *Crusades*, ii, 285).

3. *Sens*: Peter de Corbeil, archbishop of Sens 1200-22 (Eubel, *Hierarchia*, i, 447).

*Rouen*: Robert Poulain, archbishop of Rouen 1208-21 (*ibid.*, i, 425).

4. *Bayeux*: Rober d'Ableiges, bishop of Bayeux 1206-31 (*ibid.*, i, 124).

*Chartres*: Reginald de Bar, bishop of Chartres 1182-1217 (*ibid.*, i, 167).

5. *Burgundy*: Odo duke of Burgundy 1193-1218 (Mas Latrie, *Trésor*, cols.1568-9).

*Nevers*: Hervey (not Henry) de Donzy, count of Nevers and Auxerre 1199-1223 (see above c.17, l.48).

10. *Béziers*: see above c.21, l.28.

11. *Carassonne*: see above c.21, l.29.

13. *Montfort*: see above c.21, l.33.

19. *Aragon*: Peter II king of Aragon 1196-1213 (Isenberg, *Stammtafeln*, ii, table 45; see Setton, *Crusades*, ii, 297-300).

*St Gilles*: Raymond VI count of Toulouse (see above c.21, l.26). St Gilles, dép. Gard, was part of his family inheritance. His current wife was Eleanor, a sister of King Peter.

20. *Foix*: Raymond Roger count of Foix, dép. Ariège, 1188-1223 (Mas Latrie, *Trésor*, col.1602), then a vassal of King Peter (Setton, *Crusades*, ii, 297).

*depraved ... heresy*: a phrase added by Bower to *Vincent*, which may well have been untrue (cf. Setton, *Crusades*, ii, 297-8).

21. *Muret*: see *ibid.*, 301-3.

25. *Trusting ... alone*: Bower's embellishment of Vincent's text.

31. *said*: *Vincent* has 'heard'; it is Bower's idea that he 'said' the hours.

32. *Reginald*: had been a monk of Melrose when elected bishop in 1195 (see above VIII c.56); the original entry in the Melrose chronicle gives his date of death as 13 Dec. 1213. Bower here is reverting to his previous arrangement of annals from various sources under the same year-date.

33. *Moravia*: later bishop of Moray; see Watt, *Graduates*, 407-10.

35. *Robert*: see above c.1, l.6.

37. *Vitry*: James de Vitry 1160 x 1170-1240), bishop of Acre in the kingdom of Jerusalem 1216-29, cardinal from 1229. See Bagliani, *Cardinali*, 99-109; J.F.Hinnebusch, *The 'Historia Occidentalis' of Jacques de Vitry, a critical edition* (Fribourg, 1972), c.1). See also below c.26.

38. *Oignies*: Mary was born at Nivelles, south of Brussels in Brabant (now in Belgium) in 1177 and died at Oignies-en-Thierache in Namur, Liège diocese in 1213 (*BNB*, xiii, cols.716-18). Vitry's *Life* of her is in *Acta Sanctorum*, June, v, 547-72 and also in *Vincent*, XXXI cc.11-51.

40. *Argenteuil*: dép. Seine-et-Oise. In fact his connection with this place is uncertain (Hinnebusch, *ut cit.*, 4).

41. *monastery of Oignies*: an Augustinian house – hence perhaps Bower's interest in it. Vitry joined this community in 1211 (*ibid.*).

46. *Albigensians*: Vitry certainly preached the crusade against the Albigensians in 1213 (Bagliani, *Cardinali*, 106); he had apparently already undertaken this task in 1211 also (*Hystoria Albigensis*, i, 281, n.1; ii, 7, 120, 202 etc.). See also above IV c.53, ll.19-28.

## Chapter 26 pp.77-79

ll.1-9 continue the extracts from *Vincent* XXXI c.10, somewhat shortened and re-arranged. ll.12-36 contain a story from Cantimpré, *De Apibus*, I, xxii, para.2, fos.14v-15. ll.37-52 are clearly related to *Melrose* (58 and 60-61) with some direct parallels. Nothing in *Pluscarden; Extracta* (87) mentions the Lateran Council briefly.

2-3. *bishop ... see*: see above c.25, l.37.

4-6. *book ... area*: see above c.25, l.37-38.

6. *Toulouse*: for Fulk de Marseilles, bishop of Toulouse 1205-31 see above c.23, l.27. This bishop wanted an example to use in his sermons to the Cathars, and encouraged Vitry to write this work, which is addressed to him (Hinnebusch, *ut cit.*, 9, n.3).

7-9. *another book ... overseas*: Vitry's *Historia Orientalis*; see *ibid.*, p.ix for list of various editions.

9. *lands overseas*: probably 'Outremer' is meant, i.e. the crusader states in the Eastern Mediterranean.

30; 33. *that; he*: the words supplied here editorially ('ut' [text l.27] and 'eum' [text l.29]) are taken from the printed edition of *De Apibus*; there too 'sicut per fratrem Egidium ordinis Predicatorum in Gandavo percepimus' occurs for 'sicut probatum fuit' found here (text l.28). As it stands in MS C the Bower text does not make sense.

12. *crusade*: for Vitry's preaching see above c.25, l.45.

37-39. ... *Our Lady*: Stephen Langton, archbishop of Canterbury 1207-28 (see *DNB*, xxxii, 122-8), in fact returned to England in 1213, probably on 16 July (Painter, *King John*, 194). Bower is following *Melrose* (58) in adopting a 1214 date, but not the 30 Mar. x 18 May date-limits found there. Langton composed a rhymed psalter, a poem of 150 verses, each a salutation to the Virgin (F.M.Powicke, *Stephen Langton* [Oxford, 1928], 46-47). Note how this information is a late addition to MS C; cf. below X c.13, ll.30-31.

41. *Council*: in fact the Fourth, not the Third, Lateran Council held in Rome. It had been called for 1 Nov. 1215 (see above c.13, l.58), but actually sat 11-30 Nov. (Alberigo, *Decreta*, 228).

42-52. *It was ... faithful*: Bower is similar to *Melrose* for details of the numbers attending and for the death of one bishop. *Melrose* has much more on the arrangements for a tax to support the crusade to the Holy Land; Bower substitutes 'expedicionem' (text l.45) for 'subsidiu' in *Melrose*. Modern accounts agree in general on the numbers mentioned here (e.g. *NCE*, viii, 407-8); the man who died was probably Matthew bishop of Amalfi in Italy (see discussion of this passage in *Melrose* in *Traditio*, xx [1964], 130-1).

## Chapter 27 pp.79-81

In this chapter Bower returns to *Fordun* as his main source, with ll.1-32 as an elaboration and re-arrangement of pp.281-2, annals 30-31, and ll.44-57 based on p.283, first part of annal 33. ll.33-43 and 58-60 (both additions to the basic text in MS C) come from other sources, presumably preserved at Lindores and Inchcolm Abbeys. See *Pluscarden* (64-65) and *Extracta* (90); the latter has information on two daughters of King William which is taken from some other chronicle.

1-6. ... *bridge*: Bower repeats information which he has already moved from its place here in *Fordun* to c.1 above, ll.22-27.

2. *Earl David*: see above c.1, l.24.

3. *body*: after 'vegetatus' (text l.2) *Pluscarden* adds: 'ad regnum regendum',

as if to explain that it was for health reasons that he did not serve as regent for the young king, who was aged only 16.

9. *boundary*: not specified.

12-14. *after ... Huntingdon*: William had returned from captivity ca 2 Feb. 1175 (*AMW*, 197), but it was not until Mar. 1185 that he made over this earldom to his brother (see above VIII c.39).

14. *earldom of Garioch*: Bower is copying *Fordun* here; but the district of Garioch in central ABD (administered from Inverurie) was a lordship, not an earldom (Stringer, *Earl David*, c.3; cf. *CP*, v, 620).

15. *Strathbogie* ABD: a district to the north-west of Garioch (administered from Huntly). Note that this name is a marginal addition in MS C to the list of properties originally copied from *Fordun*; and in MS CA it is defined as a lordship: but its inclusion here was an error by Bower (Stringer, *ut cit.*, 31).

*Dundee* ANG: apparently not a royal burgh at this date (*ibid.*, 74-75, especially n.83). Bower has added 'regia' (text l.13) to the word 'villa' found in *Fordun*. It is thought to have become a royal burgh (i.e. not just a town) by 1292 at latest (G.S.Pryde, *The Burghs of Scotland* [Oxford, 1965], 39-40; cf. 15).

15-16. *Inverbervie* KCD: more specifically called a 'villa' by *Fordun*; this has been interpreted as a town or village rather than as an urban settlement (Stringer, *ut cit.*, 59, 159; cf. *Lindores Chartulary*, nos. 18, 115).

16. *Longforgan* PER: a lordship to the west of Dundee, which David held from at least as early as 1172 (Stringer, *ut cit.*, 30, 58-59).

*Pluscarden* specifies Inchmartine (in Errol PER) and Lindores FIF as additions to the list of properties given here (see *ibid.*, 82, 97-98); cf. below c.33, l.47.

18. *Matilda*: *CP*, vi, 647; iii, 169-70. Hugh son of Ranulf II was earl of Chester 1162-81 (*HBC*, 454). The marriage took place on 19 Aug. 1190 (*Melrose*, 47).

20-21. *Robert ... Henry*: *Fordun* mentions Henry first, then Robert, who is said to have died young and been buried at Lindores Abbey. Robert's existence has been doubted as 'unconfirmed' apart from these chronicle entries; but Henry and another son, David, both died young, apparently before ca 1209, when the third legitimate son, John, was Earl David's heir (Stringer, *ut cit.*, 291, n.6; see family tree, 180-1). *Pluscarden* states wrongly that while John succeeded to the earldom of Chester, another (unnamed) son succeeded to David's other lands.

22-23. *succeeded ... Ranulf [III]*: Ranulf III earl of Chester died Oct. 1232; his nephew John de Scocia had already been recognised as earl of Huntingdon in Apr. 1227, and held the Chester earldom in addition 1232-7 (*HBC*, 454-5, 466).

23-25. *Later ... Whitsunday*: John was knighted at Roxburgh ROX (a fact mentioned in *Fordun*, but omitted by Bower) on 30 May 1227 (*Melrose*, 79). Bower is wrong to describe the king as John's uncle ('patruus' [text l.20]); they were cousins.

**25-29.** *The said ... later:* for these daughters see *SP*, i, 4; *CP*, vi, 647; family tree in Stringer, ut cit., 180-1. See below XI c.13.

**30.** *Yardley:* Yardley Hastings, south-east of Northampton NTP, one of his English estates.

**32.** *Sawtry:* Sawtry Abbey, O.Cist., north of Huntingdon HNT, some thirty miles from Yardley, which had been founded by his Huntingdon predecessors (*VCH Huntingdon*, i, 391). Can his body have been transported so far so quickly?

Bower omits Fordun's correct statement that David died on a Monday, and also a statement that he had wanted to be buried at Lindores Abbey FIF, which he himself had founded (see above VIII c.25); but it is clear that before his death David had specifically instructed that he was to be buried at Sawtry (*CDS*, i, no.1000; Stringer, ut cit., 269, no.80).

**33-43.** ... *house:* Lindores Abbey, near Newburgh FIF, had been founded by Earl David as an offshoot of Kelso Abbey ROX, O.Tiron. (*Lindores Chartulary*, 2-5, 284; Stringer, ut cit., 245-7, no.44); it is thought that the planning of this new monastery was in hand possibly by Mar. 1189 (*ibid.*, 93-94; cf. *RRS*, ii, 357-9, no. 363).

**33.** *Guy:* previously a monk of Kelso; Bower is probably correct here in stating that he had become abbot of Lindores in late 1191 (see *Lindores Chartulary*, 301-3).

**43.** *John:* abbot presumably from late 1219 to at least Aug. 1244 (*ibid.*, 303).

**44.** *1215:* 1214 by modern reckoning. Bower is here following Fordun, whose source presumably followed a calendar with the New Year on Christmas Day.

**47.** *Epiphany:* 6 Jan. 1215

*parliament:* this is the word used by Fordun; it was a familiar word in his day, denoting a specific kind of formal assembly, but is unlikely to have been current in this sense in the early 13c.

**48-52.** *where he ... required:* by thus confirming his father's officials in their posts, the boy king secured continuity of government and a regency was avoided.

**48-49.** *del Bois:* see above c.1, ll.6-7 and below cc.46, l.17, 48, l.14.

**49.** *Galloway:* *SP*, iv, 139-43; he had held the office of constable since the death of his father in 1200 (*RRS*, ii, 37-38, 405); see above VIII c.68.

**50.** *Valognes:* had held office of chamberlain 1165-ca 1171, and again since ca 1193 (*ibid.*, 33; *HBC*, 184); he was to die in office on 5 Nov. 1215 (*Melrose*, 61); see G.W.S.Barrow, *The Anglo-Norman Era in Scottish History* (Oxford, 1980), 23-24.

**51-52.** *officials of the realm:* the words 'regni officiarii' (text l.46) were added by Bower to the Fordun text, thus considerably narrowing Fordun's meaning.

**52-55.** *But soon ... discontented:* this incident in *Fordun* is not otherwise known.

**55.** *Scotia:* Bower retains Fordun's word for just the country north of the Forth; cf. below c.28, ll.23-25.

**58.** *Leicester:* see Watt, *Graduates*, 336-7; he died on 7 Oct. 1214 (*Melrose*, 58); his body was moved to a new position in Inchcolm Abbey in 1266 (see below X c.21, ll.33-35) and a mural decoration found on the south side of the church is thought to have formed part of his tomb (*Inchcolm Abbey and Island*, official guide book [Edinburgh, 1989], 10).

**59.** *Cramond MLO:* a manor belonging to the bishops of Dunkeld on the south side of the Firth of Forth opposite Inchcolm.

**60.** *Prebenda:* see above VIII c.75. The Bower MSS all have an erroneous date here

## Chapter 28 pp.83-85

ll. 1-15 follow closely *Fordun* (p.283, the second part of annal 33); ll.16-27 follow the same source (pp.283-4, annal 34); so do ll.27-55, but here Bower has rearranged and reinterpreted the Fordun material, inserting confusingly some details in *Melrose* (62-63), especially about King John's activities in Northumberland, at Coldingham and Berwick, and the Scottish raid on Holm Cultram. *Pluscarden* (63-64) follows Bower's confusions, but has an addition asserting that Henry I's charter was motivated by his love for his Scottish queen, Maud; *Extracta* (90-91) has one brief sentence.

**1-15.** Fordun's account here of the crisis in England, which led to Magna Carta in June 1215, is not based on the fuller account in the *Melrose Chronicle*.

**1.** *At this time:* the main story in c.27 above had reached the early months of 1215 (the last paragraph there being a later insertion).

**3.** *vile laws:* 'nequam assisas' (text l.2) added by Bower to the Fordun text.

**4.** *common oath:* the opposition barons who faced John at London on 6 Jan. 1215 were 'probably already bound together by an oath in a covenant or *conjuratio*', and were together demanding confirmation of the laws and charter of Henry I (J.C.Holt, *Magna Carta* [Cambridge, 1965], 135-9).

**6-7.** *Henry Beauclerc:* King Henry I (1100-35).

**7.** *William the Bastard:* King William I (1066-87).

**8-12.** *But ... arms:* Fordun here omits to specify various compromises between John and the opposition barons discussed in the first half of 1215 (including that reached at Runnymede in June), and moves quickly to the breakdown into civil war in Sept. 1215, which was marked by the invitation to Prince Louis of France to come to England as an alternative king (*ibid.*, passim; see below c.29).

**12-15.** *Alexander ... daughter:* the interests of both men were matters which John had to promise to safeguard in Magna Carta cc.58-59 (*ibid.*, 333). 'Alexander remained one of the rebels' staunchest allies' (*ibid.*, 258).

12. *Llywellyn*: usually styled 'prince' rather than 'king', Llywellyn the Great (born 1173, died 1240) had married in 1205 Joan, a natural daughter of King John (*HBC*, 51; cf. 49 for his title).

16-17. *the following year*: Bower adds this dating to *Fordun*; in fact the siege began on 19 Oct. 1215 and lasted for forty days (*Melrose*, 61); for a study of the campaigns at this time see Holt, *Northerners*, 131-5.

17. *Norham*: a castle held by the bishop of Durham on the south bank of the river Tweed NTB.

20. *submission*: apparently at Felton NTB (on the river Coquet) on 22 Oct. 1215 (*ibid.*).

26. *Dunbar* ELO: see also *ES*, ii, 409.

27. *Haddington* ELO.

31. *Pentland*: a parish south of Edinburgh near Loanhead MLO on the river North Esk.

31-32. *along ... journey*: this explanation is added by Bower to the *Fordun* text; presumably he is thinking that John would have returned through the hills over Soutra.

34-40. : *and not ... many*: Bower here misunderstands material which is like that in *Melrose*; he lists various towns burnt by John in the same order as in *Melrose* (62), but fails to note the attached dates which show that John visited these places on his way north, not on his way home – namely Mitford and Morpeth NTB on 7 Jan. 1216, Alnwick NTB on 9 Jan., Wark-on-Tweed NTB on 11 Jan., Berwick-on-Tweed (then in Scotland) on 15 Jan., and Roxburgh ROX on 16 Jan.; cf. account from another chronicle in *ES*, ii, 408-9.

38-46. *where ... king*: the details of John's atrocities at Berwick and Coldingham are as in *Melrose*; but Bower omits an anti-Semitic suggestion in that chronicle. Coldingham was a Benedictine priory (not an abbey – a mistake made also in *Melrose*) and outlying cell of the cathedral monastery at Durham a few miles north of Berwick on the way back from Lothian.

46-52. *Alexander ... Carlisle*: it is *Fordun* who narrates and Bower who elaborates on this circular route via Richmond YNR to Carlisle CMB; *Melrose* (63) has Alexander go straight to Carlisle, Feb. 1215.

52-55. *On this ... Eden*: for Holm Cultram see above c.9, l.2; this story was preserved with fuller details in the chronicle kept at *Melrose*, the mother-house of this Cistercian abbey. *Fordun*'s account ends on a happier note.

55. *Eden*: the river between Carlisle and the Solway Firth, which lay between Holm Cultram and Scotland.

## Chapter 29 pp.85-89

ll.1-13 are an elaboration of the text in *Fordun* (284, first sentence of annal 35); then ll.13-34 follow closely the rest of the same annal (*Fordun*, 284-5).

Bower adds later at ll.35-47 a story about the manner of King John's death. Then ll.50-59 are adapted from the middle of annal 36 in *Fordun* (285) about the legate Guala and the coronation; ll.59-62 are similar to *Melrose*, 64; ll.65-71 are taken from *Martin*, 437. See *Pluscarden* (65-66), where there is an anachronistic reference to the Auld Alliance, and where there is yet another variant on the story of King John's death. *Extracta* (91) follows Bower more closely on this last point. See *Wyntoun*, v, 66-69 for King Alexander and Prince Louis at Dover, and v, 70-71 for the legate Guala and the young Henry III.

In the title of this chapter Prince Louis is wrongly styled 'Dauphin', a dignity held by the heir to the French throne in Bower's own day (see below XVI c.9. ll.28-29), but not in the 13c.

2. *wrote*: the approach to Louis (see above c.13) was made in Sept. or Oct. 1215 (Norgate, *John Lackland*, 254; Lavissee, *Histoire*, III, i, 254); for his motives in accepting the offer see Baldwin, *Government*, 332-3.

10. *comforting assurance*: for 'comfortatus' (text l.9) *Pluscarden* has 'confisus'. There is no evidence of correspondence in advance between Louis and Scotland, but Bower's suggestion is likely enough.

12. *landed*: 21 May 1216 (Norgate, *ut cit.*, 268; cf. *ES*, ii, 409, n.5).

13. *Thanet*: the north-east point of Kent.

14. *Sandwich*: KNT, just south of Thanet.

19. *entered England*: *Melrose* (63) states that Alexander entered England in July and took the city of Carlisle on 8 Aug. 1216 on his way to Dover.

22. *Dover* KNT.

24-25. *business*: this included formal homage by Alexander to Louis for his English lands in mid-Sept. 1216 (*ibid.*; cf. *ES*, ii, 412; Holt, *Northerners*, 133, n.1; 138, n.8; Duncan, *Kingdom*, 522-3).

31. *Newark*: NTT on the river Trent. Date of death was 18-19 Oct. 1216 (*HBC*, 37).

35. MS CA has an alternative start to the paragraph which follows here:

'Non enim', ut quidam ait, 'potest bene mori qui male vixit usque finem.' Rex igitur Johannes non dum satisfaciens ecclesie Dei quam, ut premisimus, nimium leserat, intoxicatus fuit per quendam ... (text l.31).

The quotation here appears to be a proverbial saying, but it has not been identified.

35-47. ... *many years*: Bower introduces here his own version of the legend that John was poisoned, which first emerged in the late 13c and which can be found developed in a variety of forms e.g. *Chron. Guisborough*, 154-6; Henry Knighton, *Chronicon* (RS, 92), i, 200-1; *Eulogium Historiarum* (RS, 9), iii, 109-11; for a Middle English version from the mid-14c which mentions plums specifically, see *An Anonymous Short English Metrical Chronicle* (Early English Text Society, 196 [1935]), 42-43; cf. pp.xvi-xviii, xcvi-viii.

49-50. *Henry ... father*: see above VIII c.23; cf. IX c.7, l.39.

51. *seven ... nine*: nine is correct (born 1 Oct. 1207). It is Bower who has introduced the doubt here.
- 51-52. *crowned ... legate*: 28 Oct. 1216 (*HBC*, 37); Winchester is an error for Gloucester; John had been buried at Worcester. The legate presided, but did not actually do the crowning (Powicke, *Henry III*, i, 4). Bower's confusion perhaps arises from a reading of a source like *Melrose*, 64; the same mistake is found in *Wyntoun*.
52. *Guala*: see above c.21, l.16. For his mission now to England, see *DBI*, x, 317-22; and F.A.Cazel, 'The legates Guala and Pandulf', in *Thirteenth Century England*, ii, ed. P.R.Coss and S.D.Lloyd (Woodbridge, 1988), 15-21.
53. *summer*: he arrived in England at the same time as Prince Louis in May 1216.
- 56-57. *payment ... pope*: see above c.20.
- 59-62. *This was ... Council*: see *Melrose* (64) for further details about those objections (cf. Powicke, *Henry III*, i, 4, n.1). For this council see above c.26, ll.40-52. Archbishop Langton did not return to England until May 1218 (*Melrose*, 70; *DNB*, xxxii, 125).
- 63-73. *... prelates*: on Pope Innocent III (1198-1216) see *ODP*, 186-8 and *ODCC*, 703-4, with bibliographies; the details here of his benefactions in Rome are correct (H.K.Mann, *The Lives of the Popes in the Middle Ages*, xi, 2nd edn [London, 1925], 84-90); he died on 16 July 1216; cf. above cc.1-2, 13, 26.

### Chapter 30 pp.89-91

This chapter is repetitive and chronologically confused. ll.1-26 and ll.31-52 cover much the same ground; ll.1-19 are based on *Vincent* (XXXI c.78), which is said to be derived 'ex historia Francorum'; ll.20-26 appear to come from an unidentified English source; ll.31-52 are taken from *Fordun* (286, first part of annal 37) with additions by Bower. ll.27-30 on the capture of Carlisle are out of sequence, relating to events a year earlier, and are not taken textually from either *Fordun* (285, annal 36) or *Melrose*. ll.53-58 are an addition to the main text of MS C from some unidentified source, which should rather have been attached to c.29 above at ll.51-52. *Pluscarden* (66-68) produces an even more confused and erroneous story by not recognising that the same story is told twice, and then adds moral reflections. Nothing in *Extracta*. See *Wyntoun*, v, 70-75 for Louis in England.

2. *hostages*: see above c.29, l.7.
5. *crossed over again*; Louis left for France in Jan. 1217 and returned to England on 22 Apr. 1217 (Lavis, *Histoire*, III, i, 258).
7. *Perche*: Thomas count of Perche 1202-17 (Mas Latrie, *Trésor*, col.1659); his mother was a first cousin of Louis (cf. *Melrose*, 68); for his death see below l.36.

9. *following year*: in fact the same year, 1217; the error is Vincent's.
12. *Guala*: see above c.29, l.52.  
*to whose ... bowed*: a phrase added by Bower to the Vincent text.
- 16-17. *returned ... agreement*: see below l.45.
17. *it is to be hoped*: Bower adds this sentiment to *Vincent*.
23. *naval battle*: sea battle off Sandwich KNT, 24 Aug. 1217; see article by H.L.Cannon, *EHR*, xxvii (1912), 649-70.
25. *Eustace the Monk*: *ibid.*; *DBF*, xiii, col.277.
- 27-30. *Alexander ... fortified*: Fordun appears to date the capture of the city and castle of Carlisle to Nov.-Dec. 1216, and this is probably Bower's source here; but *Melrose* (63) says that Alexander had taken the city (but not yet the castle) on 8 Aug. 1216 (see above c.29, ll.19-20); perhaps it was just the castle that remained to be captured on a separate expedition soon after John's death in Oct. 1216; Fordun's fuller text does not support the phrase 'a long siege' here. Alexander was certainly in a position (after occupying at least the city) to influence the cathedral chapter in the election of a bishop sometime before 26 Apr. 1217 (*CDS*, i, 118, no.668); and the castle was certainly in Scottish hands before 23 Sept. 1217 (*ibid.*, 119, no.673).
34. *siege was raised*: at 'The Fair of Lincoln', 20 May 1217 (Powicke, *Henry III*, i, 12).
36. *French count*: Thomas count of Perche (see above l.7).
- 37-45. *And so ... made peace*: the two phrases here mentioning the king of Scots are insertions by Bower into *Fordun*. These negotiations ended in the Treaty of Kingston or Lambeth, 12 Sept. 1217 (Powicke, *Thirteenth Century*, 13-14).
- 49-52. *After paying ... restored*: Bower adds these correct details to *Fordun*.
- 53-58. *... Westminster*: cf. above c.29, ll.50-62. Here Bower adds information on the coronations of Henry III from a source different from that already used. This time the place is correct (but note the hesitancy in MS CA), and the reasoning is probable. The second coronation was held on 17 May 1220 (Powicke, *Thirteenth Century*, 18).

### Chapter 31 pp.93-95

ll. 1-5 have similarities with *Melrose* (68-69), but the inaccuracies suggest that Bower was not using this source directly; ll.6-8 probably (and ll.4-5 perhaps) derive from an Inchcolm record; the rest of the chapter is based on *Fordun* – ll.9-33 from pp.285-6, second half of annal 36; ll.33-41 from p.286, second half of annal 37; and ll.41-62 from pp.286-7, annal 38. See *Pluscarden* (68-69) and *Extracta* (91-92). See *Wyntoun*, v, 74-77 for the interdict against, and the absolution of, Scottish laymen and clergy.



1. *This year*: Bower returns to 1217 after the chronology of his story in c.30 above had been interrupted by an additional final paragraph.

*Mitford*: near Morpeth NTB. In *Melrose* (68) Alexander is said to have besieged Mitford for a week in May 1217 and then returned home. He cannot by then have heard that Louis had left England, but may have received news of the defeat of Louis' supporters at Lincoln on 20 May 1217 (see above c.30, ll.33-36). *Melrose* (68, 69) mentions a further expedition in the north of England on 5 July and yet another which got no further than Jedburgh ROX in Sept. 1217. It was on this last occasion that Alexander would have heard that Louis was leaving England.

4. *Malcolm ... year*: Malcolm I earl of Fife 1204-30 (*SP*, iv, 8-9). The Cistercian house of Culross FIF was a daughter-house of Kinloss MOR; *Melrose* (67) dates the arrival of the new community in Mar. 1216/17, which may be taken as the date intended here (cf. *MRHS*, 74, where 1218 is suggested).

5. *... North Berwick ELO*: this is an error not found in *Melrose*. This Cistercian nunnery had been founded by Duncan earl of Fife (1136-54), probably ca 1150 (*MRHS*, 147-8).

6-8. *... house*: for Walter see above VIII c.75; for William see below c.37. Holyrood MLO was an Augustinian house like Inchcolm. It is not clear whether 1216/17 or 1217/18 is intended.

9-12. *That year ... interdict*: after this sentence of general introduction, Bower follows *Fordun* with only a few variants for the story of excommunication and interdict, which was the penalty suffered by the Scottish clergy for their young king's policy of supporting Prince Louis against John and the regency government of the young Henry III. Cf. *Melrose* (64-70) for an account of the activities of the legate Guala and his agents with a different emphasis.

13. *Guala*: he had been active in England since May 1216 (see above c.29, l.52); for his acts affecting Scotland see Ferguson, *Papal Representatives*, 70-82.

15. *English viewpoint*: Guala's mission was intended to support John (and later Henry) as a vassal of the pope; Bower in this comment in MS CA shows no sympathy for this point of view; see below c.33, l.19.

*interdict*: the dating is not clear. Guala had excommunicated and interdicted Louis and his supporters from his arrival in May 1216 onwards (Norgate, *John Lackland*, 268, 270). *Melrose* (64) suggests that this was extended to Alexander and the Scots after the coronation of Henry in Oct. 1216, but that the sentence was not proclaimed in Scotland for nearly a year afterwards. Guala had by then had his legatine powers strengthened by the new pope (Honorius III) specifically to deal with supporters of Louis such as the king of Scotland, 17 Jan. 1217 (Theiner, *Monumenta*, 2; cf. *CPL*, i, 43; see also *CDS*, i, 117, no.664). It was probably only after the Treaty of Kingston of 12 Sept. 1217 (see above c.30, l.45) that positive action was taken against the Scots as part of the general settlement of affairs (cf. *Melrose*, 69). It has been noted how lenient Guala was towards secular leaders who submitted and how flinty and severe towards clerics (Ferguson,

*Papal Representatives*, 79-80; but see H.G.Richardson, 'Letters of the Legate Guala', *EHR*, xlviii [1933], 250-9, especially 254-5, where Guala is seen in more moderate terms).

17. *rescript*: this papal instruction has not survived and its date is unknown.

18. *Durham DRH*: William of Durham, prior 1212/13-1218 (Knowles and others, *Heads*, 44).

*Guisborough YON*: perhaps Laurence, the prior who resigned his office to Guala 1216 x 1218, or Michael, who was in office as his successor by Nov. 1218 (*ibid.*, 164).

18-19. *Tynemouth NTB*: prior not identified at this date (*ibid.*, 97).

19-21. *the king ... interdict*: this passage was inserted by Bower into the *Fordun* text. *Fordun* had said that the three priors had excommunicated Scottish prelates only. Bower brings in the king directly, and suggests a quite improbable justification for this act of church discipline. Scotland in the period 1208-13 had been a place of refuge for clergy fleeing from John; and Alexander had not then been king. An implication of this altered text is that the lay leaders were excommunicated for different reasons from those which are adduced in the following sentence for the excommunication of the Scots clergy.

24. *Lateran Council*: see above c.26, ll.40-52. None of the formal decrees of this council is concerned with King John; but in general the reasons for the excommunication listed here by *Fordun* appear convincing.

27. *vassal*: see above c.20

28. *Louis*: see above c.29.

29. *Tweedmouth*: this castle on the south bank of the Tweed opposite Berwick had been in contention between King William and King John in 1209 (see above VIII cc.69-71; cf. Duncan, *Kingdom*, 242-9); John had then agreed not to rebuild it; the further developments mentioned here are not otherwise known.

32. *Carlisle*: see above c.30, ll.27-30.

36-37. *Wisbech*: a canon of York, who was to be promoted to the newly-erected archdeaconry of East Riding in that diocese, probably in Aug. 1218 (C.T.Clay, ed., *York Minster Fasti* [York, 1958], i, 41). He presumably came to Scotland as an agent of Guala as papal legate; see below l.52.

40-41. *or ... gold*: a traditionally hostile comment on the financial levies for their expenses customarily made by papal envoys; see below c.32, ll.13-14, and X cc.35-36.

42-43. *absolved at Tweedmouth*: *Fordun* has Berwick; so also has *Melrose* (69), where the date 1 Dec. 1217 is given.

43. *York*: Archbishop Walter de Gray 1216-55 (*HBC*, 282).

44. *Durham*: Bishop Richard Marsh 1217-26 (*ibid.*, 241).

*safe conduct*: cf. *CDS*, i, 120-1, nos. 678, 679, 684.

46. *homage*: on or before 19 Dec. 1217 at Northampton (*ibid.*, 121, no.686); cf. *Melrose* (69) which says 23 Dec.

47. *Carlisle*: Alexander had agreed on 1 Dec. to surrender Carlisle into the hands of the archbishop of York (*ibid.*; cf. *CDS*, i, 119, nos. 672-4).

52. *general interdict*: this was pronounced (presumably by William de Wisbech) ca 6 Dec. when the king was probably already on his way south to Northampton (as the *Melrose* chronicler says); it may well have been part of Guala's general policy of dealing separately with clergy; this would have taken the Scottish clergy by surprise at Berwick on 1 Dec. when they were expecting Wisbech to grant absolution to them as well as to the king (see above ll.15, 33-41).

53-55. *and the ... celebrate it* Bower adds these words to *Fordun*: the exemption for white monks i.e. Cistercians was a detail which he could have learned from *Melrose* (69), a chronicle kept in a Cistercian house; see below c.33, ll.4-13, 22-33 for problems which developed when the exemption was later ignored.

57. *Malveisin*: absolved by Guala in England shortly before ca 6 Dec. 1217 (Watt, *Graduates*, 377); his return to Scotland is dated early Jan. 1218 (*Melrose*, 70).

61. *John*: it is curious that it is not Henry's adversaries who are mentioned at this date.

## Chapter 32 pp.95-99

ll.1-26 and 41-45 follow *Fordun* (287-8, annal 39); but Bower at ll.26-40 develops his own explanation of why the Scots clergy submitted to Guala's discipline, including quotations from Aesop (probably as found in *Vincent*) and Horace; more comments by Bower follow at ll.45 ff., including a supposedly 13c poem of protest. The version in *Pluscarden* (69-70) is much shortened and probably confused over the continuing activities of the archbishop of York and the bishop of Durham; *Extracta* (92) adds the suggestion (perhaps from *Melrose*) that the king gave his consent for the activities of Guala's agents in Scotland, but is wrong in stating that senior clergy had to go all the way to France to meet him. See *Wyntoun*, v, 76-81 for those involved in granting absolution to Scottish laymen and clergy.

1. *Purification*: *Melrose* (70) confirms this date and has a brief account of the story which follows.

2. *Durham*: for William prior of Durham see above c.31, l.18.

*York*: William de Wisbech (see above c.31, ll.36-37, 52) did not in fact secure full possession of the new archdeaconry of East Riding, York diocese, until after these events.

3. *legate to England*: this ignores the fact that Guala's commission specifically covered Scotland as well (Ferguson, *Papal Representatives*, 76).

3-4. *following way*: *Melrose* explains that they first cleared their procedure with the king at Edinburgh.

9. *barefoot*: Bower has substituted 'ipsi nudipedes' (text l.7) for the less believable 'eos nudos et discalciatos' in *Fordun*.

11. *Aberdeen*: so also in *Melrose*; but *Fordun* has Arbroath ANG, as has *Wyntoun*.

13-14. *receiving ... gifts*: cf. above c.31, ll.40-41. Papal legates were among the senior clergy entitled to levy money payments to help with their living expenses ('procuraciones') (Lunt, *Financial Relations*, 532-3, 538-9).

18. *prelates*: important clergy having independent jurisdiction (*ODCC*, 1118).

21. *Easter*: 15 Apr. 1218.

22. *Northallerton* YON.

22-23. *some ... absolved*: see below c.33, ll.35-41.

27-28. *privileges*: a reference to the bull 'Cum universi' (R.Somerville, *Scotia Pontificia* [Oxford, 1982], 142-4, no. 156); see above VIII c.67, and below c.33, ll.14-18.

32. *Aesop*: Bower's version of this fable largely corresponds with the version in *Vincent*, III c.4, for which see *Les Fabulistes Latins*, ed. L.Hervieux, ii (Paris, 1884), 238-9.

40. *... mouse*: a variant on the line from Horace, *Ars Poetica* (Loeb edn, 462, l.139): 'Parturiunt montes, nascetur ridiculus mus.'

53. *lament*: these verses are listed from this source in Walther, *Initia*, no.13,651. The division here into verses is editorial. The date of composition remains uncertain.

65. *with tails*: the popular insult directed at Englishmen (*DML*, s.v.); see above III c.33, ll.10-13.

68. *Latin*: note this comment on the state of learning among the Scots clergy.

80-81. *The pope ... persecute us*: this is the explanation of the willing subordination of the medieval Scottish church to Rome.

## Chapter 33 pp.99-103

Only ll.14-15 come from *Fordun* (288, annal 39), with additional explanations supplied by Bower. ll.1-13 and 19-24 are extracted from fuller accounts in *Melrose* (70-71), or from some parallel source; ll.24-34 were added to MS C at a later stage (involving some repetition as a consequence), probably from a Cistercian source with more information than is found in *Melrose*. ll.35-46 are developed from *Melrose* (70-71). Thereafter Bower from l.49 onwards turns again to *Vincent*, XXXI c.85 middle (ll.49-50), c.79 start (ll.51-63), c.80 middle (ll.63-64), c.88 (theme of ll.64-68), c.91 (quotation at ll.68-70), c.83 (ll.71-82). Brief summary in *Pluscarden* (70); nothing in *Extracta*.

- 1-2. *Aberdeen*: see above c.32, ll.1-20.
2. *Lindores*: Cistercian abbey FIF; see above c.27, ll.33-43.
4. *died at Coldingham*: 14 May 1218 (*Melrose*, 70).
5. *Wisbech ... East Riding*: see above c.31, ll.36-37.
- 7-13. *excommunicated ... them*: the fuller story in *Melrose* (70) states that he issued his excommunication with legatine authority on 25 March. He had meantime been back in England, for he was a witness (probably at York) on 1 Mar. 1218 (*The Register or Rolls of Walter Gray* [Surtees Society, 1872], 132).
15. *privileges*: see above. c.32, ll.27-28.
- 15-18. *because ... amends*: Bower here offers an explanation of the background to the confirmation of the bull 'Cum universi' by Pope Honorius III to King Alexander at Rome, 21 Nov. 1218 (Stones, *Documents*, 14-16, no.5); see below l.37. No amends were offered to the Scots, presumably because Guala had been acting within the procedure laid down in 'Cum universi', which the pope saw no need to change. Cf. account in *Wyntoun*, v, 76-77.  
In his revised version in MS CA Bower brings his comments from c.32, ll.45-48 above and places them here after 'emendam' (text l.15).
20. *left England*: end of Nov. 1218 (*DBI*, x, 322).
20. *Pandulf*: see above c.4, l.18; c.19, ll.25-36; he was appointed legate on 12 Sept. 1218, when already bishop-elect of Norwich, not Winchester as in the text l.17 (*CPL*, i, 58); he had been elected to this see in 1215, but was not to be consecrated until 1222 (*HBC*, 261).
23. *Cîteaux*: dép. Côte d'Or, France, the headquarters of the Cistercian Order.
34. *cardinals*: when three cardinals were appointed in 1219, two of them were Cistercians (Eubel, *Hierarchia*, i, 5).
36. *Glasgow*: Walter de St Albans, bishop of Glasgow 1208-32 (see above VIII c.68). He was absolved by the pope on 6 June 1218 (*CPL*, i, 55).
37. *Moray*: Brice de Douglas, bishop of Moray 1203-22 (see above VIII c.64). His absolution by the pope was dated 5 Nov. 1218, about the time when the pope was confirming the privileges of the Scottish church (*CPL*, i, 59; see above ll.15-18).  
*Caithness*: Adam, bishop of Caithness 1214-22; see below c.37, l.7.
- 37-41. *They were ... guilt*: Bower adds these two descriptive sentences to the bald facts found in *Melrose*.
- 42-44. *... overthrew*: see above cc.1-2. Otto died 19 May 1218 (*CMH*, vi, 79).
45. *Kelso*: Henry was abbot of Kelso from 1208 until his death on 5 Oct. 1218 (*Melrose*, 71; see above VIII c.68). Richard was elected abbot on 19 Oct. 1218 and died in 1221 (*Melrose*, 71, 75).
47. *David*: Earl David died 17 June 1219; see above c.27, where most of the titles mentioned in MS CA are explained; for his temporary tenure of

the earldom of Lennox, see Stringer, *Earl David*, 15-18; 'Forgrond' is the same as 'Longforgan'.

49. *Louis*: started on an expedition to Toulouse 16 May 1219 (*Guillaume le Breton*, i, 319).

51-52. *Lateran Council*: by its final decree in Nov. 1215 (Alberigo, *Decreta*, 267-71, canon 71) the council had called for a crusade to assemble in south Italy on 1 June 1217.

53. *Acre*: on coast of Palestine. For a list of the leaders who assembled there in Sept. 1217 see Setton, *Crusades*, ii, 388-9.

54. *Jerusalem*: John de Brienne, king of Jerusalem 1210-12 and regent for his daughter 1212-25 (*DHGE*, x, cols.698-709).

*Hungary*: Andrew II king of Hungary 1205-35 (Isenberg, *Stammtafeln*, ii, table 105).

*Cyprus*: Hugh I of Lusignan, king of Cyprus 1205-18 (Mas Latrie, *Trésor*, col.1779).

*Austria*: Leopold VI of Babenberg, duke of Austria 1199-1230 (Isenberg, *Stammtafeln*, i, table 15).

54-55. *Bavaria*: Lewis I of Kelheim, duke of Bavaria 1183-1231 (*ibid.*, i, table 26). It is not clear whether he had joined the crusade as early as this (cf. Setton, *Crusades*, ii, 423).

56. *Nicosia*: Eustorge de Montaigu, Latin archbishop of Nicosia, Cyprus ca 1217-50 (Mas Latrie, *Trésor*, col. 2203); for other bishops then present see Setton, *Crusades*, ii, 389.

58. *Jerusalem*: Radulf de Mérencourt, Latin patriarch of Jerusalem 1214-25 (Mas Latrie, *Trésor*, col.2202). He exhibited the relic of the Cross on 3 Nov. 1217 (Setton, *Crusades*, ii, 390).

62. *battle*: at Hattin in Palestine, 4 July 1187, when the Saracen leader Saladin had been victorious over the Christians (*ibid.*).

63-64. *On the ... opposite*: this short passage in *Vincent* in fact introduces the story of an attack on Mount Tabor in Palestine (*ibid.*, 391); Bower quite wrongly attaches it to a much later event. Quotation is from Matthew 21:2.

66. *Damietta*: a city in Egypt at the mouth of an eastern branch of the Nile delta, captured after a long siege by a crusading army on 5 Nov. 1219 (Setton, *Crusades*, ii, 418).

68. *Tanis*: Greek name for a place in the Nile delta south of Damietta, called Zoan in Hebrew, and now called San-el-Hagar (*Harper's Bible Dictionary* [1985], 1166-7).

69-70. *... plain of Tanis*: Psalm 77:12 (*Vulgate*), 78:12 (*NEB*); 'magna' (text l.55) is not in the Vulgate text.

71-82. *... provinces*: Bower here adapts a passage from an earlier part of Vincent's story.

73. *Cologne, Bremen and Trier*: three ecclesiastical provinces in Germany.

74. *Cologne*: cf. Setton, *Crusades*, ii, 381 for the preaching of the crusade in this province in 1217.

84. *almost three years*: Bower exaggerates here (perhaps following *Melrose*, 72); the siege lasted 27 May 1218-5 Nov. 1219 (Setton, *Crusades*, ii, 397-418).
87. *December*: error for November.

### Chapter 34 pp.105-7

11.1-9 are elaborated from *Vincent*, XXXI c.86. 11.10-13, 46-49 and 50-53 are shortened entries like *Melrose*, 71, 75, 72 respectively. 11.14-45 correspond with *Fordun* (288-9, annal 40). See *Pluscarden* (71) for a summary of this chapter, in which the various dates are confused and Bower's text is misread to suggest royal expeditions to Galloway as well as Argyll. *Extracta* (92) has brief notes on the two marriages mentioned in this chapter, but with wrong dates. See *Wyntoun*, v, 80-81 for the king's childless marriage, and v, 84-87 for the Argyll expedition of 1222.

1-9. ... *boldly*: Jerusalem had been in Saracen hands since the time of Saladin in 1187; destruction of its walls began on 19 Mar. 1219 (Setton, *Crusades*, ii, 410). Damietta was then still under siege by the Crusaders.

2. *Corradin son of Saphadin*: Bower takes this name from *Vincent*; Saphadin was a brother of Saladin; 'Corradin' stands for al-Muazzam; he was the middle of three sons of Saphadin, who had succeeded in 1218 to shares in their father's dominions, his share being Damascus and Palestine (*ibid.*, 401-2; cf. *ad indicem*, 850). His title 'sultan of Turkey' in the rubric to this chapter is inexact.

4-5. *Temple ... Sepulchre*: the Temple (with its Muslim shrine) lay on the east of the city, the Tower of David on the west, and the church of the Holy Sepulchre in the middle.

10. *William de Valognes*: *Melrose* (71) makes it clear that he was a son of Philip de Valognes, the king's chamberlain, who had died on 5 Nov. 1215 and been buried in the Melrose chapter-house (*ibid.*, 61; see above c.27, 1.50); he had succeeded his father as chamberlain to King Alexander (*HBC*, 185; see *RRS*, ii, *ad indicem*); for some reason the monks of Melrose were unwilling to receive his body (*Melrose*, 71).

11. *Gervase de Avenal*: a major landholder in Eskdale DMF and elsewhere, who had served as a frequent witness of royal charters and as royal justiciar of Lothian in 1208 (*RRS*, ii, *ad indicem*). He was a benefactor to Melrose abbey (e.g. *Melrose Liber*, i, 175-7, no.196).

12. *Melrose*: Radulf had been elected abbot 14 Sept. 1216, and died 1 June 1219 (*Melrose*, 63, 71); Adam de Harcarres, abbot of Newbattle MLO since 20 Aug. 1216, succeeded as abbot of Melrose 6 Aug. 1219 (*ibid.*, 63, 71; cf. 119 for his surname); his successor was appointed in 1246 (*ibid.*, 107).

15. *safe conduct*: see *CDS*, i, 134, no.758, dated Apr. 1220.

18-21. *The king ... for them*: see above VIII c.71 for handing over to King John by King William of Alexander's sisters Margaret and Isabella in 1209 as part of an agreement over their marriages; they were still unmarried in 1220.

21-24. *The two ... kingdoms*: Pandulf (see above c.33, 1.20) had on 10 Nov. 1218 been ordered by Pope Honorius to review an agreement made long before by Kings William and John (Theiner, *Monumenta*, 7, no.15); the agreement in question was presumably that of 1209 which had covered these marriages, and/or perhaps another made in 1212 about Alexander's own marriage (see above VIII c.77), which had similarly not been fulfilled (cf. Duncan, *Kingdom*, 525). The agreement at York is dated 15 June 1220 (*CDS*, i, 134-5, nos. 761-2; cf. *SAEC*, 334-5).

24. *peace*: after 'pace' (text 1.19) *Fordun* has 'perpetuis duratura temporibus', which Bower omits.

26. *safe conduct*: see *CDS*, i, 142, no.801, dated 12 May 1221.

29. *Saturday*: *Melrose* (75) agrees on the date (which is correct), and gives the new queen's name, Joan, which Bower has omitted from the *Fordun* text (see *CDS*, i, 143-4, no.808; cf. *SAEC*, 335 for wrong dates in English chronicles).

32. *a girl*: Joan was born in 1210 (*DNB*, xxix, 388).

38-45. *But ... men*: this must have been a short expedition, since Alexander was back at Jedburgh ROX by 8 July; it was perhaps confined to the area of the Clyde estuary (cf. Duncan, *Kingdom*, 528).

46. *Burgh*: at this date Hubert de Burgh, justiciar of England 1215-32 (*HBC*, 72; *DNB*, vii, 315-22; *CP*, vii, 133-42) was the dominant figure in the English government (Powicke, *Henry III*, i, 43). *Melrose* (75) states that this marriage had the consent of both kings on the advice of the nobility of both kingdoms.

*Margaret*: she had been in England since 1209 (see above VIII c.71) and was to live until 1259 (*CP*, vii, 142); see Powicke, *Henry III*, ii, 760-8, appendix C for developments within this marriage.

47. *London ... Michaelmas*: *Melrose* gives no date (other than 1221) or place; English chronicles suggest June 1221 at York at the same time as King Alexander's wedding (*SAEC* 335; cf. *CP*, vii, 141); Bower's source here is unknown, but he is probably right; his indication of year-date at the beginning of this paragraph in MS CA is not, however, helpful.

50-51. ... *Kinloss MOR*: the death of Abbot Radulf, who had held office since 1207 at least (cf. *Melrose Liber*, i, 37, no.44), is dated 2 Nov. 1220 in *Melrose* (72).

51. *Robert*: *Melrose* (72) states that he had been first abbot of Deer ABD, a daughter-house of Kinloss, apparently founded in 1219 (*ES*, ii, 439; cf. *MRHS*, 74); a successor was in office at Kinloss by 15 Sept. 1226 (*Moray Registrum*, 78-80, no.73).

Chapter 35  
pp.107-9

The source of this chapter is unknown; memory of this story was not apparently retained at Kinloss abbey (cf. *Ferrerii Historia Abbatum de Kynlos* [Bannatyne Club, 1839]). Nothing in *Melrose*, *Pluscarden* or *Extracta*.

3. *statutes*: the Cistercian abbots in Scotland were bound to attend a general chapter at Cîteaux, dép. Côte d'Or, France, every fourth year, and not every year as was expected of abbots of the order in most parts of Europe (*Statuta Capitulum Generalium Ordinis Cisterciensis*, ed. J.-M. Canivez [Louvain, 1933-39], i, 67, statute of 1157).

Chapter 36  
pp.109-13

All of this chapter in its original form in MS C was derived from *Vincent*, XXXI: ll.5-18 from c.93; the one sentence at ll.18-19 from c.95; ll.20-25 (but not ll.26-29) from c.94; ll.30-49 comprise the whole of c.97. The rest of this chapter forms a marginal addition in MS C (not included in MS CA), drawn probably from a lost chronicle concerned among other matters with the Augustinian abbey of Inchaffray. *Pluscarden* (71) notes only the translation of St Thomas of Canterbury; nothing in *Extracta*.

1. *Damietta*: see above c.33, ll.65-67, 83-87.

3. *captured*: 5 Nov. 1220.

6. *Georgians*: the Christian kingdom of Georgia (now one of the republics of the U.S.S.R.) was then ruled by King George IV 1212-23 (W.E.D. Allen, *A History of the Georgian People* [London, 1932], 109-10); his mother Tamara who had ruled while he was a boy had been successful in attacking Moslem powers in Armenia (especially Kars) on the southern border of Georgia (*ibid.*, 107-8).

*sent letters*: it is not clear where the initiative lay; but see Runciman, *Crusades*, iii, 163, n.3 for contacts between Damietta and Georgia at this time.

14. *Damascus*: this city in Syria was surely far out of reach for the Georgians.

15-16. *rites of the Greeks*: the Georgian church was autocephalous, but in touch with Byzantium (*ODCC*, 558-9).

17. *Promised Land*: Palestine

18. *Caucasus Mountains*: 'Aspiros' (text l.15) is an error by Bower for 'Caspios' in *Vincent*. The Caucasus stretch to the north of Georgia from the Black Sea to the Caspian.

18-19. *But ... waste*: the Tartars or Mongols appeared in Georgia for the

first time in the autumn of 1220 and severely defeated the Georgians in Feb. 1221 (*Cambridge History of Iran*, v, ed. J.A. Boyle [Cambridge, 1968], 311); this was regarded at the time as 'the turning point in the history of Georgian arms' (Allen, *History*, 110).

20. *Corradin*: see above c.34, l.2.

*Safad*: or Zefat, north-west of the Sea of Galilee, Israel; as a former Templar castle it had been in the hands of the Saracens since its capture by Saladin on 6 Dec. 1188, and was now in 1219 destroyed by 'Corradin' (Setton, *Crusades*, i, 619; ii, 410).

27. *exchanged*: though the sultan of Egypt did offer in negotiations to hand over many places in Palestine in return for Damietta, in the end he got it back on 8 Sept. 1221 without having to make any such exchange (*ibid.*, ii, 423, 428); Bower's addition to the *Vincent* text here is misleading.

30-34. *After ... days*: no confirmation of this episode in the Tartar invasions has been found.

30-31. *Greater Armenia*: the original home of the Armenian Christian church; but by this time it had long been under Moslem domination; it was separate from the contemporary Christian kingdom of Little Armenia or Cilicia (*ODCC*, 89).

32. *Ani*: an ancient city on the frontier of modern Turkey and the U.S.S.R. on the west bank of the river Arpa near its confluence with the river Araxes; its site is now deserted.

34. *Mount Ararat*: the mountain on which Noah's ark supposedly came to rest (Genesis 8:4), lying above the river Araxes where modern Turkey, U.S.S.R. and Iran meet.

36. *Ladinine*: an alternative reading in *Vincent* is 'Laudumie'; most probably the city which was the capital of Moslem Armenia called variously Duwin/Dvin/Dabil/Tovin; it lay south of Yerevan in modern Soviet Armenia, on the left bank of the river Araxes, opposite Mount Ararat, but is now marked only by a small village (G. Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* [Cambridge, 1905], 182).

37. *Mughan*: the name of the steppe country on the shore of the Caspian Sea south of Baku, through which the river Araxes flows until it joins the river Kura.

37-49. *But Mount ... relic*: the source of this story in *Vincent* is not known.

50. *Martyr*: the relics of St Thomas Becket were moved to a new shrine at Canterbury on 7 July 1220, which was celebrated thereafter as the feast of his Translation (*ODS*, 409-10; *DNB*, lvi, 170).

54. *Innocent*: probably the fourth prior of Inchaffray PER, an Augustinian house founded in 1200 (*Inchaffray Chrs.*, 249-50; see above VIII c.73).

57-60. *Also ... Council*: this is the only evidence for this major innovation in Scoto-Papal relations, for curiously it is not mentioned in *Melrose* (apart from an account [60-61] of the discussion at the Lateran Council of Nov. 1215 about levying this three-year income tax for the crusade). This tax was collected in England from 1217 onwards, and by 24 July 1220 most of the



money had already been sent to the Holy Land (Lunt, *Financial Relations*, i, 242-7). This Giles was probably Giles de Verraclo, a brother of the legate Pandulf in England and a papal subdeacon and chaplain, who had been with his brother in England and is known to have handled papal funds at Paris before 22 Sept. 1220 (*CPL*, i, 76; cf. 58; see also *Regesta Honorii III*, ed. P. Pressutti [Rome, 1888-95], ii, nos. 4815, 5995, 6032); for his surname and death in 1241 (while probably still in papal service) see Bagliani, *Cardinali*, 523-4; cf. Ferguson, *Papal Representatives*, 88-89).

61. *Master James*: see below c.37, l.1.

62. *Prior Innocent ... abbot*: see above l.54; his office was presumably raised to an abbacy while the legate was at Perth in Feb. 1221 (cf. *Inchaffray Chrs.*, 250).

64. *Dunblane*: Abraham was bishop of Dunblane from before Dec. 1214 to after Feb. 1220 (Watt, *Fasti*, 75).

### Chapter 37 pp.113-15

ll.1-15 are similar to *Melrose* (72, 75-76), with omissions, most notably of precise dates. Then ll.15-41 offer an overlapping account of the murder of Bishop Adam from *Fordun* (289, annal 41). The one-line insertion in MS C at l.42 duplicates c.38, l.1. ll.43-47 appear to come from some Augustinian source. *Pluscarden* (71-72) covers the legatine council and the bishop's murder, with extra information on the fate of the earl of Caithness (cf. below c.38, ll.29-35); see also *Extracta* (92). See Wyntoun, v, 82-85.

1-4. ... *end*: this entry is exactly similar to *Melrose*, but omits the day when the council at Perth started, namely 9 Feb. The overlapping item above at c.36, ll.61-64 was a later addition to MS C from a different source. The Augustinian abbey of St Victor at Paris had been a famous intellectual centre for a century (*ODCC*, 1438, s.v. 'Victorines'). James' mission in Scotland was mainly a judicial rather than a financial one, and so was different from that of Giles the year before. For his activities in Scotland until at least 21 Apr. 1221 see Ferguson, *Papal Representatives*, 89-95. His presence seems to have been welcome to the king, who tried through him without success to obtain papal authority for a regal coronation. In the record of an Irish council he is called James Pencil (Annals of Loch Cé [RS, 54], i, 263-4). For his identity see Bagliani, *Cardinali*, 118-19. He had worked with the legate Pandulf in London, 22 Sept. 1219 (Theiner, *Monumenta*, 11, no.26).

5. *Brice*: Brice de Douglas, bishop of Moray 1203-22; see above VIII, c.64; IX c.33, l.37.

6. *Andrew de Moravia*: bishop of Moray 1222-42, who established his cathedral beside Elgin MOR; probably had been chancellor of Moray before his election as bishop (Watt, *Fasti*, 214, 226; Watt, *Graduates*, 407-10); had

been elected to see of Ross in 1213-14, but had with papal permission declined promotion then (*Melrose*, 57).

7-41. ... *tortures*: Bower tells the story of Bishop Adam with some repetition, because he has followed the versions found in both *Melrose* and *Fordun* without attempting to interweave them. The *Melrose* story emphasizes the saintly martyrdom of a man who had been their abbot; the *Fordun* story goes on to emphasize the rigour of the king's justice. An account of the event was soon sent to Pope Honorius by the bishops of St Andrews, Glasgow, Dunkeld and Dunblane, and is incorporated in his reply to them dated 13 Jan. 1223 (Theiner, *Monumenta*, 21, no.49; cf. *ES*, ii, 451). A separate contemporary account is found in the Annals of Dunstable (*Annales Monastici* [RS, 36], iii, 77-78; *SAEC*, 336-7). For a modern discussion see B.E. Crawford, 'The earldom of Caithness and the kingdom of Scotland 1150-1266', in Stringer, *Essays*, 25-43.

7. *Adam*: said to have come from Carlisle (*Lanercost*, 29); abbot of Melrose from 1207 until elected bishop of Caithness 5 Aug. 1213; consecrated 11 May 1214 (Watt, *Fasti*, 58; Dowden, *Bishops*, 233-4); he had attended the Lateran Council in Nov. 1215 (*Journal des Savants*, 1905, 562), though curiously *Melrose* (61) did not list him among the Scottish participants; see above c.33, l.37.

8. *Serlo*: a deacon of Newbattle abbey, O.Cist., MLO (*Melrose*) of whom nothing else is known.

11. *James*: Eusebius, *The Ecclesiastical History* (Greek Loeb edn), i, 174, bk.ii, c.23, para.18.

*Stephen*: Acts 7:57-59.

12. *Laurence*: ODS, 256-7.

13. *Halkirk*: an episcopal estate on the river Thurso CAI, eight miles south of the town of Thurso; the earl of Caithness probably held the castle of Braal nearby (Crawford, 'The earldom of Caithness', 27).

15. *church*: *Melrose* is more precise that this took place in a baptismal church; this suggests that Halkirk itself was not then a parish church, but rather a 'high' or 'chief' church of some kind, presumably containing the bishop's seat; the parish church was at Skinnet nearby. Skinnet certainly existed by 1238 x 1239 (*Les Registres de Grégoire IX* [Paris, 1910-55], no.4423), but Halkirk is not mentioned then, and cannot be traced as a parish church until 1274-5 (*SHS Misc.*, vi, 51; cf. *OPS*, ii, 600, n.5).

16. *demanded ... rights*: the letter of Pope Honorius (see above) confirms that teinds and other rights of the church of Caithness were in dispute, and adds that the king had been involved in trying to reach a settlement between the parties. Royal as well as episcopal authority was being flouted. See discussion in Crawford, 'The earldom of Caithness', 28-29.

18. *Sunday*: both *Melrose* and *Fordun* agree on this date, 11 Sept. 1222.

19. *stoned*: this word is an addition to the *Fordun* text found in the margin of MS C.

23. *John*: John Haraldson earl of Caithness in Scotland (and of Orkney in



Norway) jointly with his brother David 1206-14, and then alone 1214-31 (*HBC*, 503; *SP*, ii, 316; cf. Crawford, 'The earldom of Caithness', 25-32).

30. *England*: Alexander was given a safe conduct on 13 Aug. 1222 to go on pilgrimage to Canterbury and visit King Henry (*CDS*, i, 147, no.831). *Jedburgh ROX*.

33. *a prince ordained by God*: Bower adds these words to the *Fordun* text.

39. *favour*: MS CA has an addition here after 'concessit' (text 1.33):

quia ut canunt Decreta: 'Qui potest et non repellit a socio injuriam tam est in vicio quam ille qui facit;' et qui desinit defendere cum potest consentit.

The quotation is from Gratian, *Decretum*, ii, cause 23, question 3, c.7 (Friedberg, i, col.898).

42. ... *Moray*: see below c.38, l.1; this marginal addition to MS C in fact duplicates information already in the main text in the next chapter. It is omitted in MS CA.

43. *William*: see above c.31, l.7 for his appointment as abbot of Holyrood in 1217; no reason is offered for his demission of office, which presumably dates from the time of the legate James' visit to Scotland early in 1221, ca Feb.-Apr. (see above ll.1-4); MS CA is therefore wrong to date this 1221.

45. *William son of Owin*: presumably appointed in 1221; in office by 19 May 1223 (*Glasgow Registrum*, i, 110, no.128); resigned as an old man in 1227 (see below c.46, ll.48-57).

46-47. *because ... inconstancy*: this phrase appears to anticipate criticism of his conduct after resigning as abbot in 1227

47. *inconstancy*: the vice of abandoning the pursuit of some goal without a reasonable motive (*DTC*, III, i, cols.1198-9); here perhaps it is a matter of uncertainty about the monastic vocation.

## Chapter 38 pp.115-19

*Fordun* (289-90, annal 42) is used as the basis of this chapter at ll.1-12, 29-35 and 39-44; the sources for the interspersed passages relating to Scotland are unknown, though ll.45-47 about Princess Isabella are similar to *Melrose* (77); ll.49-57 are taken from the start of *Vincent*, XXXI c.125, and ll.58-59 (erroneously) from the end of the same chapter. Cf. *Pluscarden* (71-72) and *Extracta* (92-93) for short references to this chapter. See *Wyntoun*, v, 86-87 for the visit to Canterbury, the visit to the far north, and Christmas at Forfar.

1. *Gilbert*: Gilbert de Moravia, archdeacon of Moray since before 1208 (Watt, *Fasti*, 238), bishop of Caithness 1222-45; as a member of a family who were helping under Kings William and Alexander to spread royal authority northwards from Moray into Sutherland, his selection as bishop

in the circumstances of a royal punitive expedition was a clear political act; he was to move his see from Caithness itself to Dornoch SUT; see biography in Watt, *Graduates*, 414-17.

5-12. *Now ... intentions*: the pope's reply to the Scottish bishops is dated 13 Jan. 1223 (Theiner, *Monumenta*, 21, no.49).

10-11. *They ... experienced*: Bower adds this sentence to the *Fordun* text, emphasizing a point he has already made about the expense of legatine visits to Scotland (see above, c.31, ll.40-41; c.32, ll.13-14).

13-16. *Consequently ... kingdoms*: the queen's brother Richard accompanied them to Canterbury in July (*CDS*, i, 151-2, nos.855-6); they seem to have met King Henry at Worcester at some unspecified date in 1223 (*SAEC*, 338).

29-35. *While ... burnt*: this continues the story about the punishment of the earl of Caithness from above c.37, ll.34-41.

33. *mentioned*: Bower now omits a sentence from *Fordun* reporting that many people at the time did not approve of this move by the king, suspecting that he had been guided by 'evil counsellors'. Presumably Bower himself from his mid-15c point of view was not so critical.

35. *killed and burnt*: for other accounts of the earl's death in the autumn of 1231 see *ES*, ii, 479-82. Bower now again omits a sentence from *Fordun* approving of the manner of the earl's death.

37-38. ... *himself*: lines adapted from Ovid, *Art of Love* (Loeb edn), 56, bk.ii, ll.655-6. Bower uses the same quotation above VII c.34 and below XIV c.30, in both cases with 'arte' for 'nece' (text 1.35) as in MS CA here; see Walther, *Proverbia*, no.26,403.

39-44. ... *wickedness*: see Duncan, *Kingdom*, 529 for a discussion of the identity of this Gillescop (where this passage is quoted). The dating here in the *Fordun* original is vague; probably for Bower there was a connection with the king's hurried visit to Moray in autumn 1223 (see above l.17). Gillescop is here clearly associated with the MacWilliam dynastic rivals of the king (for the origins of which see Duncan, *Kingdom*, 193). Bower had omitted the account in *Fordun* (282, annal 32) of the rising in 1215 by Donald Ban son of MacWilliam. The authority for the story here is unknown; and the timescale is unclear also. Bower adds to *Fordun* the phrase about the king bringing the rebels to justice (ll.43-44); this may well refer to the time when Gillescop was in the king's hands and subject to royal justice, at Edinburgh, in October of an unknown year (*APS*, i, 398-9, where the year-date is editorial); but he was still giving trouble in Sept. 1228 (see below, c.47, ll.1-6).

45-47. ... *unmarried*: the contradictory date in fact means 1223, for Isabella was in Nov. 1222 being prepared in England for her return to Scotland (*CDS*, i, 148-9, nos.834-6, 841). She had been in England since 1209 (see above c.34, ll.18-21), and was in May 1225 to be married to the young Roger le Bigod, heir to the earldom of Norfolk (*CDS*, i, 162, no.906; cf. 164, no.915; *CP*, ix, 592-3); she appears to have lived until 1263 or later (*ibid.*).

48. *William*: he had succeeded Abbot Patrick in 1217 or later (cf. *Inchcolm Chrs.*, 11, no.12); found in office 1219 x 1225 (*Kelso Liber*, ii, 334, no.434); a successor (also called William) was in office before 6 Oct. 1226 (*Dunfermline Registrum*, 136, no.218); 1223 appears to be the date intended here, presumably derived from local knowledge at Inchcolm.
49. *Jerusalem*: for John de Brienne see above c.33, l.54.
- 50-52. *sailed ... king*: landed at Brindisi, Italy, in Oct. 1222; had arrived in Paris by 6 July 1223 and was there at the death of King Philip Augustus on 14 July (*DHGE*, x, col.704).
- 53-54. *crusader's badge*: Frederick had taken the crusading vow at his coronation on 5 July 1215 (*CMH*, vi, 78).
54. *betrothed*: emperor, king and pope agreed that he should marry Isabella or Yolanda de Brienne (who was heiress to the throne of Jerusalem through her mother), at Ferentino, south of Rome, Italy, Mar. 1223 (*DHGE*, ut cit.).
56. *wedding*: at Brindisi, 9 Nov. 1225 (ibid., col.705).
- 58-60. *In this... Inchaffray*: the first sentence of this marginal addition in MS C must have been selected from *Vincent* at a different time from the passages put into the main text; and then the second sentence was added at a still later time in different ink.
58. [*John*]: 'Ludovicus' (text l.49) is an error by Bower in extracting this sentence from *Vincent*, where the context makes it clear that King John is meant. He visited England in Sept. 1223 (*DHGE*, x, col.704).
60. *Gilbert*: Gilbert earl of Strathearn 1171-1223 (see above VIII, cc.61,73); Inchaffray PER was an Augustinian house.

Chapter 39  
pp.119-21

ll.1-12 are taken from *Vincent*, XXXI c.125 (middle of the chapter), but with the fifth sentence altered (see below). The eleven stories about King Philip Augustus which Bower says he has found 'scattered throughout different books' (ll.18-19) and which he has put into this and the two following chapters can nearly all be traced in one or other of the many collections of 'exempla' derived from oral tradition (i.e. illustrative stories with a moral used in sermons or read for their own sake) which survive from the 13c. See discussion in J. Le Goff, 'Philippe Auguste dans les "Exempla"', in *La France de Philippe Auguste*, ed. R.-H. Bautier (Paris, 1982), 145-55, where sources in print and manuscript are cited; on pp.152-3 Goff summarizes the first three stories in c.41 below. The particular versions of these stories available to Bower have not been identified; but Professor John W. Baldwin has kindly reported that nine out of the eleven of them are represented in the unprinted 'Compilacio singularis exemplorum' (put together by a French Dominican friar 1270 x 1297) – the two stories in c.39 are numbered 545-6,

the four in c.40 are numbered 547, 551-2, 548, and the first three in c.41 are numbered 557-9.

There is a brief account of Philip's death in *Pluscarden* (72), but nothing in *Extracta* from these three chapters.

1. *July 1223*: in fact 14 July.
- 1-2. *chief ... church*: for a discussion of this over-simple judgment of Vincent see Baldwin, *Government*, c.12.
2. *St Denis*: the abbey in dép. Seine, near Paris, which was the traditional burial place of the Capetian kings of France.
4. *battle*: Bouvines in 1214 (see above c.16).
- 5-6. *Aquitaine*: in fact still in the hands of the English king.
- 8-9. *Vermandois ... Poitou*: Bower omits Clermont and Tours from Vincent's list here.
- 9-12. *He made ... Jerusalem*: as Bower states in his next sentence he has here amended the text of *Vincent*, where each beneficiary is said to have been left 100,000 *livres parisis*. Vincent in fact seems to have been right regarding the value of these three legacies (*Guillaume le Breton*, i, 325); but the lesser sum per beneficiary is found in some sources e.g. *Melrose* (76), which Bower here prefers to the authority of *Vincent*. It is confusing that in Philip's testament dated Sept. 1222 he left to each of these beneficiaries 50,000 *marcharum argenti* (*Receuil des Actes de Philippe Auguste*, iv, ed. M.Nortier [Paris, 1975], 471, para.6); cf. Baldwin, *Government*, 352-3, especially n.93.
10. *Temple in Jerusalem*: i.e. the military order of Knights Templar (cf. *ODCC*, 1345-6).  
*Hospital*: i.e. the military order of Knights Hospitaller (cf. ibid., 669-70).
12. *Brienne*: see above c.33, l.54 and c.38, ll.49-52, 58-59.
- 19-31. *once when ... from it*: for a shorter version of this story arising from Philip's voyage to Palestine on the 3rd Crusade in 1190-1, see *Guillaume le Breton*, ii, 97.
25. *black monks and canons*: Benedictines and Augustinians.
27. *white monks*: Cistercians.
28. *collegiate clergy*: the reading in MS CA makes clearer the intention of MS C; these are the secular clergy organized in corporate bodies.
32. *hour of death*: July 1223 (see above).
48. *forty-third year*: technically it was the forty-fourth year dating from his coronation on 1 Nov. 1179, but it was the forty-third year since the death of his father on 19 Sept. 1180 (Baldwin, *Government*, 3, 17); Bower is agreeing with *Melrose* (76) here.

Chapter 40  
pp.121-3

See introduction to c.39 above.

32. *grange*: an outlying farm belonging to a monastic house.  
53. *Secret Prayer*: see above c.6, l.23.

Chapter 41  
pp.125-7

See introduction to c.39 above.

- 1-12. ... *court*: for two versions of this story see *Anecdotes historiques d'Etienne de Bourbon*, ed. A.Lecoy de la Marche (SHF, 185 [1877]), 242-3.  
2-3. *because ... court*: see above c.14, ll.1-7.  
18. ... *tomorrow*: cf. Matthew 6:34 (*Vulgate* has 'solliciti esse' for 'cogitare' [text l.16]).  
26. *Lyaeus*: an alternative name for Dionysus or Bacchus, the god of wine, used poetically to mean wine (*OLD*, s.v).  
*Thetis*: the chief of the Nereids or sea-maidens, used by metonymy to mean the sea (*OLD*, s.v.); presumably here she represents water.  
26-28. *why ... done*: adapted from the words of Christ in Gethsemane (Matthew 26:39, 42).  
35-43. This story comes from Caesarius of Heisterbach, *The Dialogue on Miracles*, trans. H. von E. Scott and C.C.Swinton Bland (London, 1929), i, 208-9, bk.iv, c.13, though there it is attributed more to Philip king of the Romans than to Philip Augustus, and it concerns leggings rather than shoes; it has a moral there: 'Pride is very deservedly put to confusion.'  
43. The cross-reference is to another story about King Philip; but it has no apparent relevance to this story. In MS CA this story from Book VIII is inserted after the previous paragraph above rather than here.  
45-59. No source for this story has been traced.  
46. *parliament*: in France at this time the parliament of Paris was the chief law court of the country.  
50. *Seine*: the river on which Paris stands.

Chapter 42  
pp.127-31

The theme in the first sentence is taken from *Vincent*, XXXI c.125; the rest of this chapter provides a complete copy of *Vincent*, XXXI c.126. Nothing in *Pluscarden* or *Extracta*.

For a discussion of the material in this chapter see Baldwin, *Government*, 370-4, and in more detail in G.M.Spiegel, 'The *Reditus regni ad stirpem Karoli Magni*: a new look', *French Historical Studies*, vii (1971), 147-74, which refers specifically to this chapter in *Vincent*.

1. *coronation*: Louis VIII was crowned at Rheims on 6 Aug. 1223 (Lavissee, *Histoire*, III, i, 284).  
3-6. *For the ... them*: cf. above III cc.19-20.  
6. 484: an error in *Vincent*; Childeric I reigned 456-81.  
7. *Trier*: on the river Mosel FRG. It had been the late-Roman seat of government of the Gauls under a praetorian prefect in the early 5c.  
7-8. *Clovis ... Remigius*: see above III c.19 for Clovis I (481-511).  
9. *descendants ... 750*: see above III c.62. King Childeric III was in fact dethroned in 751. Merovingian rule is not usually described as 'happy'.  
10-13. *eighty-eight ... palace*: St Bathilde was wife of Clovis II (634-57) and survived him until 680, after being removed from power in 665 during the reign of her son Chlotar III (657-73) (*ODS*, 35-36). The 660s are the period which Vincent had in mind for the start of the effective dominance of mayors of the palace; other writers prefer to emphasize 687 in this connection (*CMH*, ii, 127).  
13-18. *Then it ... anathema*: see above III c.54.  
19-21. 926 ... *Paris*: in fact High Capet succeeded the Carolingian dynasty in 987. This correct date was known to Vincent, and so his error here has been taken as part of the proof that Vincent did not himself compose the story in this chapter, but took it from earlier sources such as one written in the 1190s (Siegel, '*Reditus*', 149).  
19-20. *duke of the Franks*: a title borne by both Hugh Capet and his father (Isenberg, *Stammtafeln*, ii, table 13).  
22. *Riquier*: a saint who lived near Amiens, dép. Somme, France, and died ca 645: his relics were kept in a town now called Saint-Riquier, near Abbeville, dép. Somme (*ODS*, 370).  
*Valery*: a hermit saint who lived at the place now called after him at the mouth of the river Somme, and died in 620; his relics were kept in an abbey founded at this place by his successor (*ODS*, 428, s.v. 'Walaric').  
24. *Bertin*: the abbey church dedicated to this saint (d.698) lay in St Omer, dép. Pas-de-Calais (*ODS*, 46). This place lay in the county of Flanders, further away than St Riquier and St Valery from the area of Northmen attacks spreading out from the mouth of the river Seine.  
25. *converted*: the Northmen under Rollo adopted Christianity in 911 (see above IV c.17; VII c.24).  
26. *Charles the Simple*: the Carolingian king Charles III (898-929).  
27-52. *But when ... generation*: the dating of this legend is unclear. Count Arnulf ruled Flanders 918-65 (Mas Latric, *Trésor*, col.1600); the Hugh count of Paris in the original version of the story therefore may have been Hugh the Great (923-56), though in this version the story identifies him as Hugh

Capet (956-96); cf. Baldwin, *Government*, 370 and n.63; Siegel, 'Reditus', 147n.

34. *Ponthieu*: a small county on both sides of the mouth of the river Somme.

45-46. *Montreuil*: dép. Pas-de-Calais, south-west of St Omer; for its royal castle see Salch, *Châteaux*, 808.

53-56. *but we ... Philip*: an accurate list of the kings of France from Hugh Capet to Philip Augustus.

56-57. *about ... above*: this comment has been added by Bower to the *Vincent* text.

58. *Elizabeth ... Hainault*: Elizabeth or Isabella, daughter of Baldwin count of Hainault (in Belgium) 1171-95, who was also Baldwin VIII count of Flanders 1191-4 (Mas Latrie, *Trésor*, cols. 1612, 1601), married Philip Augustus in 1180.

59-60. *For this ... Simple*: for this artificial genealogy from a fictitious daughter of Charles the Simple to Elizabeth of Hainault see Siegel, 'Reditus', 148 and the sources cited there.

70-72. *... deceits*; Ecclesiasticus 10:8.

72-73. *... place*: *ibid.*, 10:17 (*Vulgate*), 10:14 (*NEB*).

## Chapter 43 pp.131-3

No earlier source is known for ll.1-19; the second paragraph was presumably based on a record kept at Inchcolm abbey. Then Bower returns to *Vincent*, XXXI: ll.20-26 are summarized from the start of c.127; ll.26-46 provide a full text of the rest of the same chapter; ll.47-50 are the first sentence of c.128. *Pluscarden* (72) notes the aid for the royal marriages and briefly mentions King Louis; *Extracta* (93) mentions the aid.

1-2. *... sisters*: whilst aid in the sense of a general financial levy was subject to consultation and consent and was rare in 13c Scotland (Duncan, *Kingdom*, 212-13, 602-3), this aid for a special purpose is likely to have been imposed by prerogative right. Such a procedure was in harmony with English custom as defined in Magna Carta of 1215 c.12, when aids for ransoming the king, knighting his eldest son, and marrying his eldest daughter once were excepted from necessary consultation. Such events were by their nature rare and irregular. Alexander is here reported as having apparently stretched a point by raising dowry-money for two of his father's daughters, one of whom had already been married in 1221, while the other was to be married in 1225 (see above c.34, ll.46-49; c.38, ll.45-47).

2-4. *Property ... aid*: this exemption for church lands held in free alms has been doubted (cf. Duncan, *Kingdom*, 388-9); but since this aid was one attached to feudal land-holding like other 'casualties' (cf. *ibid.*, 398-9), it is just the kind of burden from which land held in free alms was meant to be

exempt (cf. *ibid.*, 144). See also above VIII c.73 for clerical exemption in 1209 from another kind of aid with a political purpose.

5. *William*: had moved from Holyrood OSA near Edinburgh to Inchcolm sometime after 1211 (cf. above VIII c.75).

7. *no abbot*: Inchcolm was to be raised from a priory to an abbey in 1235 (cf. *Inchcolm Chrs.*, 235).

9. *bishop*: Hugh de Sigillo, bishop of Dunkeld 1214-29; see below c.47, l.32. Note how the king was brought into the problem as well as the bishop, perhaps because Inchcolm had been a royal foundation (*MRHS*, 91).

14. *Nigel*: from Jedburgh OSA ROX; the office of terrar was concerned with supervision of the monastery's estates (*OED*); Nigel had a successor as prior by 1228 (*Laing Chrs.*, no.6).

20-28. *... king*: for the expedition of King Louis to Poitou, June-Sept. 1224, see Lavissee, *Histoire*, III, i, 286-7. He had been crowned the year before on 6 Aug. 1223 (see above c.42, l.1).

22. *Niort*: Dép. Deux Sevres.

23. *St-Jean-d'Angély*: dép. Charente-Maritime.

25. *La Rochelle*: dép. Charente-Maritime.

26. *Limoges*: dép. Haute Vienne.

*Perigueux*: dép. Dordogne.

27. *Aquitaine*: the duchy on both sides of the Gironde estuary which was largely loyal to Henry III of England.

*Gascons*: the inhabitants of the part of Aquitaine south of the river Garonne.

29-46. *... gallows*: for the story of the false Baldwin see *BNB*, ii, cols.337-41 s.v. 'Bertrand de Rays', and Ch.Petit-Dutaillis, *Etude sur la vie et la règne de Louis VIII* 1187-1226 (Paris, 1894), 396-7.

30. *Baldwin*: Baldwin IX, count of Flanders from 1194, Latin emperor of Constantinople following the diversion there of part of the Fourth Crusade, May 1204, captured by the Bulgarians at the battle of Adrianople, Apr. 1205, and died soon after (*DBF*, v, col.868; *BNB*, i, cols. 804-7).

34. *Péronne*: dép. Somme.

39. *although ... Constantinople*: Bower adds this touch to the *Vincent* text.

43. *Chastenay*: a Burgundian lord (*BNB*, ii, col.341).

44. *countess of Flanders*: Countess Joan (1205-44), wife of Count Ferrand who was still in prison in Paris (*BNB*, x, cols.447-52; see above c.17, ll.38-39).

45. *he ... deceit*: another addition by Bower.

47. *same year*: this must be 1225/6 (see Setton, *Crusades*, ii, 316).

49. *barons*: Bower omits 'apud Parisius' after 'barones' (text l.41).

50. *legate*: Romano Bonaventura, cardinal-deacon of St Angelo since 1216, legate in France and Provence 1225-9, died 1243 (*ibid.*, ii, 315-16; Eubel, *Hierarchia*, i, 4, no.28).

# Chapter 44

## pp.133-5

The source of ll.1-13 is unknown, but the chronicle of Thomas Wykes ([RS, 36] iv, 63-64, 69) is the only one which has been found containing both items included here by Bower; Wykes, however, has the correct dates. ll.14-47 are taken from *Vincent*, XXXI c.128, following directly after the extract found above in c.43. Nothing in *Pluscarden* or *Extracta*.

The change of rubric at the beginning of the chapter may mark just a scribal error, or perhaps a change of plan as Bower decided to include additional material.

1-8. ... *England*: this account comes from a similar source to that used more briefly (also under 1225) in *Lanercost* (31-32); it should be dated 1224; see Powicke, *Henry III*, i, 61-66 for a modern account.

1. *Fawkes*: Fawkes de Breauté, son of a Norman knight, had taken service with King John; he had held Bedford Castle BDF from 1216 by royal grant, and by 1224 was on bad terms with the regency government for the young King Henry (*ibid.*).

5. *nine weeks*: apparently an error for eight weeks; Wykes (see above) says that the siege lasted from 22 June to 14 Aug. 1224.

9. *Guala*: see above c.21, l.16; c.29, l.52. He died on 30 May 1227 (*DBI*, x, 323).

10. *become an Englishman*: see above c.31, ll.14-15 for a similar opinion expressed by Bower.

14-47. ... *place*: for accounts of Louis' second crusading expedition against the Albigensians (cf. above c.33, ll.49-50) see Lavissee, *Histoire*, III, i, 289-93, and Setton, *Crusades*, ii, 315-19.

15. *Bourges*: dép. Cher; the expedition assembled there in May 1226.

16. *Nevers*: dép. Nièvre.

*Lyons*: dép. Rhône.

*Avignon*: dép. Vaucluse; on the left bank of the river Rhône, then an imperial city beyond the boundaries of France.

18. *deviation*: Avignon had supported Raymond VI count of Toulouse (see above c.21, l.26) since 1216, and his successor Count Raymond VII since 1222 (Setton *Crusades*, ii, 309-15).

27. *Assumption*: 15 August; but other sources say that the city surrendered on 9 Sept. (*ibid.*, 317), and so perhaps Vincent meant the feast of Mary's Nativity (8 Sept.).

30. *St Pol*: for Guy count of St Pol 1219-26 see *DBF*, xvii, col.377.

32. *Limoges*: Bernard de Savene, bishop of Limoges 1219-26 (Eubel, *Hierarchia*, i, 301).

*Champagne*: Theobald IV, count of Champagne 1201-53 (Mas Latrie, *Trésor*, col.1583).

38. *legate*: Cardinal Romano (see above c.43, l.50).

43. *Corbie*: Nicholas de Corbie, bishop of Avignon 1226-31 (*DBF*, ix, cols.600-1).

45. *Toulouse*: Louis in fact stopped at Pamiers, dép. Ariège, and did not attempt to take Toulouse, dép. Haute Garonne (Setton, *Crusades*, ii, 318).

46. *Beaujeu*: Humbert V de Beaujeu held a lordship in dép. Rhône 1216-50; he was later constable of France under King Louis IX (*DBF*, v, cols.1101-2).

# Chapter 45

## pp.135-9

This whole chapter is taken from Vincent, XXXI – ll.1-20 contain selections from c.129, and ll.21-69 copy the whole of c.130. *Pluscarden* (72) mentions just the succession of Louis IX, and *Extracta* (93) that of Gregory IX.

1. *Rheims*: William de Joinville, archbishop of Rheims 1219-26 (Eubel, *Hierarchia*, i, 419).

2. *Namur*: Philip II de Courtenay, count and marquis of Namur in the Empire, d.1226 (*BNB*, xvii, cols.319-20).

5. *died*: Louis VIII died at Montpensier, dép. Puy-de-Dôme on his way north from his crusade, 8 Nov. 1226 (Lavissee, *Histoire*, III, i, 293). Bower has been misled by Vincent about the year.

9. *thirteen*: Louis IX (later St Louis) was twelve when he succeeded (born 25 Apr. 1214). Bower has inserted this error into the *Vincent* text.

10. *coronation*: at Rheims on 29 Nov. 1226 (Lavissee, *Histoire*, III, ii, 7).

13-15. *Ferrand ... money*: see above c.17, ll. 38-39, and c.43, l.44. He had been imprisoned since Aug. 1214.

16. *died*: Honorius III died on 18 Nov. 1226 (*ODP*, 188-9).

18. *excommunicated*: it was the next pope who excommunicated Frederick II for his failure to set out on crusade, 29 Sept. 1227 (*CMH*, vi, 146).

20. *Gregory*: Pope Gregory IX (1227-41), elected 19 Mar. 1227; had previously been cardinal-bishop of Ostia (*ODP*, 189-91).

21. *La Marche*: Hugh de Lusignan X, count of La Marche 1219-49 (Mas Latrie, *Trésor*), col.1618.

22. *Champagne*: see above c.44, l.32.

23. *Brittany*: Peter Mauclerc, count or duke of Brittany 1213-37 (see above c.13, ll.11-15).

26. *St James-de-Bewron*: dép. Manche, south of Avranches; cf. Powicke, *Henry III*, i, 177, n.1.

*Bellême*: dép. Orne.

28. *Romano*: see above c.43, l.50.

29. *Boulogne*: Philip Hurepel, illegitimate son of Philip Augustus, count of Boulogne by marriage 1216-34 (Mas Latrie, *Trésor*, col.1565).

30. *Dreux*: Robert III count of Dreux 1218-34 (*DBF*, xi, cols. 746-7).  
*Curçay*: dép. Vienne, near Loudun; cf. Powicke, *Henry III*, i, 175.  
*Chartres*: dép. Eure-et-Loir.
37. *parliament*: i.e. the king's chief law court.
40. *Vendôme*: dép. Loir-et-Cher. A truce was arranged here on 16 Mar. 1227 (*ibid.*).
- 42-57. ... *they could*: for this baronial coalition against the count of Champagne in 1230 see Lavissee, *Histoire*, III, ii, 13-14.
47. *Blanche*: Blanche of Castile 1188-1252, the widow of Louis VIII and regent during the minority of Louis IX (*DBF*, vi, cols. 616-18).
50. *Chaource*: dép. Aube, south of Troyes.
- 59-65. *caused ... sea*: for the expedition of Henry III to France May-Oct. 1230 see Powicke, *Henry III*, i, 179-83.
63. *stormed ... Bellême*: Jan. 1229 (Lavissee, *Histoire*, III, ii, 7). This event is placed here out of chronological order, and so is given a misleading implication.
65. *following year*: in fact 1230.
67. *Oudon*: dép. Loire Atlantique, on the right bank of the river Loire, west of Ancenis.
69. *Champtoceaux*: dép. Maine-et-Loire, on the left bank of the river Loire near Oudon. These two places were taken by Queen Blanche in June 1230 (*ibid.*, 12).

Chapter 46  
pp. 139-43

No source is known for ll. 1-36 and 48-60, but this last paragraph concerns the Augustinian Order; ll. 37-41 comprise a brief extract from the beginning of *Vincent*, XXXI c. 131, and ll. 42-45 are made up of a few phrases cobbled together from *ibid.*, c. 136. ll. 46-47 are found in more developed form in *Melrose* (79). *Pluscarden* (72) extracts only the paragraph on St Anthony; nothing in *Extracta*.

1. *Marsh*: Richard Marsh had been royal chancellor since Oct. 1214 (*HBC*, 84-85), and bishop of Durham from July 1217 until his death on 1 May 1226 (Le Neve, *Fasti 1066-1300*, ii, 31); he had latterly given most of his attention to his diocese (Powicke, *Henry III*, i, 2); his interference with the rights and liberties of the monks of Durham is reported by the Durham chronicler Robert de Graystones (*Historiae Dunelmensis Scriptores Tres* [Surtees Society, ix], 36).

7-12. *After ... court*: for an account of the Stichill election see Powicke, *Henry III*, i, 267-70; for William's career see Watt, *Graduates*, 515-16; he and his brother Robert were Scots, presumably from Stichill ROX, who

were active as masters at Oxford ca 1215-25; William was archdeacon of Worcester from 1218 until his death in 1242/3 (Le Neve, *Fasti 1066-1300*, ii, 106). The monks of Durham deliberately chose William as their bishop on 1 Aug. 1226 in defiance of King Henry's pressure on them to elect a civil servant in the royal household; apparently the monks wanted a change from that category of appointee. When the appeal went to Rome, the king's lawyers argued specifically against the appointment of a Scot to a see on the Scottish border. The election was quashed by Pope Gregory IX on 3 May 1228.

7-8. *fearing ... again*: Bower here in MS CA intrudes an unlikely motive to the monks of Durham; this is matched by his revision of 'Angliam' (text 1.9), suggesting that Scots such as Stichill regarded the counties of Northumberland and Durham as part of the kingdom of Scotland.

13-16. *From ... Chapter 21*: here Bower declares his own motive for telling the story, connecting with his account of the expulsion of Englishmen from Scottish benefices in 1296. In fact the monks of Durham were to admit a Robert de Stichill to their community as a monk and have him as their bishop 1260-74 (Le Neve, *Fasti 1066-1300*, ii, 32).

17. *del Bois*: see above c. 27, ll. 48-49.

19. *Stirling*: had served as a king's clerk under William I (*RRS*, ii, 31, 480); archdeacon of Glasgow from 1222 (Watt, *Fasti*, 171); in office as chancellor by 20 Jan. 1226 and perhaps during 1225 (*HBC*, 181).

22. *Richard*: born 1209, styled earl (not duke) of Cornwall from 30 May 1227 (*DNB*, xlviii, 165-75; cf. *HBC*, 456); he had had a violent quarrel with his brother Henry in the summer of 1227 (Powicke, *Henry III*, i, 71-72). This visit by him to Scotland is unknown to his modern biographer (N. Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall* [Oxford, 1947], 8-15).

25. *Kinghorn FIF*.

26. *king's mother*: Queen Ermengarde.

*Margaret*: the third daughter of King William, and the second legitimate one to be called Margaret. She was to be married in 1235 to Gilbert Marshal earl of Pembroke (see below c. 49, ll. 48-50).

34-36. *Durham ... York*: King Henry did visit Durham ca 9-10 Dec. 1227 and spend Christmas at York (*Patent Rolls 1225-32*, 172-3; *Close Rolls 1227-31*, 8-10).

37-41. ... *Minor*: St Anthony of Padua (1195-1231), born at Lisbon, joined OSA when very young, became a Franciscan friar in 1220, canonized in 1232 (*ODS*, 23-24; *ODCC*, 68).

42-45. ... *canonized*: St Elizabeth of Hungary (1207-31), married the landgrave of Thuringia in 1221, became a Franciscan tertiary in 1228 after her husband's death, canonized 1235 (*ODS*, 139; *ODCC*, 452-3).

46. *Thomas*: see above 1.19; he died 26 Feb. x 16 May 1227 (Watt, *Fasti*, 171).

47. *Scot*: first appears as chancellor 5 June 1227; see Watt, *Graduates*, 489-90.



48. *Holyrood* MLO: for Abbot William son of Owin of this Augustinian house see above c.37, ll.45-47.
49. *his ordinary*: Bishop William Malveisin of St Andrews (1202-38); see Watt, *Graduates*, 374-9.
50. *Inchkeith*: an island in the Firth of Forth.
- 56-57. ... *land*: cited from here, and found in various collections of quotations, but without identification of its source (Walther, *Proverbia*, no.25,015; cf. nos.420a and 10,779).
58. *Elias*: found in office by 3 Apr. 1234 (*Moray Registrum*, 464, original charter no.10).

### Chapter 47 pp.143-5

No source is known for the bulk of this chapter; most of the items are probably copied from a lost chronicle; the text in MS C is broken up into separate paragraphs to an unusual extent. ll.15-20, 24-28, 42-43, and 46-47 are similar to *Melrose* (79-80); ll.32-38 probably come from a record kept at Inchcolm Abbey, Dunkeld diocese; then for ll.51-61 Bower returns to *Vincent*, XXXI c.137 (opening part of this chapter). *Pluscarden* (72) covers just three items from this chapter; *Extracta* (93) is more comprehensive.

1. *Gillescop*: see above c.38, l.40; cf. Duncan, *Kingdom*, 529.
2. *Moray*: an area then co-extensive at least with the diocese of Moray i.e. from the river Deveron ABD in the east to Strath Glass INV west of Loch Ness.
3. *Thirlestane*: a tenant of lands of this name in Lauderdale BWK who held also Abertarff at the south end of Loch Ness INV in the mid 1220s by crown grant (*SP*, v, 277-8); it was presumably his timber castle at Abertarff which Gillescop now destroyed; since he had probably moved north with royal encouragement (cf. Barrow, *Kingdom*, 376), it is interesting that Bower is reporting a tradition that he was a thief ('latro' [text l.3]).
9. *Buchan*: William Comyn, earl of Buchan by right of his wife ca 1212-1233, who served as justiciar of Scotia ca 1205-ca 1232 (*SP*, ii, 252-3; Barrow, *Kingdom*, ad indicem); cf. below c.48, l.2.
11. *bishop of Aberdeen*: Adam de Kalder, bishop since 1208 (see above VIII c.66); cf. Boece, *Vitae*, 11 for Aberdeen tradition that he died in 1227. *Scot*: see above c.46, l.47, and Watt, *Graduates*, 489-90.
- 12-13. *perhaps ... fortune*: the suggestion of motive here may well be Bower's; cf. alternative tradition in Boece, *Vitae*, 11.
- 13-14. *resigned ... honour*: see below ll.34-36; the see of Dunkeld had mid-9c links with the relics of St Columba (*ES*, i, 279; cf. above III c.51, l.44 and IV c.12, ll.32, 38-43, 74), while that of Aberdeen in the 1220s was only about 100 years old (see above IV c.44, l.27). This implied in the early 15c that

Dunkeld was 'the thrird of reputatioun' in Scotland (*Wyntoun*, iv, 168-71); but it is unlikely that Dunkeld was ever the richer benefice, for throughout the 14c and early 15c (when figures become available) Aberdeen was regularly valued in the books of the papal chamber at 1250 florins, while Dunkeld was valued at only 450 florins (H. Hoberg, *Taxae pro Communibus Servitiis* [Vatican, 1949], 3, 48); these relative values must have been well known to Bower.

14. *Stirling*: see Watt, *Graduates*, 524, s.v. 'Strivelyn'.
  15. *Langton*: see above c.26, ll.37-39; he died 9 July 1228.
  17. *Balmerino* FIF: see *MRHS*, 72-73, where the first abbot is noted as already holding office rather earlier on 20 Sept. 1229.
  19. *Alan*: held office until death on 28 June 1236 (*Melrose*, 85).
  - 21-23. ... *escaped*: this item is not in *Melrose*, but is found in *Lanercost* (i, 40) to the same effect, but in different words.
  21. *Alan of Galloway*: see above c.27, l.49; for his third marriage to a daughter of Hugh de Lacy (who had been restored as earl of Ulster in 1227 [*HBC*, 497]), who was probably called Rose, see K.J. Stringer, 'A new wife for Alan of Galloway', *TDGAS*, 3rd series, xlix (1972), 49-55, especially 51; cf. *Cal. Pat.* 1232-47, 194; for the links between Alan's family and Ulster see R. Greeves, 'The Galloway lands in Ulster', *TDGAS*, 3rd series, xxxvi (1959), 115-21; cf. *Wyntoun*, v, 64-65.
  - 24-25. *Malcolm ... founded*: see above c.31, l.4; *Melrose* (80) enters this item under 1230; cf. *Wyntoun*, v, 86-89 under 1229.
  - 26-28. *nephew Malcolm ... Wales*: Malcolm held the earldom until 1266 (see below, X c.21, l.1); Bower adds the explanation of the first Malcolm's childlessness to the *Melrose* text. He also adds to the simple name 'Llywelyn' the title 'king of Wales'; in fact Llywelyn the Great (d.1240) was styled 'prince of Gwynedd' until 1230, and 'prince of Aberffraw and lord of Snowdon' thereafter (*HBC*, 51).
- It has been argued that the daughter whom Malcolm married was called Helen, and that she survived until 1291 (*SP*, iv, 9); but a daughter of this name had already been married in 1222 to John the Scot (who was to become earl of Chester 1232-7) and died in 1253 (*CP*, iii, 169-70); this daughter could have been illegitimate with the same name (cf. biography of Llywelyn in *DNB*, xxxiv, 13); but Profesor R.R. Davies advises that she cannot be traced in Welsh genealogies; and the statement in *Melrose* has been adjudged 'unproven and perhaps due to a simple slip on the part of the scribe' (G.W.S. Barrow, 'Wales and Scotland in the Middle Ages', *Welsh History Review*, x [1980-1], 312-13).
- 29-31. ... *territories*: this refers to Stephen of Anagni, papal chaplain and friend of Pope Gregory IX, who was active in England as papal collector (with the title of nuncio rather than legate *a latere*) between Oct. 1227 and Mar. 1231 (Lunt, *Financial Relations*, 145, 190-3, 247-9, 611). His commission dated 23 Dec. 1228 covered the collection of tenth from the clergy of England, Scotland and Ireland for a papal war against the Emperor Frederick II (*Vetus Registrum Sarisberiense* [RS, 78], ii, 146-7; cf. 144-8);

but nothing further is known about when or why King Alexander refused him entry into Scotland.

**32. Dunkeld:** Hugh de Sigillo, previously a royal clerk under King William, had been elected to this see in late 1214 (Watt, *Fasti*, 95; *RRS*, ii, ad indicem); it is probable that he died on 6 Jan. 1229/30 (Dowden, *Bishops*, 53).

**34-36. Master ... 1229:** for Matthew Scot see above 1.11; since he is found as chancellor as late as 30 Apr. 1230 (*HBC*, 181; but note that the source used [*Cambuskenneth Registrum*, 297, no.208] is in a late cartulary which may not be accurate), Bower's '1229' date is misleading; note how in MS C this date was first written as '1230' and later corrected.

**36. Gilbert:** probably elected in 1230; d. 1236, and was buried at Inchcolm Abbey on 6 April (*Melrose*, 85; Myln, *Vitae*, 9).

**39. Gillescop:** see above ll.1-6; cf. *Lanercost*, i, 40.

**42. Jacobin Friars:** Dominican friars of the Order of Preachers (cf. above cc.22-23); Bower takes over the word 'Jacobin' from *Melrose*; it refers to the house of the order in the rue St.-Jacques in Paris founded in 1218 (*ODCC*, 721); perhaps the earliest Dominicans in Scotland came from that house. Bower adds also the information about the king's patronage of the order; see *MRHS*, 114-23.

**46-47. For... Scotland:** the reference is to the monks of the Valliscaulian Order, called after their mother-house in the Val-des-Choux in dép. Côte d'Or, near Montbard, France, which *Melrose* calls 'Valley of Vegetables', and which Bower alternatively calls by its usual name of 'Valley of Cabbages'. The precise date of foundation of these three houses in Scotland is not clearly indicated here; each was dependent directly on the mother-house in France, and they seem to have been founded as a group (cf. *MRHS*, 83-85); Bower adds in MS CA some information about the founders.

**47-48. Ardchattan ARG:** on the north shore of Loch Etive; the Macdougalls were the local lords of Argyll and Lorn based on nearby Dunstaffnage Castle; for Duncan see A.A.M.Duncan and A.L.Brown, 'Argyll and the Isles in the earlier Middle Ages', *PSAS*, xc (1956-7), 192-220, especially 202.

**48. Pluscarden MOR:** near Elgin; the king is named as founder in an episcopal charter of confirmation in 1233 (*MRHS*, 84).

**49. Beaulieu INV:** at the head of the Beaulieu Firth; had been founded before 20 Dec. 1230 by John Bisset, lord of the Aird and of Lovat (ibid.; cf. *Beaulieu Chrs.*, 17-25).

**51-54. There was ... world:** following the killing of some students by royal officers during a riot in 1229, the masters suspended teaching and 'dispersed' with their students to smaller centres of study for two years until redress was obtained after papal intervention (H.Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, ed. F.M.Powicke and A.B.Emden [Oxford, 1936], i, 334-8).

**53. Rheims ... Orleans:** Rheims, dép. Marne, Angers, dép. Maine-et-Loire, and Orleans, dép. Loiret all had cathedral schools providing some higher education; Rheims never developed a university, but Angers and Orleans

were permanently strengthened by this influx from Paris and did become universities in their own right (ibid., ii, 151-5, 139-46). Oxford and Cambridge also benefitted from this Paris 'dispersion' (ibid., iii, 83, 278).

**55-61. ... life:** Bower has already covered most of this story about Brittany in extracts from another chapter in *Vincent* (see above c.45, ll.59-71); here he follows *Vincent* again, adding 'precipue Normanniam' (text 1.47) to his source. Angers and Bellême, dép. Orne had been granted to Peter by the regent Queen Blanche in March 1227; she recovered Bellême in Jan. 1229 and Angers apparently in June 1230 (Powicke, *Henry III*, i, 179-80; cf. *RHF*, xxi, 409, and Lavis, *Histoire*, III, ii, 12, 14).

## Chapter 48 pp.145-9

The bulk of this chapter follows *Melrose* (81-83) with the items in the same order, but with omissions and minor variants; this covers ll.5-10, 16-39, 41-47; then Bower rejects the *Melrose* explanation of the troubles in Galloway after the death of Alan of Galloway in 1234 in favour of a different one, and first in the margin of MS C and then in MS CA he adds two alternative passages of reflection on Alan. The source of other items at ll.1-4 and 11-15 is unknown; the information about the marriage of King Louis IX was possibly drawn from *Vincent*, XXXI c.137 (middle). Both *Pluscarden* (72-73 and *Extracta* (93-95) summarize much from this chapter. See *Wyntoun*, v. 88-93, where the Galloway troubles are explained along the same lines as Bower adopts here.

**1. Christmas:** Bower here appears to be following a source which started the new year on Christmas Day, so that by modern reckoning this was Christmas 1230.

*Elgin MOR:* the king had been engaged in pacifying the north (*ES*, ii, 471; Duncan, *Kingdom*, 529).

**2. Walter son of Alan:** had succeeded his father in 1204 as steward of the royal household (perhaps under age at first), and was then active under Alexander II (*RRS*, ii, 34-35) until his death in 1241 (*Melrose*, 88); for his lands and tenants see Barrow, *Kingdom*, c.12. He succeeded William Comyn earl of Buchan as justiciar of Scotia (see above c.47, 1.9); it has been argued that he was appointed ca 2 Feb. 1232 rather than 1231 (ibid., 106, n.106), but this is not convincing. *Pluscarden* follows an erroneous side-note in MS C of Bower which states that he was the first of his family to be styled 'Steward' in Scotland.

**5. Thomas ... Atholl:** earl by right of marriage to the heiress by Jan. 1211, and d. 1231, after 19 Mar. (*HBC*, 501; cf. *SP*, i, 419-21; *Melrose Liber*, i, 162, no. 175); *Melrose* places his death under 1231.

**6. Coupar:** the Cistercian abbey of Coupar Angus PER, of which he had been a benefactor (e.g. *Coupar Angus Chrs.*, i, 48-49, no.22).

6. *Friars Minor*: for the Franciscans or Grey Friars see above c.24; and see *MRHS*, 124-8.
8. *Caithness*: for Earl John see above cc.37-38; his death is recorded under 1231 in *Melrose*.
11. *chancellorship*: vacant since the death of Matthew Scot probably sometime after 30 Apr. 1230 (see above c.47, ll.34-36); Bondington is first found in office on 30 Mar. 1231 (*HBC*, 181).
12. *Chancellor Thomas*: Thomas de Stirling d. 1227 (see above c.46, ll.19, 46).
- Osbert*: bishop of Dunblane 1226 x 1227-1231 (Watt, *Fasti*, 75). *Extracta* changes the Bower text to state that he was a canon of Holyrood MLO before becoming a bishop, rather than at his death; this is perhaps an informed correction.
14. *del Bois*: see above c.46, l.17.
16. *Glasgow*: Walter de St Albans, bishop since 1208 (see above c.33, l.36); he died after 19 May 1232, when in fact in the twenty-fourth year of his episcopate (Watt, *Fasti*, 145-6); the date 1232 is clear in *Melrose*.
- 17-18. *Bondington*: his election is entered under 1232 in *Melrose* (81) (where his surname is not given), but may not have taken place until 11 Apr. x 7 June 1233 (cf. Watt, *Fasti*, 146); see below ll.37-38.
19. *Chester*: Ranulf III, earl since 1188, died 26 Oct. 1232 (*HBC*, 454); see above c.27, ll.23.
- John the Scot*: earl of Chester 1232-7 (*CP*, iii, 169-70); see above c.27, ll.21-25.
22. *Dunbar*: Patrick had held this earldom since 1182 (*SP*, iii, 252-3); Bower is like *Melrose* here but omits the date of death given there – 31 Dec.
24. *Adam*: Adam de Harcarres (see above c.34, l.13).
27. *Patrick*: held this earldom 1232-48; his mother was Ada, a natural daughter of King William (*SP*, iii, 253-7).
28. *Eccles BWK*: a church near Kelso ROX where the earl's ancestors had established a Cistercian nunnery (*MRHS*, 146; cf. above VIII c.5).
- 29-30. *Ermengarde ... mother*: she had married King William in 1186 (see above VIII c.40).
- 30-31. *Balmerino*: see above c.47, l.17.
32. *Newbattle ... Coupar*: Bower has the same list of monastic churches as in *Melrose*, but omits the dates given there: Newbattle O.Cist. MLO was dedicated by Bishop Andrew de Moravia of Moray (see above c.37, l.6) on 13 Mar.; Arbroath O.Tiron. ANG on 8 May; Coupar Angus O.Cist. PER on 15 May.
- 32-34. *Alan ... Bisset*: the daughter was Dervorguilla and the sister Ada (*SP*, iv, 142, 139); for John de Balliol see *DNB*, (iii, 66), and for the Balliol family in general see G.Stell. 'The Balliol family and the Great Cause of 1291-2', in Stringer, *Essays*, 150-65); for Bisset see below c.59.
34. *Clement*: bishop of Dunblane 1233-58 (Watt, *Graduates*, 99-103).

- 35-36. *St Andrews*: William Malveisin, bishop 1202-38.
36. *Wedale*: an episcopal manor at Stow MLO.
37. *Glasgow*: William de Bondington (see above l.17-18); Bower omits the date given in *Melrose* – 11 Sept.
38. *Moray*: Andrew de Moravia (see above l.32).
39. *Buchan*: for Earl William see above c.47, l.9.
- Deer*: a Cistercian abbey in Buchan ABD (*MRHS*, 74).
40. *married*: 27 May 1234 (Isenberg, *Stammtafeln*, ii, table 15).
41. *consecrated*: Edmund of Abingdon, later canonized, was consecrated on 2 Apr. 1234 (*HBC*, 233; *ODCC*, 445; *ODS*, 132-3). Bower here is more correct than *Melrose* (82), where this item was inserted under the year 1232.
43. *Alan ... of Galloway*: see above c.27, l.49; c.47, l.21; he died ca 2 Feb., apparently 1232/3 (*Lanercost*, i, 42); but *Melrose* is clear about the 1234 date.
44. *Dundrennan KCB*: a Cistercian abbey probably founded by his great-grandfather Fergus (*MRHS*, 74-75).

Here in MS CA Bower adds the following long insertion as an alternative to ll.57-72 below; this insertion is found also in MS FF, and the first part of it (to 'fuerant' [below l.27]) in MS P, but in no other MSS:

Cuius epithaphium composuit et scripsit magister Henricus de Audley dicens:

Flos cleri, dux milicie, venerandus Alanus  
hic jacet: absolvat hunc tua, Christe, manus.  
5 M semel et bis c,<sup>a</sup> si jungas x ter et i ter,  
hoc anno subiit mortis Alanus iter.

In laudem eius prosequitur qui supra:

- Certa Dei racio totum componderat orbem,  
et varios fines diverso munere<sup>b</sup> ditans,  
10 non omnes uni dat opes, non omnibus unam.  
Ditat lana Seres, ebur Indos, thus Sabatheos,  
argentum Asseros, electrum Distones,<sup>c</sup> aurum  
Caldeos, gummi Sabeos, jaspis Achivos,  
gemma Viennenses, seges Afros, vina Latinos.  
15 Francia Pipinis, Brabancia milite cigni,  
Anglia Richardo, Galwedra gaudet Alano.  
Cuique terre suum bonitas divina valorem  
indidit et nullam voluit sic esse priorem,  
quin et posterior esset vel sic meliorem,  
20 quin et deterior. Quarum Galwidia pene  
pauperior, nimium deserta parumque diserta:<sup>d</sup>  
nec vino nec fruge ferax, nec gente nec armis

<sup>a</sup> FF,P; cc CA  
<sup>b</sup> funere FF

<sup>c</sup> or Discones  
<sup>d</sup> deserta FF

bellica; nec sensu nec sereri<sup>e</sup> predita; cunctis  
subicitur terris. Sed mira redemcio! Si quem

25 defectum patitur Galwidia, suplet Alanus.

Iste magnus Alanus fuit semper carus et acceptus regibus Scocie qui  
pro tempore fuerant, quamvis ponat magister Johannes Barberii in  
libello suo quem edidit in vulgari de ortu et origine *le Stewartis*, quos  
asserit venisse de Vallia et originem habuisse de quodam qui dicebatur  
30 le Fleanc de Waran, et quod Waltherus Stewart, qui fuit primus eorum,  
fuit in diebus regis Willelmi, et quod<sup>f</sup> compescuit hunc Alanum rebel-  
lantem regem, qui tamen<sup>g</sup> numquam fuit ei contrarius, ut patere poterit  
per diversos passus precedentes. Ponit etiam quod dominus Alanus  
Stewart filius dicti Valteri fuit in expedicione cum Godefrido Bolonie  
35 rege Jerosolim quando Anthiochena civitas fuit capta. Cuius con-  
trarium patet quod illa magna expedicio fuit in diebus regis Malcolmi  
Canmor et Willelmi Rufi filii Willelmi Bastard regum Anglie. Unde:

Cum fuit urbs<sup>h</sup> capta tam nobilis Antiochena,  
undecies centum, [si]<sup>i</sup> subtrahas inde bis unum,  
40 tunc tot erant anni Domini de Virgine nati.

Et obiit Alanus de Galweia anno domini m<sup>o</sup> cc<sup>o</sup> xxxiii, ut patet supra;  
per quod patet quod inter hos duos Alanos fluxerunt anni centum  
xxxiii,<sup>j</sup> et sic sequeretur quod filius esset senior patre per tot annos,  
quod esset contra naturam. Hic itaque Alanus de Galweia reliquit tres  
45 filias ...

e cereri FF,P  
f qui for et quod FF  
g cum FF

h urbis CA,FF  
i om.CA,FF  
j ut patet ... xxxiii om.FF

The epitaph at ll.3-6 above is noted in Walther, *Initia*, no.6676; ll.5-6 correspond with the other epitaph below at ll.53-54 of the main text. The verses starting at l.8 are noted in Walther, *Initia*, no. 2646, where a reference is given also to BL, Add. MS 11,619, fo. 267. This collection of miscellaneous items in Latin cannot be traced further back than its purchase at Shrewsbury SHR in 1772 (information from Dr Scot McKendrick of the British Library; see description in H.L.D.Ward, *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum* [London, 1883-1910], ii, 342-7). The main part of this MS dates from the early 14c, but the script of fos.267-8 is dated by Dr McKendrick as 'between the second half of the fourteenth and the early fifteenth century'. The verses start with 'Certa Dei ...' as above, without any rubric, but continue for thirty-six lines in all rather than just the eighteen lines included above by Bower. The principal variants (omitting minor spelling differences) are:

1.8 for componderat read cumponderat; 1.9 for ditans read ditat; 1.10 for unam\* read una; 1.11 for lana\* read larga; for Seres\* read Ceres; for Sabatheos read Nathabeos\*; 1.12 for Asseros read Farios\*; for Distones read Bestones; 1.14 for Viennenses read Vianenses; 1.15 for cigni\* read cingni; 1.16 for Anglia\* read Anglica; for Galwedra read Galwaia; 1.17 for terre suum read suum terre; 1.20 for Galwidia read Gawachia; 1.23 for sereri read censu; 1.25 for Galwidia read Galwaia.

Both texts have a share of better readings (as marked \* above); it is unlikely that this MS, though earlier in date, was Bower's source.

The last three lines of verse had already been included by Bower in his text above at V c.33; they are noted in Walther, *Initia*, no.3623 as occurring here and in other places; they are taken ultimately from Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, bk.I, c.14 (PL, 155, col.847). Henry de Audley has not been identified; a contemporary of the same name was a knight who served as sheriff of Shropshire and castellan of Chester (*Patent Rolls* and *Close Rolls* ad indices in the 1230s).

In defence of the steady loyalty of Alan of Galloway to the Scottish monarchy, Bower presents here an uncharacteristic excursus to prove that the late 14c author John Barbour was wrong in some details about the Stewart family in a vernacular work known to Bower but now lost (cf. Watt, *Graduates*, 28-29); he convicts Barbour of chronological impossibilities.

For the origins of the Stewart family as they are now understood see G.W.S.Barrow, 'The Anglo-Norman Era in Scottish History' (Oxford, 1980), 13-14. The first of this family to come from Brittany to England was Alan son of Flaald, who was endowed with lands in Shropshire on the border of Wales in the late 11c. His youngest son Walter son of Alan came to Scotland and lived until 1177; his son Alan son of Walter lived until 1204. It was clearly wrong to suggest that the latter had taken part in the First Crusade with Godfrey de Bouillon, the first Latin king of Jerusalem, a century earlier, when Antioch had been captured in July 1098.

44. *three daughters: Melrose* (followed by Bower) gives the second and third daughters in the wrong order – Christina was older than Dervorguilla (SP, iii, 142).

45. *Winchester: Elena married Roger de Quincy*, earl of Winchester 1235-64, and died 1245 x 1250 (CP, xii, pt.2, 751-4).

46. *Balliol*: see above ll.32-34; Dervorguilla lived until 1290.

*Aumale*: Christina married William de Forz, count of Aumale 1241-60, and died 1245 x 1246 (CP, i, 355-6).

47-51. *But ... lord*: here Bower offers his own explanation of the aims of the rebels in Galloway; in *Melrose* (83) there is no mention of Thomas, but the Galwegians are said to have asked the king to take over the immediate lordship of Galloway himself, which he refused to do; cf. *Lanercost* (i, 42) where it is suggested that the aim was independence from the king of Scots under Thomas as 'dominus et quasi rex'.

50. *Thomas*: see SP, iii, 143 and below c.49.

54-57. *For ... judgments*: these remarks on the quality of King Alexander's justice are Bower's own, and seem to echo his own ideas about ideal kingship (cf. below c.49, ll.24-30, and XVI c.33).

57-72. *... heaven*: the palaeographical aspects of this addition by one or more hands in the margin of MS C await further study. It is (probably) unique for such a passage to be copied into MS R, but not into MSS D, B, H or E – nor into any MSS of the CA tradition (where Bower has inserted an alternative passage as noted above at l.44).

This passage purports to be an epitaph for Alan of Galloway dated 1233

(which is understandable as Feb. 1233/4). ll.67-69 contain a play on the name Alan.

## Chapter 49 pp.149-51

ll.1-11 are taken from *Vincent*, XXXI c.137 (middle); then Bower returns for ll.12-45 to *Fordun* (290-1, annal 43), inserting a passage of his own at ll.25-30. *Fordun* had apparently made use of *Melrose* (84-85) here, considerably shortening and altering his source; Bower then parallels *Melrose* (83, 85) himself for ll.46-50. See *Pluscarden* (73-74), where some changes are made; *Extracta* (95) is very brief.

2. *Aquitaine*: south-west France on both sides of the Gironde estuary.
3. *Poitou*: the province in the west of France south of the river Loire and north of Aquitaine.
5. *Champagne*: for Count Theobald see above cc.44-45.
7. *Vincennes*: now in East Paris; the king was here in Sept. 1235 (*RHF*, xxi, 411).
10. *Bray-sur-Seine* and *Montereau-faut-Yonne*: both in dép. Seine-et-Marne.
13. *entered Galloway*: *Melrose* gives the date 15 July here.  
*pacify the land*: see above c.48, ll.47-53; for another account of this Galloway campaign misdated to Apr. 1236 see *SAEC*, 341-2.
17. *Ross*: *Melrose* has 'comes Rosensis nomine Makinsagart' and *Fordun* has 'comes ... Rossensis Makintagart'; it is Bower who introduces the name 'Thomas'; this is an error, for the recently created earl of Ross (ca 1230-51) was called Farquhar (*SP*, vii, 231-2; cf. Duncan, *Kingdom*, 529-31).
19. *Thomas*: see above c.48, l.50; his wife was presumably a daughter of Olaf II, king of Man 1226-37, whose own wife was a daughter of Farquhar earl of Ross (*HBC*, 63-64).
22. *Gilroth*: not identified; the story in *Melrose* contains more details of his activities at this time.
- 22-23. *next day*: dating is not clear; this may mean the day after the departure of Thomas and Gilroth, which may have been some days after the king's entry into Galloway; but the expedition was certainly a short one, since the king was at Berwick by 1 Aug. (see below ll.48-50).
- 25-30. *because ... honour*: Bower's insertion here into the *Fordun* text is in line with his sentiments above c.48, ll.54-57.
- 27-30. ... *honour*: Cassiodorus, *Variae*, bk.II, no.8, in *MGH, Auctores Antiquissimi*, xii, 51, l.6.
- 30-33. *Thomas ... flight*: *Melrose* depicts Gilroth as the leader now; the son of an Irish king has not been identified.

35. *Whithorn*: Gilbert had been newly elected to this see and was not yet consecrated (see below l.46).  
*Dunbar*: Earl Patrick 1232-48 (see above c.48, l.22).  
*Melrose*: Abbot Adam de Harcarres (see above c.48, l.24).
- 36-37. *Edinburgh Castle*: 'Castrum Puellarum' (text l.33), the traditional name for the royal castle at Edinburgh.
37. *let him go*: in fact he remained in the custody of the Balliol family at Barnard Castle DRH until the 1290s (*Lanercost*, i, 42; see also *APS*, i, 114-15).
- 37-39. *The rest ... Glasgow*: *Pluscarden* reverses the story as given in *Melrose*, *Fordun* and here by making the Irish kill the citizens of Glasgow!
- 40-45. *The Scots ... church*: *Fordun* has moved this passage about the indiscipline of the royal army from its place in the *Melrose* story, which was at the earlier stage after the king's departure from Galloway, while Thomas and Gilroth were still in Ireland. 'Scots' here carries the implication (typical in the *Melrose* chronicle) of men from 'Scotia' i.e. from north of the Firth of Forth.
43. *Glenluce WIG*: a Cistercian house favoured by the lords of Galloway (*MRHS*, 75); cf. a similar story about Holm Cultram CMB in 1216 (see above c.28, ll.52-55).
44. *Tongland KCB*: a Premonstratensian house which had probably been founded by Alan of Galloway (*MRHS*, 103).
46. *Walter*: 'William' is a wrong extension of the simple initial 'W.' found in *Melrose*; it was Walter who had been bishop since 1209 (Watt, *Fasti*, 128).  
*Gilbert*: elected bishop on 25 Feb., received royal assent on 23 Apr., consecrated 2 Sept. 1235 and ruled until 1253 (*ibid.*); but Bower does not extract from *Melrose* the story of a rival bishop-elect put forward by the canons of Whithorn, whose choice was rejected by the archbishop of York; King Alexander was clearly concerned to place his own candidate in the bishopric associated with a lordship that was troublesome at this time.  
The correction in MS C following 'Gilbert' (text l.41) shows that the scribe was initially following a draft where material dated 1236 and now found below at c.52 (text ll.34-35) was near to sight. It seems likely therefore that the intervening material in cc.50-51 and the larger part of c.52 (which is extraneous to the Scottish story) was then brought to the scribe's attention as an insertion desired by Bower for this recension of his book.
48. *sister*: cf. above c.34, ll.18-21, 46-49 and c.38, ll.45-47 for the marriages of Alexander's other sisters Margaret and Isabella; Marjorie (alternatively another Margaret) had been sought as a bride by Richard earl of Cornwall in 1227 (see above c.46, l.26), and had in 1231 been proposed by Henry III of England as his own bride (cf. Duncan, *Kingdom*, 526-7); she died on 17 Nov. 1244 (*SP*, i, 5).
49. *Pembroke*: Gilbert Marshal, earl of Pembroke 1234-41 (*CP*, x, 371-4).

### Chapter 50 pp.153-5

This chapter is taken from two separate sections of *Vincent*, XXX: ll.1-20 are adapted from c.108, i.e. from the very next passage in *Vincent* that follows the extract about the heretic Amaury de Chartres in 1210 inserted above c.21, ll.55-72; then ll.22-48 come from the start of c.134. In the first of these passages Vincent offers general information about Helinand de Froidmont; the second contains the start of Helinand's *Epistola ad Galterum clericum* or *Liber de reparatione lapsi*, most of which Vincent had included in his own book, and which has not otherwise survived. It is printed from the *Vincent* text among the works of Helinand in PL, 212, cols.745-60. *Pluscarden* and *Extracta* include none of this material about and by Helinand in cc.50-52 here.

1. *About that time*: ca 1210 in the *Vincent* context (see above). There is no apparent reason for Bower's decision to insert material about Helinand in his cc.50-52 here rather than earlier.

*Beauvais*: dép. Oise.

*Helinand*: a Cistercian writer (ca 1160-1229), latterly prior of Froidmont near Beauvais (*NCE*, vi, 1002-3)

4-7. *chronicle ... whole*: the surviving text in five books (out of an original forty-nine books) covers the period 634-1204 (PL, 212, cols.771-1082).

8. *Warin*: or Guérin, bishop of Senlis 1214-27 (see above c.16, l.17 and c.21, l.56).

13. *Walter*: the identity of this man is unknown.

13-14. *canon ... Cistercian Order*: in *Vincent* Walter is said to have been a Cistercian novice before becoming a Premonstratensian canon.

21. *beginning and end*: cc.50-51 here comprise the first two chapters of this work as arranged in *Vincent*; then c.52 contains one passage from the middle of the work and another from the end.

22. *I offer ... 'song'*: cf. Ezekiel 2:9 (*Vugate*); 2:10 (*NEB*), where the prophet is offered 'lamentaciones et carmen et ve' by the Lord.

24-25. *good ... Most High*: Psalm 91:2 (*Vulgate*), where the last word is 'Altissime'; 92:1 (*NEB*).

29-30. *sing ... land*: cf. Psalm 136:4 (*Vulgate*); 137:4 (*NEB*).

38-40. *send ... expects*: cf. Isaiah 28:10, 13.

### Chapter 51 pp.155-7

ll.1-29 are taken from *Vincent*, XXX c.134 (PL, 212, cols.746-47), following directly from the extract in c.50 above; ll.30-54 reproduce the next chapter in *Vincent*, c.135 (PL, 212, col.747).

1-2. ... *eyes*: Jeremiah 9:1.

6-10. *For ... house*: cf. Luke 15: 14-17.

29. *actions*: after 'operibus tuis' (text l.23), Bower omits the following words in *Vincent*: 'quod universa essent vale bona. Et in Deuteronimo'.  
... *perfect*: Deuteronomy 32:4.

30. *I offer ... 'woe'*: cf. Ezekiel 2 again (see above c.50, l.22).

36-38. *sitting ... willows*: cf. Psalm 136: 1-2 (*Vulgate*); 137: 1-2 (*NEB*).

40. ... *Chaldaeans*: Isaiah 48:20.

42-43. ... *morning*: Isaiah 14:12; cf. 14:13-14.

43. *who ... stars*: cf. Job 38:7.

45. *in ... angels*: cf. Psalm 137:1 (*Vulgate*); cf. 138:1 (*NEB*).

46. *tail ... stars*: cf. Revelation 12:4.

52. ... *again*: Proverbs 24:16.

### Chapter 52 pp.157-9

This chapter begins with two more extracts from Helinand's *Epistle* as found in *Vincent*, XXX: ll.1-20 from the start of c.139 (PL, 212, cols.749-50), and ll.21-28 from near the end of c.148 (PL, 212, col.760); Bower then adds his own tailpiece (ll.28-31). ll.32-40 are based on part of the *Revelations* of St Bridget of Sweden. ll.41-43 are probably taken from an Inchcolm record, for there is different detail here compared with the similar entry in *Melrose* (85). Source of ll.44-49 is unknown. Nothing in *Pluscarden*; *Extracta* (95) mentions only the bishopric of Dunkeld.

3. ... *build*: quotation attributed to Aristotle not traced.

5-7. ... *work*: Virgil, *Aeneid*, vi, ll.126, 128-9 (Budé edn, bks.5-8, 47). The erroneous 'animum' (text l.4) suggests that the scribes of the various MSS did not understand what they were writing; only in MS H is there a marginal correction to 'averni'[sic].

13. ... *tomorrow*: Ovid, *The Remedies of Love*, l.94 (Loeb edn, 184); cf. below X c.1, l.44.

18. ... [second] *again*: the extra words found in the various MSS after 'potest' (text l.16) are not in the *Vincent* text as printed.

21-23. ... *us*: Luke 1:78.

32-40. ... *saints*: see *Memoriale ... B. Brigidae*, bk.1, c.28 (partly a quotation) for the details.

41. *Gilbert*: see above c.47, l.36-38; he was buried on 6 Apr. (Watt, *Fasti*, 95).

42. *Emonia*: the formal name used by Bower for the island of Inchcolm FIF on which his monastery stood (*Inchcolm Chrs.*, xv-xvi).



*Geoffrey de Liberatione*: confirmed as bishop of Dunkeld on 6 Sept. 1236; d.1249 (Watt, *Fasti*, 95); a king's clerk when promoted bishop (*Melrose*, 85), and his surname indicates that he had served as clerk of the liverance (cf. Duncan, *Kingdom*, 493); perhaps same as the king's clerk called Geoffrey son of Martin de Pert found probably 1222 or later (*Scone Liber*, 39, no.62).

**44-48.** *In that year ... there*: more detail here (including the dates) than in *Melrose* (85); cf. *SAEC*, 342-3, where Matthew Paris reports this meeting as held at York; but King Henry was certainly at Newcastle on 15 Sept. 1236, when he granted his sister Queen Joan a manor in Yorkshire (*CDS*, i, 235, nos.1292-4).

**49.** *wife*: Henry and Eleanor were married on 20 Jan. 1236 (*HBC*, 38).

### Chapter 53 pp.161-3

This chapter starts with an extract in ll.1-10 from *Fordun* (291, annal 44, first part), which is itself related to *Melrose* (85-86); cf. *Wyntoun*, v, 92-93, which follows a different source; then ll.11-23 are similar to *Melrose* (86) with minor omissions and changes. ll.24-41 come (with omissions) from *Vincent*, XXXI c.138 (middle). Source of ll.42-58 is untraced. For ll.60-69 Bower again follow *Melrose* (86-87). *Pluscarden* (74) covers only the first paragraph here; *Extracta* (95-97) is more comprehensive, following the order of material in MS CA.

**3.** *fifteen days*: Henry had called the meeting for 14 Sept. (*CDS*, i, 245, no.1349; and see account by Matthew Paris in *SAEC*, 343-4), and left York 29/30 Sept. (*CDS*, i, 250, no.1365). The treaty is dated 25 Sept. (Stones, *Documents*, 19-26, no.7).

**4.** *Otto*: Otto da Tonengo, cardinal deacon of St Nicholas in Carcere Tulliano from 1227, then cardinal bishop of Porto from 1244 until death in 1251 (Bagliani, *Cardinali*, 76-97; in England as legate July 1237-Jan. 1241 (Powicke and Cheney, *Councils*, ii, 237; Lunt, *Financial Relations*, i, 612).

**6.** *Canterbury*: this would be a pilgrimage to the tomb of St Thomas Becket.

**7.** *died*: Fordun has omitted the mention in *Melrose* of the queen's childlessness.

**9.** *Cornwall*: Richard was earl (not duke) of Cornwall (see above c.46, l.22).

**10.** *Tarrant*: an abbey for Cistercian nuns DOR, which from 1237 had been under the patronage of Queen Eleanor, and to which Queen Joan had bequeathed her body (*VCH Dorset*, ii, 87-88); for expenses of her tomb see *CDS*, i, 256, no.1405; as late as Jan. 1238 she had been intending to return to Scotland (ibid., 254 no.1395). *Pluscarden* reports and prefers another tradition that she died at Cupar FIF in Scotland and was buried at Dunfermline Abbey FIF.

**11.** *Malveisin*: died 9 July 1238 (see above VI c.42; and see Watt, *Graduates*, 374-9).

**12.** *Bernham*: the chapter had first postulated Geoffrey de Liberatione (see above c.52, l.42); but the pope ordered another election, which took place on 3 June 1239 – facts known to Bower (see above VI c.42), though here he simply parallels the *Melrose* entry, with the added information that Bernham was the king's chamberlain; *Wyntoun* (v, 92-95) provides much more detail on this election; for this man see Watt, (*Graduates*), 41-44.

**14-17.** ... *Teviotdale*: Potton had served as the one archdeacon in the diocese of Glasgow since 1227; for the arrangements now made to have two archdeaconries, splitting the diocese between them into north-west and south-east areas, see Watt, *Fasti*, 171, 174, and P.McNeill and R.Nicholson, *An Historical Atlas of Scotland c.400-c.1600* (St Andrews, 1975), map 32. For Potton, who apparently died 1 Jan. x 24 Mar. 1237/8, see Watt, *Graduates*, 455-6; for Matthew (whose surname 'de Aberdeen' is found in *Melrose*, but was not included here by Bower), see ibid., 1-2; for Alinton, see ibid., 8.

**18.** *William*: probably abbot of Dunfermline OSB FIF, since ca 1223 (see above c.38, l.48).

**19.** *Geoffrey*: served as abbot only until 1240 (see below c.56, l.7).

**20-23.** *In this year ... persecutions*: Bower in this brief statement about the fight between Pope Gregory IX (1227-41) and the Emperor Frederick II (1211-50) follows *Melrose* under 1238, with minor changes of wording. Frederick had inherited the kingdom of Sicily (of which the duchy of Apulia on the southern Italian mainland formed a part) at the age of two in 1197; for references to him as 'the Boy of Apulia', see Van Cleve, *Frederick II*, c.2.

**23.** [2]: MS C has '3' wrongly here.

**24.** *excommunicated*: Frederick was excommunicated by Gregory for the second time on 20 Mar. 1239 (*CMH*, vi, 102, 154).

**26.** *James*: James da Pecorara O.Cist., cardinal-bishop of Palestrina 1231-44, a staunch opponent of Frederick (Bagliani, *Cardinali*, 114-27).

**29.** *Otto*: see above l.4. James and Otto were captured at sea south of the island of Elba while travelling down the Italian west coast towards Rome, 3 May 1241 (Van Cleve, *Frederick II*, 450-1); both cardinals happened to be natives of Montferrat in north-west Italy (Bagliani, ut cit., 76).

**32.** *council of bishops*: called by pope for Easter (31 Mar.) 1241 at Rome (Van Cleve, ut cit., 447); it never met; cf. below c.56, ll.1-6, 12-19.

**34.** *Rouen*: Peter da Collemezzo, an Italian from the Roman Campagna, archbishop of Rouen in France 1236-44, then cardinal bishop of Albano 1244-53 (Bagliani, *Cardinali*, 168-85).

**34-35.** *abbots of Chuny, Cîteaux and Clairvaux*: a letter from the latter two of these Burgundian abbots recounting their fate is preserved in *Melrose* (88-89), but is not used by Bower here.

**35-36.** *pope died ... fourteen years*: Gregory IX died on 22 Aug. 1241 (*ODP*,

189-91). Vincent is right here about the length of his pontificate, but wrong about the year of his death.

36. *Frederick died suddenly*: not until 1250; this marginal addition in MS C is misleading; but the cross-reference to c.56 is correct ('eodem' [text l.32] suggests that this addition was made after the similar cross-reference in the addition later in the chapter at l.59).

37. *Celestine IV*: held office 25 Oct.-10 Nov. 1241, i.e. seventeen days (ODP, 191-2).

40. *twenty-two months*: Vincent is again inaccurate; Innocent IV was to be elected on 25 June 1243, nineteen months after the death of Celestine (ibid., 192).

42-58. ... *amazingly*: though *Melrose* shows interest in the activities of Frederick II, it does not contain the details about these letters which Bower gives in an addition to MS C. Bower's source is likely to have been some earlier chronicle, though this has not been identified; his source was reliable, for most of these letters can be checked in other places.

42-44. ... *body*: a letter directed at the pope and his curia composed as a piece of propaganda by Frederick's adviser Peter della Vigna (Van Cleve, *Frederick II*, 430-1); the opening words recall Matthew 27:62.

44-47. *Next ... fortunate*: letter of 20 Apr. 1239 (cf. ibid., 429-30); text in *Chronicon Henrici Knighton* [RS, 92], i, 230-3).

47-49. *Then ... pope*: not identified.

49-52. *He also ... him*: letter of 20 Apr. 1239; text in Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora* [RS, 57], iii, 546-7, with initial words: 'Cum Roma sit caput.'

52-54. *He wrote ... you*: letter of 20 Apr. 1239; text of one version of it, ibid., 575-89; see better text in MGH *Constitutiones*, ii, 290-9, no.215; the opening words recall Isaiah 49:18.

55. *general council*: see above l.32.

57. *Parma*: Frederick's forces were routed at Parma in northern Italy on 18 Feb. 1248 (CMH, vi, 162).

60. *previous year*: this and the next three items are in *Melrose* under 1239. *Gilbert*: Gilbert de Stirling, bishop since 1228 (see above c.47, l.14).

61. *Lamley*: Radulf had been abbot of Arbroath O.Tiron. ANG, since before 21 Mar. 1225 (*Nat.MSS.Scot.*, i, no.50); elected bishop before 17 June 1239, when his confirmation was authorised by the pope; d.1247 (Dowden, *Bishops*, 103-4); he perhaps took his name from Lamesley DRH or Lambley NTB (E.Ekwall, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names*, 4th edn [Oxford, 1960], 284-5).

62. *Edward*: the future King Edward I was born 17/18 June 1239, not 31 May (HBC, 38); see *Wyntoun*, v, 96-97.

64. *Henry*: this abbot of Jedburgh OSA ROX is not otherwise known; he must have taken up office since June 1220 (cf. *Dryburgh Liber*, 168-9, no.230).

65. *Philip*: held office until his death in 1249 (see below c.63, l.4).

67-69. ... *see*: see above c.37, l.15. Adam's successor as bishop, Gilbert de Moravia, had established his see on a new site at Dornoch SUT (Watt, *Graduates*, 416). Bower omits the *Melrose* mention of miracles in association with these relics.

## Chapter 54 pp.165-7

ll.1-5 are similar to *Melrose* (86-87). The source of ll.6-29 has not been traced. ll.31-40 come from *Vincent*, XXXI c.137 (middle), following the passage included above c.49, ll.1-11; ll.41-61 come from Cantimpré, *De Apibus* (see below). *Pluscarden* (74) has a brief reference to the legatine visit, as does *Extracta* (97).

1-5. ... *Scotland*: for the visit of Cardinal Otto (see above c.53, l.4) to Scotland see discussion in D.M.Williamson, 'The legate Otto in Scotland and Ireland 1237-1240', *SHR*, xxviii (1949), 12-30; and Ferguson, *Papal Representatives*, 95-108. *Lanercost* (48) states that he held his council at Holyrood Abbey MLO, and left for England before 11 Nov.

5-6. *fell ... emperor*: see above c.53, ll.29-31.

6-8. *Alexander ... effect*: Otto held a council at St Paul's, London, in mid-Nov. 1237 (Powicke and Cheney, *Councils*, ii, 238-59). Alexander Neckam died in 1217 (Emden, *BRUO*, ii, 1342-3); if therefore the passage which follows (ll.9-29) is correctly about Otto, it cannot have been composed by Neckam; or it may have been written by him about someone else. It has not been traced. The theme here contrasts with Bower's normally unsympathetic criticism of papal representatives e.g. above c.31, ll.38-41; c.32, ll.13-14.

9. *John*: probably a reference to John the Baptist (cf. Matthew cc.11, 14).

10. *Phinehas*: Numbers 25:7-8.

31-40. ... *friendship*: the whole affair described in this paragraph is now regarded as a non-event: 'The story of an Assassin plot against St Louis while he was still a youth in France can, like all the other stories of Assassin activities in Europe, be dismissed as a product of over-vivid imaginations' (Setton, *Crusades*, i, 129). But Vincent was near enough the royal court to be recording here accurately enough some kind of visit by envoys from the Middle East; and Louis was certainly to be in touch with envoys of the Assassins when he was himself at Acre in Palestine in 1250 (John de Joinville, *Life of St Louis* [Harmondsworth, 1963], c.12).

31. *About this time*: in *Vincent* the date is 1236.

*the Old Man, the king of the [Assassins]*: 'The Old Man of the Mountain' ('le Vieux de la montagne' or 'Vetus de Monte') was a traditional title ascribed by Westerners to the leader of the Moslem sect known to the Crusaders as the Assassins, who dominated the area between the southern shores of the Caspian Sea and Palestine in the late 12c and early 13c. Its

main leader known by this title lived in the late 12c (Setton, *Crusades*, i, 120-7); but Joinville (see above) used the title for the leader in 1250.

'Arcidas' in all the Bower MSS (text l.26) represents 'Arsacidus' in *Vincent* (cf. 'Arsacidarum' in Goodall [ii,67], which has no MS authority); the word seems to refer to the Arsacid dynasty of the Classical Parthian kingdom (cf. *OLD*, s.v. 'Arsaces'), which came to an end in the 3c A.D. (*Chambers Encyclopaedia*, [1967], x, 481-2), the link being the fact that the Assassin sect had their headquarters until 1256 at Alamut in the heart of the old Parthian territory (today in western Iran near Qazvin).

**41-61.** ... *quantities*: this story comes from Cantimpré, *De Apibus*, bk.ii, c.3, para.6; Cantimpré claims to have been an eye-witness to these events in 1239. Note the following variants in the 1516 printed edition: for 'invenit' (text l.42) read 'invertit'; for 'diro' (l.47) read 'duro'; for 'nimirum' (l.48) read 'nimium'; for 'magistro' (l.50) read 'fratre'.

**42.** *Henry of Cologne*: it is Cantimpré who identifies this Dominican friar as the man at whose instigation the books of the Jews were burned, and who as Henry Theutonicus assisted the bishop of Paris at another condemnation of the Talmud in 1248 (H.Denifle and E.Chatelain, *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, i [Paris, 1889], 209-11. no.178); he died in 1254 (P.Glorieux, *La faculté des arts et ses maîtres au xiii<sup>e</sup> siècle* [Paris, 1971], 393, no.546a).

**43.** *the Talmud*: two variant compilations of Jewish writings dating from the 5c A.D. (*ODCC*, 1338-9).

**47.** *archbishop*: perhaps Henry de Dreux, archbishop of Rheims since 1227, who died on 6 July 1240 (*DBF*, xi, cols.748-9); but his biographer does not suggest that he was the king's chief councillor.

**54.** *Vincennes*: the king was here in both Feb. and Nov. 1240 (*RHF*, xxi, 411).

**59-61.** *not much later ... quantities*: burning was ordered in 1242 and again in 1254 (M.Riquet, 'Saint Louis roi de France et les Juifs', in *Septième centenaire de la mort de Saint Louis* [Paris, 1976], 345-50).

## Chapter 55 pp.167-9

ll.1-8 are a continuation from the end of c.54 above and likewise are based on Cantimpré, *De Apibus*, bk.i, c.3, end of para.6 (for 'defensor' [text l.4] read 'talem defendit'), with verse from para.7; ll.9-16 are slightly re-arranged from *Fordun* (291, end of annal 44), which itself is developed from *Melrose* (86, 89); the rest of the chapter comes from *Vincent*, XXXI – ll.17-25 from the end of c.138 (following c.53, l.41 above), and ll.26-49 following directly from c.139 (but with a different ending at ll.49-50. *Pluscarden* (74-75) summarizes most of this chapter; so does *Extracta* (97) more briefly.

**9-10.** *no children ... magnates*: it is Fordun who has these facts additional to the *Melrose* text.

**10.** *married*: see *Wyntoun* (v, 80-83, 94-97) for information that the bishop of Glasgow and Walter son of Alan the justiciar of Scotland went as envoys to France to bring Mary de Coucy to Scotland.

**11.** *Ingram de Coucy*: Ingram III the Great, lord of Coucy, dép. Aisne, France, 1191-1242 (*DBF*, ix, cols. 869-70); he had accompanied Prince Louis to England in 1216-17, where he would have met King Alexander (see above c.29), and recently in 1236 he had helped King Louis IX against Theobald count of Champagne (cf. above c.49, ll.4-11).

*Mary*: she was to live until 1283 (see below X c.39, ll.26-27).

**13.** *Alexander*: later King Alexander III (1249-86); *Wyntoun* (v, 96-97) puts his birth wrongly under 1242.

**15.** *forty-fourth*: some MSS of *Fordun* say 'sixty-fourth' here; but 'forty-fourth' is correct (as in *Melrose*).

**17.** *In this year*: *Vincent* has this and the two following paragraphs all under the year 1240. The drought mentioned here presumably affected France primarily.

**20.** *Cremona*: in northern Italy.

**23.** *St Gabriel*: there appears to have been no abbey of this name near Cremona (cf. *DHGE*, xiii, cols.1019-21); its whereabouts have not been certainly identified; but possibly the reference is to the Benedictine abbey of St Gabriel at Airola in the diocese of Sant' Agata dei Goti, between Caserta and Benevento in South Italy.

**26.** *Tartars destroyed Turkey*: perhaps a reference to the battle of Köse Dag (near Sivas, Turkey) in 1243, when the Mongols (Tartars) defeated the Seljuk Turkish sultan of Rûm who then ruled Anatolia (cf. Setton, *Crusades*, ii, 691-2, 725); cf. above c.36 and below c.57.

**29.** *Paperoissole*: not otherwise identified.

**40.** *Nymphs*: mythological female spirits of nature, most of whom were thought to be benevolent to mankind (*OCD*, 743-4).

**49-50.** *Armenians*: the Christian people to the east of Anatolia (see above c.36, ll.30-33); and see Setton, *Crusades*, ii, 684.

## Chapter 56 pp.169-73

ll.1-27 are similar to *Melrose* (87-89), with small additions from elsewhere; ll.28-59 comprise selected passages from *Martin* (MGH *Scriptores*, xxii, 439, 471-2); the source of ll.60-65 has not been traced. Nothing in *Pluscarden*; *Extracta* (97-98) has a full summary.

**1-2.** ... *Rome*: cf. above c.53, ll.31-32 from *Vincent*: this entry parallels *Melrose*, omitting the date for which this council was called, namely 31 Mar. 1241; the papal summonses were issued on 9 Aug. and again on 15 Oct. 1240 (MGH, *Epistolae Saeculi XIII*, i, 679-81, 688-91).

3. *Glasgow*: William de Bondington, bishop 1233–58 (see above c.48, ll.17–18).

3-5. *David ... year*: see above c.53, l.12; Bower adds here the date of his consecration to the *Melrose* account; the bishops of Brechin and Caithness also officiated at the consecration (*Wyntoun*, v, 94–95).

7. *Dunfermline FIF*: for Gregory, abbot since 1238, see above c.53, l.19.

8. *Keldeleth*: Bower adds this surname to the *Melrose* account, presumably from local knowledge at Inchcolm; Keldeleth was to remain abbot until 1253 (see below X c.4, ll.56–64).

8-10. *And St Edmund ... pope*: this sentence is additional to material found also in *Melrose*: see below c.62, ll.45–52; he died on 16 Nov. 1240 and was canonized in 1247 (Emden, *BRUO*, i, 6–7; cf. *ODS*, 132–33); cf. above c.48, ll.41–42.

9. *Pontigny*: a Cistercian house, dép. Yonne, France.

11. *Walter son of Alan*: see above c.48, l.2; in *Melrose* (88) this death is placed under 1241.

12-19. ... *ambushes*: cf. the account from *Vincent* above c.53, ll.24–35, and also ll.54–56. These Scottish bishops were lucky to escape capture at sea. See *Melrose* (88) for a letter from some of the monastic leaders who were captured on 5 May 1241.

20-27. ... *English*: Bower follows *Melrose* (89) in placing this item under the year 1241, where standing by itself it appears to make little sense; he includes the same passage again below in c.61, ll.43–50, when taking it from *Fordun* under the year 1244; but Aug. 1241 was in fact a time when David ap Llywelyn, prince of Wales 1240–6, had to accede to pressure from Henry III to accept an adjudication in London over Welsh property disputes under English rather than Welsh law (Powicke, *Henry III*, ii, 632–4). The prophecy of Merlin here is to be found in *Monmouth* (Thorpe), 169–73. As usual it is likely to have been composed after the event to fit the facts. This particular prophecy is said to be unique as an English composition intended to humiliate the British (i.e. the Welsh); it is apparently not found anywhere until the 14c (P.Zumthor, *Merlin le prophète* [Lausanne, 1943], 70).

28. *Gregory IX*: here Bower omits the exact date of death (22 Aug.) which is found in *Melrose*, but is right in putting the pope's death under 1241; cf. 53, l.36, where he followed *Vincent* in wrongly dating it 1240.

28-29. *confirmed the sentence*: cf. above c.45, l.18.

30-33. *He ordered ... law*: Gregory in 1230 commissioned the Spanish canon lawyer and Dominican friar Raymond of Peñafort (1185–1275) to collect and codify papal decretal letters which had been sent out since the time of Gratian in the mid 12c, and the resultant compilation under the title 'The Decretals of Gregory IX' (not the 'Summa Raymundi' as Bower has added to the *Martin* text) was officially issued to the universities by the pope on 5 Sept. 1236 (*ODCC*, 1161).

34-41. ... *died*: the latter part of the paragraph duplicates information already given above c.33, ll.56–59.

34-36. *Henry ... prison*: Henry (who had been king since 1220) openly opposed his father late in 1234, was removed from office in July 1235, imprisoned in Apulia in south Italy, and died in debated circumstances in 1242 (*CMH*, vi, 84, 97–98).

37. *deposition*: by Pope Innocent IV at the general council of Lyons, 17 July 1245 (Van Cleve, *Frederick II*, 486).

47-59. ... *happened*: a shorter version of this story is in Higden, *Polychronicon*, viii, 236.

58. *Ferdinand*: presumably Ferdinand III, king of Castile 1217–52 (Isenberg, *Stammtafeln*), ii, table 47).

64. *Constantine and Irene*: rulers at Byzantium 780–97 and 797–802 respectively (see above III, c.56, ll.53–65).

## Chapter 57 pp.173–5

Nearly all of this chapter is taken from *Vincent*, XXXI – ll.1–23 ('Tartars') from c.146, and ll.26–49 from the first part of c.148. l.25 follows *Melrose* (89). *Pluscarden* (75) summarizes the Tartar material quite wrongly in one sentence; *Extracta* (98) mentions only the item which is also in *Melrose*, adding a date not found here.

1. *In the following year*: the dating of this episode is not clear; Bower appears to suggest 1242; in fact the story which follows about French mercenaries serving with the Turks against the invading Tartars (Mongols) seems to date from 1243, when the latter pushed west from Erzerum to Erzincan and the battle of Köse Dag took place (cf. Setton, *Crusades*, ii, 682–3, 691; see above c.55, l.26).

4. *Brundusio*: in *Vincent* he is called William de Brundusio; the surname is perhaps derived from Brundusia i.e. Porrentruy, now in Switzerland in Berne canton, just across the frontier from France.

*Gascon*: from south-west France south of the Gironde.

25. *William*: had been consecrated as recently as Feb. 1239 x May 1240 (Watt, *Fasti*, 26); *Extracta* gives 1240 as his date of death; but in *Melrose* it is put under 1241, and this date is preferable.

26. *King Louis ... Marche*: the date here in *Vincent* is 1242 correctly; cf. cc.13 and 43 above for earlier French royal expeditions into Poitou; Louis IX had in his minority been faced with rebellion by this Count Hugh X as early as 1227 (see above c.45, ll.21–42).

27-28. *help ... brother*: see below c.58; for Richard see above c.46, ll.22–36.

28. *wives*: of the daughters of Raymond-Berenger V, count of Provence 1209–45, Margaret married Louis IX in 1234, Eleanor married Henry III in 1236, and Sanchia married Richard earl of Cornwall in 1243 (Mas Latrie, *Trésor*, col.1665; cf. Powicke, *Henry III*, i, 200).

30. *wife*: Isabella of Angoulême, widow of King John, married Count Hugh in 1220 and lived until 1246 (Mas Latrie, *Trésor*, col.1618).
33. *Saumur*: dép. Maine-et-Loire, on the river Loire.
- 33-34. *Alphonse a new knight*: Alphonse de Poitiers, who lived 1220-71, the fifth son of Louis VIII, who had been left Poitou and Auvergne as an appanage in his father's will; he was knighted on 24 June 1241 (*DBF*, ii, cols.309-12).
35. *Jeanne*: heiress of Raymond VII, count of Toulouse 1222-49, married to Alphonse sometime 1236 x 1239 (*ibid.*).  
*gave him possession*: July 1241 (Powicke, *Henry III*, i, 188).
41. *gathered the army*: it was summoned for April 1242 (Ch. Bémont, 'La campagne de Poitou', *Annales du Midi*, v [1893], 293).
43. *Montreuil-Bonnin*: dép. Vienne, west of Poitiers (Salch, *Châteaux*, 808); it was captured on 9 May (Bémont, *art.cit.*, 294).
44. *Béruges*: dép. Vienne, near Poitiers (Salch, *Châteaux*, 145).
46. *Fontenay*: 'Frontenaium' (text 1.40) is a misleading name-form for Fontenay-le-Comte, dép. Vendée; see identification in Bémont, *art.cit.*, 294.
- 46-49. *Geoffrey de Lusignan ... Vouwant*: this Geoffrey was perhaps Count Hugh X's uncle as in 1214 (see above c.13, 1.3), for he had been lord of Vouwant (Mas Latrie, *Trésor*, col.1631); or perhaps this Geoffrey was that Geoffrey's son; Vouwant castle, dép. Vendée, was near Fontenay-le-Comte (Salch, *Châteaux*, 1253); it was surrendered on 6 June (Bémont, *art.cit.*, 295).

## Chapter 58 pp.175-7

Nearly the whole chapter (ll.1-48) is taken from *Vincent*, XXXI c.148, following directly on the material in c.57 above; ll.49-52 come presumably from a record kept in St Andrews diocese (see below). *Pluscarden* takes nothing from this chapter; *Extracta* (98) takes just this last St Andrews item.

1. *Frontenay*: Frontenay-l'Abattu, then a major castle of Poitou, but destroyed after this assault, different from Fontenay-le-Comte (Bémont, *art.cit.*, 298); site not certainly identified, but perhaps same as Frontenay-Rohan-Rohan, dép. Deux Sevres.
5. *bastard son*: not identified (cf. *ibid.*).
14. *king of England*: Henry had landed in support of his step-father Count Hugh at Royon, dép. Charente-Maritime, on 13 May 1242 (*ibid.*, 295), and moved via Pons to Saintes (cf. Powicke, *Henry III*, i, 190-1).
15. *Saintes*: dép. Charente-Maritime, on the left bank of the river Charente.
17. *Geoffrey de Rançon*: a bitter enemy of Count Hugh (Joinville [ut cit. above c.54], 189), though married to the count's daughter Isabella (Mas Latrie, *Trésor*, col.1618).  
*Taillebourg*: downstream from Saintes, on the right bank of the river.

20. *Simon de Montfort*: a younger son of the Simon de Montfort who died in 1218 (see above c.21, 1.33), earl of Leicester in England in his own right 1239-65, and since 1238 the husband of Eleanor a sister of Henry III (*CP*, vii, 543-7).
24. *battle*: fought between Taillebourg and Saintes 21-22 July (Bémont, *art.cit.*, 300-7).
- 29-30. *viscount of Châtellerault*: not identified; the place is north-east of Poitiers.
33. *Pons*: a lordship to the south of Saintes; Reginald performed homage on 25 July (Bémont, *art.cit.*, 307).
35. *Hugh*: later Hugh XI count of La Marche 1249-50 (Mas Latrie, *Trésor*, col.1618).
41. *Château-Larcher*: dép. Vienne, south of Poitiers, near Vivonne.
- 42-45. *In the morning ... offences*: 26 July (Bémont, *art.cit.*, 308).
48. *count of Eu*: Ralph de Lusignan, count of Eu (dép. Seine-Maritime) 1219-46, a first cousin of Hugh X count of La Marche (Mas Latrie, *Trésor*, col.1595).
- 49-52. ... *Cross*: for Bishop David see above c.53, 1.12 and c.56; Bower's knowledge in this marginal addition to MS C of this synod for the archdeaconry of Lothian within St Andrews diocese held at Musselburgh MLO appears to have been derived from a lost copy of the episcopal statutes issued on that occasion; these are known today only in a MS copied 'very soon after 1500' (N.R.Ker, *Medieval British Libraries*, i [Oxford, 1969], 93, Lambeth MS 167) where no year-date now survives, but only the month and day (Robertson, *Concilia*, ii, 53-63); Bower here is thus the sole authority for the year in which this synod was held.

## Chapter 59 pp.179-81

The story in cc.59-60 and the first paragraph of c.61 in which the Bisset family play a central part is not found at such length and with such an interpretation of events in any earlier Scottish source other than *Wyntoun* (v, 98-107); Bower and Wyntoun therefore were probably following the same source now lost, which may have been kept at St Andrews; cf. the brief account in *Melrose* (90-91) – some of which is apparently textually subsumed in Bower's account, but which is non-committal about Bisset guilt – with a different story in Matthew Paris (*SAEC*, 349-51), which blames Walter Bisset alone; *Lanercost* (49-50) has a brief account which offers facts not found in any of the other accounts; *Fordun* has no entry on this affair. The account of the council of clergy at ll.39-47 is found only in Bower. *Pluscarden* (75) has a brief account, mentioning only William [sic] Bisset by name; see also *Extracta* (98-99), where in a different summary account it is wrongly suggested that the king had been present at the tournament at Haddington.



1-3. ...*king*: there is no confirmation of a royal visit to Moray at this time, but it may have taken place after an act was issued at Forfar ANG on 9 April (*SHS Misc.*, iv, 317). The suggested motive for returning south is invalid, for Henry III set out for France only on 8/9 May 1242 and did not return until 24/27 Sept. 1243 (*HBC*, 38); but a meeting may have been suggested sometime before he left in connection with marriage negotiations for the young Prince Alexander, which were apparently first mooted about this time (*SAEC*, 348-9).

4. [Walter] Bisset: this lord of Aboyne ABD in 1242 is consistently called William by Wyntoun and Bower; but this seems to have been an error in the lost source which they both used; it was Walter Bisset who was active as holder of this lordship during the episcopate of Bishop Lamley of Aberdeen 1239-47 (*Aberdeen Registrum*, ii, 271-2); this Walter held land also in Stratherrick INV at some unknown date (*APS*, i, 110); his neighbour as lord of Abertarff INV was William Bisset ca 1230, whose brother at that time was John Bisset lord of the Aird INV (*Beaully Chrs.*, 33; *Moray Registrum*, 60, no.52); since Walter is described as uncle of this John's son (see below c.61, ll.5-6), these three were brothers; this is confirmed in a record source from 1245, which describes Walter and John as brothers (*CDS*, i, 307, no.1674); the three of them appear together without designations as witnesses of a royal act at Cullen BNF in 1232 (*Moray Registrum*, 122-3, no.110); but there is no evidence that Walter made over his lordship of Aboyne to William, or that it was William who played a central part in the events of 1242 described here; therefore it is here assumed that it was Walter who was involved; he had in 1233 married a sister of Alan of Galloway (see above c.48, ll.32-34), and so was an uncle by marriage of the Patrick murdered at Haddington, with a wife who was heir to Patrick's Galloway inheritance, particularly in Ireland (cf. Duncan, *Kingdom*, 545). See also below at c.61, ll.5-6 note.

*extreme pressure*: it is possible that Walter was setting up an alibi for what he was planning to happen at Haddington (see below); but to accept such a view is to assume his guilt in a way that the king and queen were unwilling to do (see discussion below at l.25).

5. *Aboyne*: probably Coull Castle, four miles from the modern village of Aboyne ABD, though it is traditionally thought to have belonged from the 1220s to the Durward family (*PSAS*, lviii [1923-4], 45-92; cf. *The Book of the Thanes of Cawdor* [Spalding Club, 1859], 1-2); this lay on a route south from Moray towards a crossing of the Mounth hill barrier.

8. *four nights*: Wyntoun (v, 98-99) states that William [sic] then accompanied the queen to Forfar.

9. *At that time*: Melrose enters its account of this topic after mentioning King Henry's departure for France (see above); a date in May/June seems possible.

10. *Haddington ELO*: Bower's account is probably filled out by reference to local tradition at his birthplace. Haddington had been a royal burgh at least from the time of David I (*Dunfermline Registrum*, 11, no.11).

13-14. *Patrick ... Galloway*: Thomas of Galloway had died as earl of Atholl

by right of his wife in 1231 (see above c.48, l.5); it appears that his son Patrick was not yet in 1242 old enough to succeed to his Galloway inheritance (*Lanercost*, 49-50; cf. Duncan, *Kingdom*, 544-5), and it is now argued that he never succeeded to the earldom of Atholl either (*ibid.*; cf. *SP*, i, 422-3); the source behind the accounts in Wyntoun and Bower call him earl, but none of the earlier accounts do so.

18. *hostility*: the Bissets may have been hostile to Patrick because of his putative family link through his mother with the Comyn family, who were then extending their influence throughout the Scottish nobility; his death prevented the Comyns from securing the earldom of Atholl (which went to the husband of his aunt [see below]) and also the lands of Thomas of Galloway in Ireland (see above l.4); certainly the Comyns were particularly violent in taking the opportunity to accuse the Bissets of this murder (see below), whether rightly or wrongly; and the Bissets probably had the backing of Alan Durward (see below c.60, l.21; c.61, l.66), who had been for a time seeking the earldom of Atholl for himself (cf. Duncan, *Kingdom*, 542-5, 188; see also Watt, 'Minority', 2-3; and A. Young, 'The Political role of Walter Comyn, earl of Menteith, during the minority of Alexander III of Scotland', in Stringer, *Essays*, 131-49, especially 131-3).

22. *Hastings*: *SP*, i, 423-4; *Coupar Angus Chrs.*, i, 115, 119; his wife was Forleth, younger daughter of Henry earl of Atholl (d. before 1211).

25. *Many ... crime*: in Matthew Paris' near-contemporary report (*SAEC*, 349), the murder was thought to have been an act of revenge by the knight Walter Bisset specifically, following his defeat in the jousting by Patrick of Atholl; this understanding of what had happened was presumably derived from reports which reached St Albans HRT on why Walter in particular had been exiled to England; the Melrose account (also contemporary) does not link the murder with the jousting in this way, and reports somewhat hesitantly that John Bisset came to be generally thought to have committed the murder at the instigation of his uncle Walter.

31-32. ... *invoked*: quotation not traced.

36. *Aberdeen*: Bishop Radulf de Lamley 1239-47 (see above c.53, l.61).

39. *At that time*: probably ca 15 July when the bishops of St Andrews and Dunkeld are known to have been with King Alexander at Scone near Perth (*Glasgow Registrum*, i, 147, no.181).

39-40. *clerical council*: i.e. a meeting of the provincial council of the Scottish church called in terms of the papal mandate of 19 May 1225 (Robertson, *Concilia*, ii, 3). This is one of the earliest accounts of a meeting of this council to survive. It was probably quite usual for the king to call an assembly of lay nobles at the same time and place as the church council met.

41. *called*: in MS CA Bower tones down his first choice of language about the king being 'called' to attend the provincial council.

47. *connection*: after 'ultricius' (text l.41), MS CA adds: 'in transgressores sine misericordia jaculatis. Unde reliquis diebus suis ecclesia talem defensorem letata est invenisse et in maxima prosperitate prosperatur' (MSS FF and P have 'tranquillitate' for 'prosperitate').



### Chapter 60 pp.181-3

See introduction to c.59 above; Bower continues to share the same source as Wyntoun (v, 104-5) regarding the harrying of the Bissets, though Wyntoun places the discussion about the form of trial at Edinburgh rather than Forfar; most of the detail here is not found elsewhere; l.42 parallels *Melrose* (90).

1. *relatives*: this is the basis of the suggestion that Patrick of Atholl's mother's mother (Margaret, wife of Henry earl of Atholl) had been a Comyn (*SP*, i, 418-19).

2. *Buchan*: Alexander, son of William Comyn (d. 1233) by his second marriage, was to succeed to the earldom of Buchan on his mother's death sometime between 8 Apr. 1242 and 19 Nov. 1244, and then hold this earldom until his death in 1290 (*HBC*, 502; cf. *SP*, ii, 254-6; *DNB*, xi, 455).

2-3. *John the Red*: grandson of William Comyn by his first marriage, son of Richard Comyn (d. 1244 x 1249), and after 1258 lord of Badenoch INV in his own right; d. after 1273 (*SP*, i, 506-7; *DNB*, xi, 458-9).

5. *oxen*: this appears to be the correct translation of 'jumenta' (text l.4) here; cf. 'nolt/nolt' in *Wyntoun*, v, 104-5.

15. *reign of tyranny*: Bower here offers his interpretation of these actions by the Comyns, perhaps in the light of disorders in Scotland in the 1440s; cf. the view of A.Young (in Stringer, *Essays*, 132) that this was 'an attempt to stabilise the [Comyn] family's position rather than expand it, retaliation rather than unprincipled aggression'.

21. *army of Mar*: the Bisset castle of Coull lay within the territory in which the earl of Mar had traditional responsibilities for raising local levies who had the duty of 'common army' service when summoned by the king (Duncan, *Kingdom*, 378-9); it is not clear whether or not Earl Duncan of Mar had died and been succeeded by his son Earl William at this date (*SP*, v, 573-7). It is possible that Alan Durward was involved in providing this protection for Bisset by right of his extensive inheritance in Mar in the neighbourhood of Coull, which had previously been part of the earldom of Mar (*ibid.*, 573-4), for young Earl William was (or was to be) allied with the Comyns by marriage to a sister of Alexander Comyn; cf. below c.61, ll.65-67.

22. *Aboyne*: i.e. Coull (see above c.59, l.5).

25-35. *This ... outcome*: an interesting description of four possible methods of judgment which were available to the accused man – trial by battle, compurgation, an assize jury, the arbitrary judgment of the king; see below c.61, ll.6-7 for the actual procedure used; for an analysis see I.D.Willock, *The Origins and Development of the Jury in Scotland* (Stair Society, 1966), c.4, 'Early Criminal Procedure'.

27. *the earls*: apparently not just the Comyn family; cf. above c.59, l.49: 'all the earls'.

40-41. ... *overseas*: Henry III was still in France in the autumn of 1242 (see above c.59, ll. 1-3); this must be an error derived from some unknown source.

42. *Andrew*: bishop of Moray since 1222 (see above c.37, l.6; he died 18 Sept. x Dec. 1242 (Watt, *Graduates*, 409-10).

### Chapter 61 pp.183-7

For ll.1-13 see introduction to c.59 above. Only ll.26-39 in the original text of MS C are based on *Fordun* (291-2, first part of annal 45), with additions by Bower; then the rest of the same annal is included in a marginal addition made to MS C at ll.43-50. The main topics of ll.14-39 are covered in *Melrose* (91), but with different details; English accounts (*SAEC*, 353-8 and *Lanercost*, 51) are also different. *Phuscarden* (75-76) has a summary that is largely re-written; *Extracta* (98-99) is very brief.

2. *appointed day*: 26 Nov. 1242 (see above c.60, l.39); but note that the *Melrose* chronicler enters the final judgment as his first entry for 1243.

5-6. *William ... uncle*: *Melrose* (90) had mentioned by name only John and Walter his uncle; *Wyntoun* (v, 100-1) is like Bower in mentioning William as well, but describes all three as brothers; this would mean that the John in question was the lord of the Aird mentioned above at c.59, l.4 note; but that John (who was certainly the brother of William and Walter) had a son John, who already in 1237 had been old enough to take part in public affairs (*CDS*, i, 302, no.1655; cf. v, pp.25-26); the senior John was either already in Ireland at the time of the crime, or was to go there soon afterwards, for he was on 17 Dec. 1242 to be awarded a fief there by Henry III at Bordeaux in anticipation of service with that king (*Cal.Docs.Ireland*, i, no.2590); it seems most likely that it was the junior John, in fact Walter's nephew as stated here, who was found guilty; since he was nearer in age to Patrick of Atholl, it is possible that it was he rather than Walter who had been unhorsed at the tournament (cf. *SAEC*, 349), and that the murder was a simple act of brutal vengeance; or *Melrose* may be correct in describing it as planned in advance by Walter and carried out by John – which was presumably the verdict reached by the king's court, whether correct or not. The question remains whether a William Bisset was involved in the judgment; he is not known to have been a younger brother of young John, and any such person in any case is unlikely to have been in a position to host the king and queen as lord of Aboyne; he could have been the brother of the senior John (see above c.59, l.4 note), brought to trial as one of the Bissets involved; but then he, like Walter, would have been described here as an uncle of young John; it is most likely that both *Wyntoun* and Bower added the name William here to the names found in *Melrose* because they had found this name in their source as lord of Aboyne and thought it correct to add it here; probably in fact no William Bisset was condemned at this time.

6-7. *judgment ... nobles*: it was not the king alone who gave judgment, but rather an assize of peers (cf. above c.60, ll.32); in practice this was probably a decision reached under much Comyn pressure, which created the possibility of a sympathetic hearing for the exiled Bissets from Henry III.

12-13. *Their ... day*: Walter Bisset was able to return to Scotland by 1249 (*Dunfermline Registrum*, 44, no.77) and young John Bisset by 1258 (*Moray Registrum*, 133-5, no.122); the latter died in 1260 in possession once more of the lordship of the Aird INV, and also of the lands in Ireland which his father had held, both parts of his property being then divided among the same three heiresses (*CDS*, ii, 49-50, no.163; cf. *OPS*, II, ii, 514-15).

14-15. *a certain Scot ... chronicles*: in fact both *Melrose* and Matthew Paris (*SAEC*, 350-1) mention Walter Bisset as the man who stirred up trouble by appealing from the justice of King Alexander to that of King Henry; Walter was being rewarded for service to Henry by as early as 28 Aug. 1243 when that king was still in France (*CDS*, i, 295-6, no.1621).

15. *Tryphon*: apparently a reference to the name adopted by the leader of a slave revolt in Sicily in 104 BC (*OCD*, 1098).

16. *Richard*: earl (not duke) of Cornwall 1227-72 (see above c.46, l.22).

22-23. *... household*: quotation not traced.

27. *Newcastle-upon-Tyne* NTB.

31. *Hermitage*: a castle in Castleton parish ROX on the bank of Hermitage Water, a tributary of the river Liddel (*RCAHM [ROX]*, i, 75-85, no.63); the existing castle dates only from the 14c onwards (*ibid.*, p.82); cf. *SAEC* (353), where Matthew Paris reports that it was Walter Comyn earl of Menteith (1234-58), the leader of the Comyn family, who gave offence by fortifying two unnamed castles said to be in Galloway and Lothian; cf. Duncan, *Kingdom*, 434, 535.

32. *Caddonlee*: not certainly identified; it is spelled 'Caldeule' in *Fordun*; possibly Caldhall Moor, near Mount Lothian MLO, between Edinburgh and Peebles (see *Inquis.Retorn.Abbrev.*, s.v.'Caldhall', 'Caldwallis'); but more likely Caddonlee SLK on the river Tweed near Selkirk, which was the meeting-place of Scottish armies in 1173 and 1296 (*RRS*, ii, 7; cf. 23, n.21).

34. *Ponteland* NTB: eight miles north-west of Newcastle. This is the place clearly spelled 'Pontelant' in *Melrose* (91); the spelling here (and in *Fordun*) in fact suggests Pentland MLO south of Edinburgh (see above c.28, l.31), which would be a more appropriate place for organising the defence of Lothian; but there is no doubt that Alexander did go as far as Newcastle in the end, and so Fordun's facts are probably muddled.

38. *York*: Walter de Gray, archbishop 1216-55 (*HBC*, 282).

39. *peace was re-established*: Alexander was given a safe-conduct by Henry to come and negotiate peace, at Newcastle, 6 Aug. 1244 (*CDS*, i, 300, no.1647); peace was concluded there on 13 Aug. (*ibid.*, 301-2, nos.1650, 1654; *SAEC*, 354-6; cf. *Melrose* (91) where the date 24 Aug. is given).

40-42. *... Wales*: Bower introduces a quite different motive for Henry's

campaign in Wales from that which Fordun had suggested, which was simply that the Welsh had rebelled against their English-born masters.

42. *war broke out*: Henry attacked Wales with his army in the summer of 1245 (Powicke, *Thirteenth Century*, 399).

43. *Prince David*: David prince of Wales had succeeded his father Llywelyn the Great in 1240; his mother was a natural daughter of King John, and so a half-sister of Henry (*HBC*, 51).

43-50. *This year ... English*: see above c.56, ll.20-27 for this addition from *Fordun* in the margin of MS C.

50-52. *Gruffudd ... neck*: illegitimate son of Llywelyn the Great; d. 1 Mar. 1244 (*HBC*, 51; Powicke, *Henry III*, ii, 634).

53. *In this year*: probably 1244 is meant.

55. *cathedral*: literally the chanonry where the canons lived; but surely the cathedral church is meant. The canons of Moray had moved into their new church near Elgin only in 1224 (Watt, *Fasti*, 218), and the building work was presumably still under way.

56. *Andrew*: see above c.60, l.42. His tomb is said to lie under a large stone of blue marble on the south side of the choir of the cathedral (*The Cathedral Church of Moray, Elgin*, Official Guide, 2nd edn [1950], 23).

57-58. *Pluscarden*: see above c.47, l.48.

61. *justiciars*: Philip de Melville and Robert de Mowat had been in office as joint-justiciars of Scotia (i.e. the country north of the Forth) at least since Oct. 1241 (*Glasgow Registrum*, i, 146, no.179), and were certainly still in office in Aug. 1242 (*Ayr Friars Chrs.*, 1, no.1).

66. *Durward*: Mowat had certainly given up office by 5 Apr. 1244 (*Arbroath Liber*; i, 191, no.252), and Durward (*DNB*, xvi, 266-8) appears to have already become justiciar of Scotia by 14 Mar. 1244 (*Coupar Angus Rental*, i, 327). It is noteworthy that this change of justiciar took place before rather than after King Alexander's meeting with Henry III in Aug. 1244. Possibly Durward had already been used in 1242 to give protection to the Bisset lord of Aboyne (see above c.59, l.18, and c.60, l.21). He was probably the main source of advice to the king for the rest of the reign, and at some stage married the king's only illegitimate daughter Marjorie (cf. Watt, 'Minority', 4-5; Duncan, *Kingdom*, 545-6; Barrow, *Kingdom*, 128-9).

## Chapter 62 pp.187-91

The source behind ll.1-17 is unknown; cf. above cc.59-61 for other material on the Bisset family; ll.18-23 appear to be derived from the same source which was used in *Lanercost* (51), for both versions are more elaborate and differently dated from the entry in *Melrose* (96); ll.24-26 relate to Inchcolm abbey; ll.26-35 have some similarities with entries in *Melrose* (107); ll.35-44

are presumably based on documents preserved in monastic houses with property in Aberdeen diocese; ll.60-68 are summarized from *Vincent XXXII*, c.89, and the same source (at c.67) is used for the marginal addition starting with ll.45-48, but not for ll.48-56, which were probably composed by Bower himself; the items regarding the earl of Dunbar and the abbey of Kelso at ll.69 and 76-77 correspond with entries in *Melrose* (107) again, but the source of the details in between at ll.69-75 is unknown. *Pluscarden* (76-77) has a summary of ll.1-23; *Extracta* (99) summarizes several items from this chapter, but with two misleading dates.

1. *Thomas*: Thomas of Galloway, earl of Atholl, d.1231 (see above c.48, l.5).

*Alan*: his activities as 'Alan son of the earl' can be traced later in 1248, 1260-1 and 1275 (Duncan, *Kingdom*, 550, 582, 583n).

2. *man who was burned*: Patrick of Atholl (see above c.59, ll.18-22).

3. *noble mother*: not identified.

3-4. *John Bisset*: the senior of this name, who held lands in Ireland at least from 1242 (see above c.61, l.5).

4. '*Viteris*': not identified; cf. *CDS*, ii, 49-50, no.163 for a list of the lands in Ireland held by this John's son John at his death in 1260.

17. *settlement*: the troubles which preceded the agreement between Alexander and Henry in Aug. 1244 had been fomented also by John's brother Walter Bisset (see above c.61, ll.14-15); both men appear to have in their own interests raised general questions about the jurisdictional rights of Henry in Scotland. Alan's killing of John's men in Ireland was to be pardoned by Henry on 30 Jan. 1252 (*CDS*, i, 349, no.1865) in the different circumstances of the minority of King Alexander III.

18-22. ... *Paris*: King Louis IX took the crusading vow in these dramatic circumstances in Dec. 1244 (Setton, *Crusades*, ii, 489).

22. *bishop of Paris*: William d'Auvergne held this see 1228-49 (Eubel, *Hierarchia*, i, 391; cf. Mas Latrie, *Trésor*, col.1463).

23. *Saracens*: Jerusalem was destroyed by Khorezmians from Northern Syria as allies of the sultan of Egypt in the summer of 1244 (Setton, *Crusades*, ii, 489).

24. *Henry*: had succeeded Nigel (see above c.43, l.14) as prior of Inchcolm, holding office by ca May 1229 (*Laing Chrs.*, no.6; cf. *Scone Liber*, 44-45 for dating); the house had been erected into an abbey on 22 May 1235 (*MRHS*, 91; but see *Inchcolm Chrs.*, 13-14, no.15, where Henry is styled abbot already in 1233).

25. *Thomas*: held office until 1258 (see below X, c.11, l.25).

27. *Harcarras*: had served as abbot of Melrose ROX since 1219 (see above c.34, l.13); his death is not recorded in *Melrose*; last found in office on 7 Feb. 1244 (*Glasgow Registrum*, i, 151, no.186 [where his initial is wrongly given as 'D']); it is perhaps surprising that he died before the end of 1245 when his successor was not to be elected until four months into 1246.

28. *Matthew: Melrose* (107) is more specific that he was elected on 15 Apr. 1246 and blessed on 17 May; cf. wrong date in *Extracta*.

30. *Glasgow*: William de Bondington, bishop 1233-58 (see above c.48).

31. *Henry de Balliol*: for the place of this lord of Cavers ROX in the Balliol family tree see G.Stell, 'The Balliol family and the Great Cause of 1291-2', in Stringer, *Essays*, 153; he had latterly served for a second time as king's chamberlain at least from 18 July 1241 to 16 Feb. 1246 (*HMC*, vii, 704; *Holyrood Liber*, 62, no.74; cf. *HBC*, 185), and died soon before 15 Oct. 1246 (*CDS*, i, 312, no.1697); cf. *DNB*, iii, 65-66, where he is assigned to a different branch of the Balliol family.

32. *St James*: the editors of *Melrose* identify (160) this as the church of St James in the burgh of Roxburgh ROX; but perhaps the pilgrimage centre of Santiago de Compostela in north-west Spain (cf. *ODCC*, 325) is meant.

33. *Radulf*: bishop since 1239 (see above c.53, l.61).

35. *Ramsay*: had been elected bishop before 13 May 1247, when a papal mandate was issued for his consecration; held this see until 1256-7 (Watt, *Graduates*, 460-3).

36-44. *Armed ... Aberdeen*: his predecessor at Aberdeen and other Scottish bishops were busy 'taxing' or 'ordaining' (i.e. establishing defined incomes for holders of) vicarages established in benefices in their dioceses which had been fully appropriated to monastic houses (*St Andrews Liber*, 91); Ramsay continued the process in terms of a mandate from Pope Innocent IV (1243-54) now lost, and made decisions regarding vicarages in his diocese belonging not only to Arbroath abbey ANG and Lindores abbey FIF (both O.Tiron.), but also to Kelso abbey ROX (also O.Tiron.) and St Andrews cathedral priory (OSA); the fifteen-mark figure mentioned here should be seen in the light of a contemporary ruling by the Scottish provincial council that vicars should have a free income of at least ten marks (Robertson, *Concilia*, ii, 12, no.9; cf. Patrick, *Statutes*, 11-12); these four religious houses complained of Bishop Peter's rigour to the same pope (see below X c.3, ll.49-51), and following a papal mandate dated 20 Apr. 1250 to local judges-delegate, he had to accept 'taxations' of a more flexible kind; these processes are well documented (see references in Watt, *Graduates*, 462); Bower presumably drew his information about a meeting of religious superiors from a record which no longer exists in St Andrews priory or some other of the affected houses; he relates the outcome with some satisfaction!

45-52. ... *prelates*: for St Edmund of Abingdon see above c.48, l.41 and c.56, ll.8-10; for more details and dates, see the biography in Emden, *BRUO*, i, 6-7; Bower is not correct in stating that he was exiled from England - he left England voluntarily on a journey to Rome, and called at Pontigny, a Cistercian house in dép. Yonne, France, on the way (cf. *NCE*, v, 108-9).

54-56. ... *rest*: not traced.

57. *Anselm*: archbishop of Canterbury 1093-1109; he cannot have stayed at Pontigny during his two periods of exile, since it was not founded until 1114 after his death (*NCE*, xi, 564).

*Thomas*: Thomas Becket, archbishop 1162-70: did stay at Pontigny in 1164 during his exile (*ibid.*).

58. *Langton*: archbishop 1207-28; stayed at Pontigny from 1207 (*ibid.*).

61. *leaving Paris*: the date here is 13 June 1248; see *RHF*, xxi, 414; cf. Runciman, *Crusades*, iii, 257, where the date is given as 12 Aug. 1248.

*Odo*: Odo de Châteauroux, cardinal bishop of Tusculum 1244-73 (Bagliani, *Cardinali*, 198-212; *DBF*, viii, col.778).

62. *two brothers*: for Robert count of Artois (d.1249) and Charles count of Anjou (d.1285) see *DBF*, iii, cols.1212-14 and viii, cols. 544-6.

65. *Alphonse*: see above c.57, l.33.

66. *Blanche*: Blanche of Castile, widow of King Louis VIII, d.1252 (see above c.45, ll.48-49).

68. *Cyprus*: Louis was at Nicosia, Cyprus in Dec. 1248 (*RHF*, xxi, 414).

69. *Dunbar*: Patrick had held this earldom since 1232 (*SP*, iii, 255-7); he died at Marseilles on his way to the Middle East (*Lanercost*, 54; cf. *SAEC*, 360); see Macquarrie, *Crusades*, 47-48.

70. *Lindsay*: his Christian name is not known; not improbably the Gerard de Lindsay, lord of Luffness and Crawford in Scotland and of half of the honour of Limesi in England, who died in 1249 (*SP*, iii, 7).

72. *Beauvais*: Robert de Cressonsacq, bishop of Beauvais 1237-Oct. 1248 (Eubel, *Hierarchia*, i, 132).

*Montfort*: John I count of Montfort 1241-9 (Mas Latrie, *Trésor*, col. 1642).

73. *Vendôme*: Peter count of Vendôme ca 1239-29 Mar. 1249 (*ibid.*, col.1696).

*Mello*: 'Dreu de Mello', lord of Loches and of Châtillon-sur-Indre died on this crusade (J.Richard, *Saint Louis* [Paris, 1983], 72); Mello is in dép. Oise, near Senlis.

*Barres*: one of the king's immediate following, who died on this crusade (W.F.Knox, *The Court of a Saint* [London, 1909], 152, 161; cf. Richard, *ut cit.*, 72).

74. *Bourbon*: Archibald VIII held the lordship of Bourbon 1242-15 Jan.1249 (*DBF*, iii, cols. 353-4).

*Dreux*: John count of Dreux 1234-48, son-in-law of Archibald de Bourbon (*ibid.*, xi, col.747).

76. *Hugh*: had been abbot of Kelso ROX since 1236 (*Melrose*, 85; cf. 87).

*Smalham*: held this appointment until 1258 (*ibid.*, 115); *Extracta* wrongly dates his appointment as in 1249.

## Chapter 63 pp.191-3

ll.1-5 and 49-56 are similar to *Melrose* (108-9), with a tailpiece at ll.57-60 added by Bower; ll.6-17 are drawn from *Fordun* (292, first part of annal 46),

with small changes; this account of the death of Alexander II itself draws on the shorter account in *Melrose* (108); Bower then elaborates in ll.18-39 on the merits of the dead king, very considerably developing themes just touched on by Fordun; he returned to *Fordun* (292-3) for the verses at ll.41-48, adding there the second and third lines to the six in his source; he omits the last part of Fordun's annal 46 about Balmerino abbey, since he had already incorporated the same basic facts as in *Melrose* above c.47, ll.17-20, and c.48, ll.29-31; ll.61-68 come from a Dunkeld source. In MS CA ll.6-48 are moved to the end of the chapter, thus more clearly marking the end of Book IX (which began with the accession of Alexander II) with the death of the same king. *Pluscarden* (77) has two very brief entries on the death and burial of the king; *Extracta* (99-100) is also brief about the king, but gives the verses at ll.41-48 as his epitaph; it provides different information about Geoffrey bishop of Dunkeld, which is related to the account in Myln, *Vitae*, 9-11.

2. *Damietta*: cf. above c.33, l.64.

3. *21 June*: this is the date in *Melrose*; the city was in fact entered on 6 June 1249 (Setton, *Crusades*, ii, 496).

4. *Philip*: see above c.53, l.65.

5. *Giseburn*: a canon of Jedburgh (*Melrose*); Giseburn or Guisborough YON was an Augustinian house like Jedburgh; Robert died later in 1249 (*Melrose*, 108).

7. *who ... justice*: words added by Bower to *Fordun*.

8. *pacify the Argyll region*: for a discussion of the activities of Ewen lord of Argyll and the campaign of King Alexander against him see Duncan, *Kingdom*, 549-51; cf. *SAEC*, 360-1).

9. *Kerrera*: an island in the Firth of Lorn enclosing Oban Bay ARG.

13. *Melrose ROX*: the Cistercian abbey founded by the king's ancestor David I in 1136 (*MRHS*, 76); no tomb survives there.

15. *8 July*: in *Melrose* this is given as the date of the king's death, not of his burial; in the circumstances *Melrose* is likely to be right and Fordun's source wrong; but this source must have preserved the hour of death which does not appear in *Melrose*; Bower follows Fordun here; since the inauguration of Alexander III followed at Scone on 13 July (see below X c.1, l.9) only five days later, it is likely that (as in 1214) the burial of the dead king was postponed until after the inauguration of his successor.

17. *anointed*: see above c.1, l.15; Bower has changed 'factus fuit rex' in *Fordun* to 'unctus fuit in regem' (text l.15). This is clearly an anachronism, for authority to use anointing as part of the ceremonial inauguration of Scottish kings was granted by the pope only in 1329 (*Nat.MSS.Scot.*, ii, no.30; cf. Nicholson, *Later Middle Ages*, 29-30, 125).

18-39. *Like ... ever*: Bower's encomium of Alexander II probably reflects his own ideal of kingship.

26. *Friars Preacher*: see above c.47, ll.42-45.



35-39. ... *ever*: adapted from a passage about Phinehas son of Eleazar in Ecclesiasticus 45:28-30 (*Vulgate*); 45:23-24 (*NEB*).

41-48. ... *bones*: these lines (as increased by Bower) are listed in Walther, *Initia*, no.5182 from this text; they do not correspond to the parallel lines about Alexander's reign found in the extension to the verse chronicle of the kings of Albany and Scotland which Bower has regularly introduced piecemeal reign by reign above (cf. *Chron.Picts-Scots*, 182; *KKES*, 60-61).

49. *In that year*: *Melrose* correctly notes the following events under 1250; see also *Wyntoun*, v, 110-13.

51. *king of France*: Louis was captured near Damietta on 6 Apr. 1250 (*Runciman*, *Crusades*, iii, 270).

*with two of his brothers*: this information was added in the margin of MS C – it is not in *Melrose*; these brothers were Alphonse (who had arrived in Egypt in Oct. 1249 [*ibid.*, 264]) and Charles, since Robert had been killed earlier on 8 Feb. 1250 (*ibid.*, 267-8); cf. above c.62, ll.62-64).

53-54. *return home*: Louis was released for a ransom on 6 May 1250, and moved at once to the Holy Land rather than back to France (*ibid.*, 273-4).

55-56. *corrupted with images*: Christian pictures and carvings such as crucifixes would be offensive to Moslems; but possibly the writer is thinking here of 'temples with idols' in ignorance of Moslem practice.

56. *killed ... captives*: apparently this is true (*ibid.*, 274).

61-68. ... *Columba*: see above c.52, l.42 and below X c.1, ll.10-12 for this bishop; for more details preserved in Dunkeld records which confirm the information here (including the epitaph) see Myln, *Vitae* (9-11), where the burial is stated to have been 'in antiqua ecclesia quae fuerat monasterialis'.

62. *Tibbermore PER*: a residence belonging to the bishop of Dunkeld near Perth (cf. *Dunkeld Rentale*, 313).



1 The inauguration of Alexander III. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge MS 171, fo.206.

**Book X**



2 The funeral of Alexander III. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge MS 171, fo.225v.



## Book X

1

fo.206;  
G ii,80

[D]<sup>e</sup> coronacione<sup>b</sup> Alexandri tercii Scotorum regis incliti

G ii,81

fo.206v

“Mortuus est”, sicut scriptum est, ‘pater illius et quasi non est mortuus; similem enim reliquid sibi post se. In vita sua vidit et letatus est in illo; et in obitu suo non est contristatus nec confusus est coram inimicis. Reliquit enim defensorem domus contra inimicos et amicus reddentem gratiam.’ Hec ibi. Hic post mortem pii patris cum multitudine presulum, prelatorum, comitum, baronum et militum puer Alexander etatis annorum octo constitutus<sup>d</sup> venit ad Sconam die martis proximo sequenti iii<sup>o</sup> scilicet idus julii. Interfuerunt autem inter ceteros David de Bernhame episcopus Sancti Andr<sup>e</sup> et Galfridus episcopus Dunkeldensis adhuc sospes vir tam clero quam populo 5 graciosus; in temporalibus et spiritualibus sollicitus satis erat. Et ecce statim postquam congregati fuerant orta est dissencio inter magnates. Quidam enim illorum illo die non regem sed militem facere voluerunt, dicentes quia dies Egipciacus est; et hoc non propter diem Egipciacum dictum est, sed quia dominus Alanus Dorwart regni 15 justiciarius et tamquam flos milicie reputatus regem ipso die cupiebat insignire | gladio militari. Cum igitur hinc inde magna fieret altercacio et magnatum quasi ad partes tumultuosa separacio, vir providus consilio<sup>e</sup> miles <Walterus Comyn> fortis satis animo partes ad concordiam prudenter flectere tunc satagit, dicens se habere debere 20 vocem in consilio quia ipse comes de Menteth experientia plura pervidebat. Unde libera voce<sup>f</sup> protestatus est se vidisse regem consecratum nondum tamen militem, sed et sepius audisse, ac pro certo cognovisse reges consecratos qui numquam cerimonialiter ordine militari insignirentur, hoc tamen addito quod eo ipso quod rex coronatus aureis militaribus decoratur sicut sceptrum et corona | 25 significare<sup>g</sup> attestantur, similitudinem faciens ad illud decretorum quod et<sup>h</sup> filius regis rex appellari debeat quamvis<sup>i</sup> et si<sup>j</sup> regnum non habeat;

a D; obscured by illustration C

b + regis D; del. C

c decorated initial M C; Ecclesiastici xxx in margin C, CA; om. D, R, E

d D; constipatus CA, R; unclear following a correction, with constitutus in margin probably in a later hand C

e + et quamquam ev...tus [?] del. C;

+ strenuus CA

f + se del. C

g designare CA

h + one illegible letter del. C

i interlin. C

j et si om. D, CA

## Book X

1

The coronation of Alexander III, the noble king of Scots

As has been written: ‘His father has died, and yet in a sense is not dead, for he has left a copy of himself behind. While still alive he saw and rejoiced in his son, and at his death he was not saddened or confused in the presence of his enemies. For he has left behind him 5 a defender of his house against his enemies who will repay the kindness of his friends.’ After the death of his devoted father, the boy Alexander, being eight years of age, came with a large number of 1249: [8 July] bishops, prelates, earls, barons and knights to Scone on the following Tuesday, 13 July. There were present among the others David de 13 July Bernham bishop of St Andrews and Geoffrey bishop of Dunkeld, who was then still alive, a man beloved by clergy and people, careful in his administration of matters temporal and spiritual.

Immediately they had assembled, dissension broke out among the magnates. For some of them wished to make the king a knight rather 15 than king on that day, with the explanation that it was an unlucky day. They said this not really because it was a day of ill omen, but because Sir Alan Durward, justiciar of the kingdom, who was regarded as the flower of the knightly order, wished to invest the king with the knight’s sword on that day. So, since a great dispute 20 was arising among the magnates on all sides, and there was beginning to be a quarrelsome separation into two parties, the knight Walter Comyn, a man far-seeing in his counsel and steadfast in spirit, wisely set about urging the two sides towards an agreement.

He said that he ought to have a voice in their deliberations because 25 he himself as earl of Menteith had learned a great deal from experience. He roundly asserted that he had seen a king consecrated even though he was as yet not a knight, and he had often heard, and knew for a fact, that kings had been consecrated who were never invested ceremonially with the order of knighthood. He added this also, that 30 inasmuch as a crowned king is adorned with golden knightly insignia (which crown and sceptre are said to signify) – comparing the position to that stated in the *Decrees* that the son of a king ought to be called a king even though he may not possess a kingdom – so all the more a king should be considered a knight. He added an illustration, 35 saying that, just as a boat is tossed about among the waves without

a forciori rex miles debeat censer; et addidit exemplificare dicens  
 quod sicut navis inter fluctus marinos quatitur sine remige, sic reg- 30  
 num destituitur sine rectore vel rege. Diligebat supra modum regem  
 patrem iam defunctum; filium eciam, non solum propter patrem  
 sed et propter naturalem ad proprium dominum dileccionem. Ideo  
 quantocius potuit puerum in regem sublimare proposuit attendens  
 periculum illud poeticum dictum: 35

Et nocet et nocuit semper differre paratis.

Et:

Qui non est hodie, cras minus aptus erit.

Caute studuit partes ad unum reducere ne, si non lites celerius sopi-  
 rentur, ira cresceret in odium, et trabem traheret de festuca, et animas 40  
 faceret homicidas et proceres paricidas.<sup>k</sup> Ad hoc utramque partem  
 flexit ut rex ab episcopo Sancti Andr', qui officium<sup>l</sup> regis impleret,  
 ipsum eciam in militem consignaretur<sup>m</sup> <ad modum Willelmi Rufi<sup>n</sup>  
 militariibus insigniti a Lanfranco Cantuar' archiepiscopo<sup>o</sup> ab eodem 45  
 coronati pro quo vide supra libro vii capitulo 31 et infra capitulo  
 iiii>. Quod et factum est. David namque episcopo de Sancto Andr'  
 ipsum coram magnatibus terre baltheo militare precingente, et jura  
 et vota que ad regem spectant prius Latine postea Gallice ipsi  
 exponente, rex omnia benigne concedens et acceptans a dicto epis-  
 copo benediccionem et ordinacionem libens<sup>p</sup> subiit et admisit. 50

k + Tandem CA  
 l + inuccionis CA  
 m consignaret C

n + regis Anglie CA  
 o CA; episcopo C,D,R  
 p libenter CA

## 2

*Quomodo regem in regali cathedra lapidea salutavit  
 Scotus quidam<sup>a</sup> montanus*

Sicut ab antiquitate usque ad illa tempora mos regno inolevit, post  
 solemnitate regie coronacionis presules cum comitibus regem ad  
 crucem in cimiterio ex parte orientali ecclesie stantem adduxerunt.  
 Quem ibidem in cathedra regali positum pannis sericis auro textis  
 ornata reverenter sedere fecerunt. Ipso vero rege super hanc | cathed- 5

<sup>a</sup> interlin.C

G ii,82

an oarsman, so a kingdom without a king or ruler is left in the lurch.  
 He had beyond all measure loved as king the father who was now  
 dead; he loved the son also, not just because of the father, but also  
 out of a natural affection towards his proper lord. Therefore he  
 40 proposed to elevate the boy to the throne as quickly as possible,  
 considering the danger alluded to in the words of the poet:

Delay is harmful, and always has been, for those who are prepared;

and:

He who is not ready today will be less ready tomorrow.

45 He wisely applied himself to bringing the two parties together lest,  
 if the quarrel were not quickly laid to rest, anger would grow into  
 hatred, and would convert a mote into a beam, put a murderous  
 spirit into men's minds and turn the magnates into parricides.

He persuaded each side that the king should be invested as a knight  
 50 by the bishop of St Andrews, who filled the office of king, in the  
 same way as William Rufus had been invested with the knightly  
 insignia by Lanfranc archbishop of Canterbury who had also  
 crowned him – for this see above Book VII, Chapter 31, and below  
 Chapter 4. This was done. For when David bishop of St Andrews  
 55 girded the king with the belt of knighthood in the presence of the  
 magnates of the land, and set out the rights and promises which  
 pertain to a king, first in Latin and then in French, the king graciously  
 conceded and accepted all of this, and readily underwent and per-  
 mitted his blessing and ordination at the hands of the same bishop.

## 2

*How a certain highland Scot greeted the king as he sat upon  
 the royal seat of stone*

In accordance with the custom which had grown up in the kingdom  
 from antiquity right up to that time, after the solemn ceremony of  
 the king's coronation, the bishops with the earls brought the king to  
 the cross which stands in the cemetery at the east end of the church.  
 5 With due reverence they installed him there on the royal seat which  
 had been bedecked with silk cloths embroidered with gold. So when  
 the king was solemnly seated on this royal seat of stone, with his

ram regalem lapideam, coronam habente in capite et sceptrum manu purpuraque regia induto, solemniter presidente, de sub cuius pedibus comites ceterique nobiles sedilia sua pro sermone audiendo collocantes, et ecce subito quidam Scotus venerabilis caniciei senex quamvis silvester et montanus honeste tamen pro modulo suo indutus et pallio scarletico coopertus, morose satis genuflectens materna lingua regem inclinato<sup>b</sup> capite<sup>cd</sup> salutavit huiusmodi verbis satis curialiter dicens: 'Benach de re Albane<sup>e</sup> Alexander mac Alexander mac William mac Henri mac David.' Et sic pronunciando regum Scotorum genealogiam usque in finem perorabat. Quod ita latine sonat:

<sup>f</sup>Salve rex Albanorum Alexander filii Alexandri filii Willelmi filii Henrici filii David filii Malcolmi filii Duncani filii Beatricis filie Malcolmi filii Kenath<sup>g</sup> filii Alpini filii Ethachi filii Ethafind filii Ethdachi filii Dovenaldi Brek filii Ecchaebuid<sup>h</sup> filii Edaini filii Cobrani filii Dovengard filii Fergusii Magni filii Erch filii Ecehat<sup>i</sup> Muiremor filii Engusafith filii Fethelmech<sup>j</sup> Aslingith filii Enegussa Buchin filii Fethelmech Romaich filii Sencormach filii Cruithlinch filii Findachar filii Akirkirre<sup>k</sup> filii Ecthach<sup>l</sup> Andoch filii Fiachrach Catmail filii Ecdach<sup>m</sup> Ried filii Coner filii Mogolama filii Lugchag Etholach filii Corbre Crangring<sup>n</sup> filii Daradiomore<sup>o</sup> filii Corbre Findinor filii Coneremor filii Ederskeol filii Ewen filii Eliela filii Iair filii Dethach filii Sin filii Rosin filii Ther filii Rether filii Rowem filii Arindil filii Mane filii Fergusii primi Scotorum regis in Albania.

Qui quidem Fergusius fuit filius Feredath quamvis a quibusdam dicitur filius Ferechar.<sup>p</sup> Parum tamen discrepant in sono; hec discrepantia forte scriptoris constat vicio propter difficultatem loquele. Deinde dictam genealogiam idem Scotus ab homine in hominem continuando perlegit, donec ad primum Scotum videlicet ad Hiber-scot pervenit. Qui Iber fuit filius Gaithel Glas<sup>q</sup> filii Neoli regis quondam Athenensis genitus ex Scota filia regis Egipti Centhres pharaonis. Cedet igitur ad gloriam Scotorum quod processerunt de stemate regio Atheniense, ubi est caput et civitas primiceria Grecorum,<sup>r</sup> unde, ut innuunt auctores, | Grecia cum suis provinciis regnorum est domina, milicie nutrix, philosophie mater, omnium bonarum scienciarum inventrix et ministra. Cuius gens bellicosissima, dono

fo. 207

b + et *del.C*c obs... *del.C*d inclinatio capite *om.CA*e Albanie *CA*f large rubricated initial *S C*g -e- scored through *C*; + sive Kenedi *CA*; + filii Malcolmi filii Donaldi filii Constantinifilii Kenath *S*h Othaebuid *CA*i Etehar *CA*j + filii *del.C*k Abirkirre *CA*l Ethach *CA*m Eoddach *CA*n Corbreceangring *CA*o Daridiomore *CA*p Ferchare *CA*q + sive Gaielos *CA*r corrected from Gregorum *C*

crown on his head and his sceptre in his hand, and clothed in royal purple, and at his feet the earls and other nobles were setting down their stools to listen to a sermon, there suddenly appeared a venerable, grey-haired figure, an elderly Scot. Though a wild highlander he was honourably attired after his own fashion, clad in a scarlet robe. Bending his knee in a scrupulously correct manner and inclining his head, he greeted the king in his mother tongue, saying courteously: 'God bless the king of Albany, Alexander mac Alexander, mac William, mac Henry, mac David.' And so reciting the genealogy of the kings of Scots he kept on to the end. In Latin this is:

Hail Alexander, king of Scots, son of Alexander, son of William, son of Henry, son of David, son of Malcolm, son of Duncan, son of Bethoc, daughter of Malcolm, son of Kenneth, son of [Malcolm, son of Donald, son of Constantine, son of Kenneth, son of] Alpin, son of Eochaid [or Achay], son of Aed Find, son of Eochaid, son of Domnall Brecc, son of Eochaid Buide, son of Aedan, son of Gabran, son of Domangart, son of Fergus Mor, son of Erc, son of Eochaid Munremor, son of Engusafith, son of Fethelmech Aslingith, son of Enegussa Buchin, son of Fethelmech Romaich, son of Sencormach, son of Cruithlinch, son of Findachar, son of Akirkirre, son of Ecthach Andoch, son of Fiachrach Catmail, son of Ecdach Ried, son of Coner, son of Mogolama, son of Lugchag Etholach, son of Corbre Crangring, son of Daradiomore, son of Corbre Findmor, son of Coneremor, son of Ederskeol, son of Ewen, son of Eliela, son of Iair, son of Dethach, son of Sin, son of Rosin, son of Ther, son of Rether, son of Rowem, son of Arindil, son of Mane, son of Fergus the first king of the Scots in Albany.

Now that Fergus was the son of Feredath, though he is said by some to be the son of Ferechar. But there is little difference between the sound of the two names. This discrepancy perhaps arises from a scribal error on account of the difficulty of the language. Then this same Scot read right through the aforesaid genealogy, linking up each person with the next, until he came to the first Scot, that is Hiber the Scot. This Iber was the son of Gaythelos, the son of Neolus formerly king of the Athenians by Scota daughter of the king of Egypt, the Pharaoh Centhres.

So the Scots gain additional lustre from the fact that they are sprung from the stock of the kings of Athens, the chief city and capital of the Greeks. It was from there, as our sources tell us, that Greece with its provinces became an imperial power, a nursery of great soldiers and mother of philosophy, and invented and fostered all the beneficial branches of learning. Its people are a most warlike race, well endowed with the gift of wisdom and knowledge, most eloquent in speech, obedient to the laws, pious, peaceable towards other nations, tranquil in its dealings with its own citizens, but implacable and belligerent in the face of injuries inflicted by its

sapiencie et sciencie predita, sermone disertissima, legibus subdita, pia, circa extraneos pacifica, circa incolas et domesticos quieta, contra hostium injurias intolerabilis nimium et infesta. Cuius clarius et sonancius omnium resultat idioma.

45

## 3

G ii,83

*De translacione glebe corporis  
sanctissime Margarete regine*

Anno sequenti id est domini m° cc° l° convenerunt apud Dunfermelin rex cum regina matre eius una cum episcopis et abbatibus ac aliis regni proceribus, ubi ossa et reliquias gloriose regine Margarete attavie sue de monumento lapideo, in quo per multa annorum curricula quieverant, levaverunt, et in scrineo abiegno auro gemmisque redimito cum summa devocione levaverunt. A cuius fovee effossione tantus odor suavissimusque effusus est ut totum illud sanctuarium specierum pigmentariis et vernancium florum odoribus respersum putaretur. Nec defuit ibidem divinum miraculum. Nam cum thesaurus ille percelebris in exteriori ecclesia locatus ad recondendum in choro supra maius altare, ut honorifice previum fuerat, per sacratas presulum et abbatum manus de facili sustolleretur, et processionaliter cantantibus organis et choro canora voce concinente deportaretur usque ad cancellariam<sup>a</sup> portam corpori viri sui regis Malcolmi jacentis sub testudine archuali a parte boreali navis ecclesie eque oppositam, brachia mox ferencium reddebantur stupida, et preponderis gravitudine ulterius non poterant feretrum cum reliquiis amovere. Sed velint nolint coacti sunt stacionem facere et onus ocius ad solum reponere. Post aliquod intervallum additis ad feretrum ferendum pluribus, et forte prioribus forcioribus, quanto magis levare conati sunt, tanto infirmius defecerunt. Tandem inter se ammirantibus et indignos se ad tanti<sup>b</sup> pignoris contactum indicantibus, a quodam de astantibus insonuit vox divinitus, ut creditur, inspirata, protestans clare non esse forte voluntatis divine ut ossa sacre regine antea transferantur quam viri sui bustum aperiatur et corpus eius simili honore sublimetur. Placuit sermo cunctis, et eius consilium<sup>c</sup> assequentes thecam ossibus regis refertam rex Alexander abnepos eius cum electis ad hoc collegis una cum elevacione arce reliquiarum

<sup>a</sup> clumsily altered from cancellariam C; cancellariam D; cancellariam CA

<sup>b</sup> tam preciosi for tanti CA  
<sup>c</sup> auxilium CA

enemies. Its speech is clearer and more sonorous than that of any other nation.

## 3

*The translation of the mortal remains  
of the most holy Queen Margaret*

Next year, that is 1250, the king and the queen his mother along with the bishops and abbots and other magnates of the realm assembled at Dunfermline. There they raised the bones and earthly remains of the glorious Queen Margaret his great-great-great-grandmother from the stone sepulchre in which they had rested for many years, and with the utmost reverence raised them in a casket of firwood entwined with gold and precious stones. When the grave had been opened up by digging, such an intense and sweet-smelling fragrance poured from it that men thought that the entire sanctuary had been sprinkled with the fragrance of spices and the scents of flowers in full bloom. And a miracle, sent by God, was forthcoming there and then. When that famous treasure had been placed in the outer church preparatory to re-burial in the choir beyond the high altar, a move intended as a mark of honour, it was raised without difficulty by the holy hands of the bishops and abbots, and was being carried in procession, with instruments playing and the choir singing harmoniously. They got as far as the chancel door just opposite the body of Margaret's husband, King Malcolm, which lay under an arched roof on the north side of the nave, when all at once the arms of the bearers became paralyzed, and because of the great weight they were no longer able to move the shrine which held the remains. Whether they liked it or not they were forced to halt and quickly lay their load on the ground. After some delay more helpers were added, perhaps stronger than the first, to help carry the shrine, but failed all the more feebly the more they tried to lift it. At last, as they were all marvelling one to another, and saying that they were not worthy to touch such a precious relic, they heard a voice coming from one of the bystanders, but as is believed divinely inspired, which loudly proclaimed that it was perhaps not God's will that the bones of the holy queen be translated before her husband's tomb had been opened, and his body raised and honoured in the same way. These

1250:  
19 June

regine in sublime tollentes absque quacunque vi vel obstaculo<sup>d</sup>  
 utrumque sarchofagum<sup>e</sup> et ad mausolea propterea ornanter pre- 30  
 parata canoro conventu et choro prelatorum prosequente solemniter  
 locaverunt xiii kl' julii. Ubi per illam sanctam reginam multimoda  
 miracula divina multociens operata est clemencia. Hoc anno epis-  
 copatui Dunkeldensi preficitur magister Ricardus de Inverketh' 35  
 camerarius regis Scocie, vir magne mansuetudinis et justicie tenax.  
 Moneta eciam Scoticana renovatur, ita ut crux que prius non trans-  
 ivit circulum in denarium modo ad extremos fines denarii attingat.  
 Hoc eciam anno fuit appellatum a magistro Petro de Ramseia epis-  
 copo Aberdonensi pro taxacione vicariarum, ut predicatur.

<sup>d</sup> violencia CA

<sup>e</sup> utrumque sarchofagum D; utraque sar-

chofagum with -m interlin. C; utraque sar-  
 chofaga CA

## 4

G ii, 84

*Rex Alexander desponsavit Margaritam filiam  
 regis Henrici iii Anglorum*

⑥ Anno gracie m° cc° li° magnates Scocie, regnum sub regis pueri  
 regimine cernentes periclitari suosque consiliarios tocius regni pene  
 majores hinc inde singularis comodi lucro vacillantes, hortatu cleri  
 ad regem Anglie Henricum nuncios dirigunt avisatos ut et confectum 5  
 pacis fedus per ipsum prius et regem Alexandrum nuper defunctum  
 renovetur, et per matrimonii confederacionem inter regem Alex-  
 andrum juvenem et eiusdem Henrici regis filiam contrahendi per-  
 amplius solidetur. Quibus quoque London' venientibus, rex Anglie  
 placenter pro libito petita concedens, suos eciam cum eis nuncios regi  
 Scocie remisit ut cum suis consiliariis et magnatibus pro conficiendis 10  
 negociis supradictis sibi suisque consultibus ad Natale Domini pro-  
 ximum apud Eboracum sub salvo tamen conductu regis procerum  
 Anglie sigillis roborato obviaret. Convenerunt itaque in unum reges  
 cum utriusque regni majoribus, ubi sicut antea conducta fuerant  
 omnia feliciter sunt completa. Et ad ea de cetero inviolabiliter obser- 15

words met with general approval, and following the advice which  
 they conveyed, King Alexander, [Malcolm's great-] great-great-  
 grandson, with companions chosen for this purpose, lifted up the  
 35 casket containing the bones of the king along with that, now raised,  
 which held the remains of the queen, without expending any effort  
 or encountering any obstacle. They solemnly placed both coffins  
 in tombs which had been decked out elegantly for that purpose, as  
 the congregation sang and a choir of prelates followed in solemn  
 40 procession, on 19 June. There God in his mercy has often worked  
 all manner of miracles through [the merits of] that holy queen.

In this year Master Richard de Inverkeithing, the chamberlain of 1250  
 the king of Scotland, was appointed to the bishopric of Dunkeld. He  
 was a man of very mild disposition and steadfast in his pursuit of  
 45 justice.

The Scots coinage was renewed, so that the cross which previously  
 did not pass beyond the circle on the penny now reached to the  
 outside edge.

Also in this year an appeal was registered against Master Peter de  
 50 Ramsay bishop of Aberdeen on the taxation of the revenues of  
 vicarages, as has already been mentioned.

## 4

*King Alexander married Margaret daughter of Henry III  
 king of the English*

In 1251 the magnates of Scotland, seeing that under the rule of a 1251  
 king who was a boy the kingdom was at risk, and that his more  
 important counsellors throughout virtually the whole kingdom were  
 swayed on this side or that by considerations of their own personal  
 5 gain, on the advice of the clergy sent envoys to Henry king of  
 England. Their brief was to see that the treaty previously concluded  
 between him and the late King Alexander was renewed, and greatly  
 reinforced by the contracting of a marriage alliance between the  
 young King Alexander and the daughter of the same King Henry.  
 10 On their arrival in London the king of England amicably granted  
 their requests exactly as they wished, and sent his own envoys back [18 Oct.]  
 with them to the king of Scotland to ask that he along with his  
 counsellors and magnates should meet him and his counsellors to  
 complete the aforementioned business on the following Christmas  
 15 Day at York, under a royal safe-conduct guaranteed by the seals of



fo.207v

vanda uterque | rex proceresque amborum tactis sacrosanctis evangelii conjurantur. Numquam enim Anglorum regum vel Britonum aliquis ullo tempore transacto suum erga Scotos pactum fidelius velut hic Henricus servabat atque firmitus, quia toto pene regnationis sue tempore regum Scocie patris videlicet et filii consultus et vicinus fidelissimus habebatur, quod raro ante hoc contigit evenire exceptis paucis diebus regis Ricardi Corleonis,<sup>a</sup> qui firmam confederationem cum nobili rege Willelmo avo huius regis usque ad mortem servavit. Igitur ibidem in die Natalis Domini cum maxima congratulacione utriusque regni rex Scocie Alexander puer novennis arma militaria ab Henrico rege Anglie suscepit, ubi prius allegatum fuit quod qui non est miles militem facere non potest. Et ideo episcopus Sancti Andr' miles Christi in precingendo regem ense militari gladium ad defensionem ecclesie noscitur tribuisse. Et ideo gladius regum et principum est ad laudem bonorum et ad vindictam malorum. Et in crastino, hoc est die Sancti Stephani, rex Anglie dedit regi Scocie in matrimonium filiam suam primogenitam nomine Margaritam. Accusabantur ibi quidam regi de sua prodicione per Walterum Comyne comitem de Menteth et per Willelmum comitem de Mar, unde quidam sibi timentes clandestine repatriarunt. Rex autem Scocie de consilio regis et magnatum Anglie, cuncta moderate temperans et disponens, cum nova nupta prospere ad propria remeavit, tempora prestolans congruentiora ad huiusmodi excessus puniendos. Accusabatur itaque eo tunc Robertus abbas de Dun<sup>f</sup> cancellarius regis quod per magnum sigillum legitimare proposuit sororem regis notham, scilicet uxorem Alani Hostiarii, ut fieret heres regis in successione regni; metu cuius, mox ut clanculo Scociam intravit, sigillum | regis magnatibus reddidit, quod mox confractum fuit coram omnibus,<sup>b</sup> et sigillum eo minus<sup>c</sup> datum est Gamelino in cancellarium constituto. Qui quidem anno deinde tercio electus est in episcopum Sancti Andr'. Anno domini m<sup>o</sup> cc lii in die Purificacionis orta est dissencio magna inter dictum Robertum abbatem et suum conventum ob importabilem eius obstinacionem, qui equos phaleras et alia quecumque potuit secum abduxit. Unde abbas, perpendens ipsum regem offensum et conventum suum eum constanter insequentem, nusquam habuit refugium; ac ideo non ausus expectare iudicium, habitum Cisterciense apud Neubotil suscepit. Cui successit Johannes eiusdem domus prior vir mire mansuetudinis.

<sup>a</sup> + nuncupati CA<sup>b</sup> interlin.C<sup>c</sup> eo minus S,D,R,CA,P; cominus C

G ii,85

the leading men of England. So the two kings along with the magnates of both kingdoms met, and there everything was successfully concluded in the terms agreed to previously. Both the kings and the leading men on either side swore, touching the holy gospels, to observe these terms for the future without any breach. None of the kings of the English or Britons at any time in the past ever kept their agreement with the Scots more faithfully and steadfastly than did this Henry. Throughout almost all his reign he was regarded as a most trusty adviser and neighbour by the kings of Scotland, both father and son, something which had previously happened but rarely, except for the brief period of the reign of Richard Coeur de Lion, who maintained a firm alliance with the noble King William the grandfather of this king until his death.

So, in that same place on Christmas Day to the very great joy of both kingdoms Alexander king of Scotland, then a lad of nine years of age, received the arms of a knight from Henry king of England. For it had been alleged that a man who is not a knight cannot make a knight. So it is clear that the bishop of St Andrews, being a soldier of Christ, in girding the king with the sword of knighthood, was giving him the sword for the defence of the church. Therefore the sword of kings and princes is a means for the commendation of the good and the punishment of evildoers. On the following day, that is St Stephen's day, the king of England gave his first-born daughter Margaret in marriage to the king of Scotland.

Accusations of treason against certain men were made to the king at that time by Walter Comyn earl of Menteith and William earl of Mar, with the result that some, fearing for their safety, went back to Scotland secretly. But the king of Scotland on the advice of the king and magnates of England acted with restraint in the way in which he settled and decided these matters. He returned home safely with his new bride, and waited for a more suitable time for punishing excesses of this kind. So at that time Robert abbot of Dunfermline the king's chancellor was accused of having intended by the use of the great seal to legitimize the king's illegitimate sister, the wife of Alan Durward, so that she might be the king's heir in the succession to the kingdom. For fear of this happening, as soon as he had entered Scotland secretly, he gave up the seal to the king's magnates and it was soon broken in pieces in front of everybody. A smaller seal was entrusted to Gamelin, who had been made chancellor. In the third year after that he was chosen bishop of St Andrews.

In 1252 on the feast of the Purification a great quarrel arose between the aforesaid abbot Robert and his community because of his insufferable stubbornness. He took away with him horses, their furnishings and whatever else he could. So the abbot, realizing that the king was ill-disposed towards him and that his own community

25 Dec.

26 Dec.

1252

1252:  
2 Feb.



## 5

*De mutacione consiliariorum regis  
et de<sup>a</sup> bonis consiliariis*

Remoti sunt interim omnes regis consilarii primi et novi creati sunt, videlicet Galterus Comyn comes de Menteth, Alexander comes de Buchania, Willelmus comes de Mar, Robertus de Ross' consanguineus regis et quidam alii; sed quot fuerunt consules, tot fuerunt reges, quia videres illis diebus oppressiones pauperum, exheredaciones nobilium, angarias civium, rapinas communium, sacrilegia decimarum, violaciones ecclesiarum, ut merito dici posset: 'Ve terre cuius rex puer est.' Nichil in regimine magis convenit regi quam bonos consiliarios habere, quia si consilarii sint falsi, sunt inimici regis capitanei, quia alia ei<sup>b</sup> suggerunt quam expedit eius statui; et hii maxime sunt periculosi in communitate quacumque, quia sicut in bonis consiliatoribus maxime consistit honor, salus et profectus regis et rei publice cuius caput est rex, ita in malis consiliatoribus maxime consistit confusio et subversio eiusdem. Dicit enim Tullius libro de senectute quod consiliator est in re publica sicut gubernator in navi. In qua alii aquam exhauriunt, alii cordas trahunt, alii malum scandunt. Ille vero tenens clavum est quietus sedens in puppi, qui multo maiora facit. Et Avicenna dicit quod consiliator est efficiens sicut dans formam secundum quam alius habet operari et dirigi. Distinguit enim 4<sup>sc</sup> efficiens: scilicet consilians, adjuvans, disponens et proficiens. Debent igitur consilarii regis et rei publice habere hec iii<sup>or</sup> <videlicet>:

in  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{vita sancti} \\ \text{verbo veri} \\ \text{zelo equi} \\ \text{experimento sagaci} \end{array} \right\} \text{tatem}^d$  25

Et tales in Romana re publica vocabantur senatores et<sup>e</sup> se habent

<sup>a</sup> + disturbia in regno c. v<sup>io</sup> del.C

<sup>b</sup> + scienter CA

<sup>c</sup> quadruplex D,CA

<sup>d</sup> these words appear in literary rather than schematic form CA,G

<sup>e</sup> qui sic for et CA

## 5

*The replacement of the king's counsellors.  
Concerning good counsellors*

were pursuing him resolutely, had no refuge anywhere. He did not dare to await a hearing, but received the Cistercian habit at Newbattle. John the prior of that same house succeeded him, a man of marvellously mild disposition.

Meanwhile all the original counsellors of the king were removed [1252] and new ones appointed, namely Walter Comyn earl of Menteith, Alexander earl of Buchan, William earl of Mar, Robert de Ros a blood relative of the king, and certain others. But there were as many 5 kings as there were counsellors. For in those days you could see examples of oppression of the poor, disinheriting of nobles, exactions laid upon the inhabitants, pillage of the common people, sacrilegious thefts of teinds and the violations of churches, so that it could rightly be said: 'Woe to the land whose king is a boy.'

10 In exercising government nothing is more advantageous for a king than to have good counsellors. For if his counsellors should be false, then his own chief men are a king's enemies, for they give him advice that is not expedient for one in his position. These [evil counsellors] are particularly dangerous in any community because, just as the 15 honour, well-being and success of a king and of the state of which the king is a head depend most of all on good counsellors, so confusion and the overthrow of the state arise especially from the presence of evil counsellors. For Cicero in his *De Senectute* says that a counsellor in the state is like a helmsman in a ship. In a ship some 20 bale out the water, others pull on the ropes, while yet others climb the mast. But the helmsman sits quietly in the stern, and yet does far more than the others. And Avicenna says that the counsellor's function is to lay down the blueprint according to which everyone else has to work and be guided. He distinguishes four functions of 25 the counsellor: giving counsel, helping, planning and making headway [with the project]. Consequently counsellors of the king and of the state ought to have these four qualities:

in their life holiness;  
in their words truth;  
in their zeal a sense of fairness;  
in trying out what is new wisdom.

30

in communitate sicut cor in corpore secundum Plutarcum. Unde Romulus condita civitate quam ex nomine suo Romam vocavit triginta ex senioribus elegit quorum consilio omnia ageret; quos propter 30 senectutem senatores et propter sollicitudinem cure patres ab omnibus dicebantur. Isti enim eligebantur postquam emeriti in diversis statibus et officiis extitissent, apciores sapientie negociis quanto in exercicio corporis minus possent. Istis apud Grecos tantus honor fuit quod numquam | duces processerunt ut aliquid solemne facerent 35 sine istis. | Sicut igitur isti senatores vel consiliatores sunt rei publice utilissimi quando sunt boni et virtuosus, ita sunt mali regi, prelato vel judici perniciosissimi quando sunt mali. Videlicet quando habent zelum pro comodo suo personali et privato et non pro bono communi, quando sunt corrupti cupiditate et receptione munerum, 40 quando sunt minis terri, dissimulant dicere veritatem, quando odio vel amore regulantur, tunc consulendo principem destruunt quem regere et dirigere deberent, et fiunt non solum regi sed etiam toti rei publice pessimi inimici. Quorum cuilibet dici potest illud quod dixit Paulus Elime mago Actuum xiii<sup>o</sup>: 'O plene omni dolo et omni fallacia, 45 fili diaboli, inimice omnis justicie, non desinis subvertere vias Domini rectas?' Talis consiliator fuit ille Aman, qui simplicitatem nobilissimi principis Assueri fraudulentis consiliis circumvenit et nobilis regis innocentiam ad nephandam crudelitatem induxit. De quo dicitur hostis noster et inimicus pessimus iste est Aman. Aman enim inter- 50 pretatur 'iniquus' et 'coangustans' seu 'comprimens eos' aut 'coangustacio eorum', quod bene convenit malis consiliariis qui sunt nimis iniqui,<sup>f</sup> quorum quilibet non meretur dici solum 'Aman' sed juxta linguam<sup>g</sup> maternam 'naman'.

<sup>f</sup> D, CA; iniqui C

<sup>g</sup> + nostram CA

In the Roman state men such as these were called senators, and according to Plutarch the role they play in the community is that of the heart in the body. Hence Romulus, when he had founded the 35 city which he called Rome after himself, chose thirty men from among the elders, so that in everything he did he might act on their advice. These, because of their age [*senectutem*] were called by everybody 'senators', and because of their careful forethought 'fathers'. For they were chosen after they had served their term in 40 various positions and offices, as being more suited to matters which demanded wisdom in proportion as they were less able in terms of physical effort. These men were held in such high esteem among the Greeks that their rulers never went in procession to any solemn occasion without them.

45 Thus, just as those senators or counsellors are most beneficial to the state when they are good and virtuous, so they are harmful to a king, and most damaging to a prelate or judge, when they are evil. Thus when they are zealous only for their own personal and private gain, and not for the common good, when they have been corrupted 50 by avarice and receiving gifts, when they have been frightened by threats and they forbear to speak the truth, when their judgment is ruled by love or hate, then by their counsel they destroy the prince whom they ought to guide and direct, and become the worst of enemies to the king and to the state as a whole. One could say to any one of these what Paul said to Elymas the sorcerer in Acts 13: 55 'You son of the Devil, swindler and rascal, enemy of all goodness, will you not stop perverting the straight ways of the Lord?'

One such counsellor was that Haman, who took advantage of the guilelessness of that most noble prince Ahasuerus with his deceitful 60 counsels and led the innocent mind of that noble king into an act of unspeakable cruelty. Hence our enemy, that worst foe of all, is said to be a Haman, for 'Haman' means 'unjust' and 'one who restricts men', or 'keeps them in confinement', or 'the cause of their confinement'. This meaning fits very well those evil counsellors who are 65 unjust. Some of them deserve to be called not just 'Haman', but in our mother tongue 'nae man'.

## 6

*Quales consiliarios debet rex habere  
et de x consiliis moralibus*

Quia igitur voluntatis mee est ut rex habeat solidum consilium, hic datur regibus consilium divinitus dictatum quod Rex Regum monstravit domine Brigitte oranti pro rege Swecie, qui ab ea humiliter consilium petiit quomodo in regimine juste et prudenter se habere deberet, ut habetur libro celesti capitulo ii<sup>o</sup>; Christus itaque sic ei loquitur:

'Ego sum verus rex et nullus est dignus vocari rex nisi ego, quia a me est omnis honor et potestas. Et quia iste rex Swecie querit a te humiliter quomodo in regimine juste et prudenter vivat, ideo ego indicabo ei. Decem sunt ei et cuilibet regi facienda. Primum est ut removeat a se illos consiliarios quorum corda sunt ambiciosa et cupida, quorum lingua duplex et dolosa, quorum oculi sunt ad spiritualia lippientes. Eligat vero illos qui non vendunt justiciam pro pecunia, qui erubescunt mendacium et assertaciones, qui diligunt Dominum plus quam carnalia, et qui proximorum miseriis<sup>a</sup> compaciuntur. Secundum quod ipse mittat vassallos suos et clericos ac gentes ad illa loca infidelium, ubi fides catholica et caritas augeri potest. Nam ideo vassalli sui interfecti fuerunt in civitate Hamnis<sup>b</sup> quia ipse ambivit partem regni alieni Christianorum.

Tercium est quod ipse rex legat cotidie Horas Beate Virginis matris mee, et cum judicia et aliqua ardua inter manus habuerit dimittere potest horas diei. Audiat etiam duas missas privatas vel unam cantatam omni die. Recordetur quoque omni die, quinque vicibus, de quinque vulneribus meis que sustinui pro eo in cruce.

Quantum est quod jejunet | vigiliis sanctorum et matris mee que ab ecclesia sancta constitute sunt. Sextam vero feriam jejunet in piscibus; Sabbatum si voluerit in lacticiniis. Quadragesimam vero observet juxta morem patrie. Sed hoc attendat in jejuniis quod sit moderatus et temperatus, ne propter inconveniencia jejunia aut propter indiscretas vigiliis et prolixas oraciones privatas tepidus sit in consiliis aut remissus in judiciis faciendis. Sed quando labor major ei accreverit, tunc obediat consilio et potestati ac dispensacioni prelatorum ecclesie mee.

Quintum est quod quemlibet decimum denarium qui fisco regio debetur tribuat in elemosinam pauperibus. Si vero aliqua alia pie supererogare ob amorem meum voluerit certa de causa, major tunc erit ei merces.

vi est quod omni sexta feria colligat xiii pauperes et lavet pedes

<sup>a</sup> + non del.C

<sup>b</sup> Hampnez CA

## 6

*What sort of counsellors a king ought to have,  
and ten moral precepts*

Because I want the king to have good solid counsel, at this point I give the divinely prescribed advice to kings which the King of Kings revealed to the Lady Bridget as she was praying for the king of Sweden, who had humbly sought advice from her on how he should conduct himself justly and wisely as a ruler. It is found in the second chapter of her *Liber Celestis*, where Christ speaks to her as follows:

'I am the true king: none is worthy to be called king save me, for all honour and power came from me. Since the king of Sweden humbly enquires of you how he may live a just and wise life as a ruler, I shall tell him. There are ten things which he, and any king, must do.

First of all he must remove from his presence those counsellors whose hearts are ambitious and greedy, whose tongue is false and deceitful, who are bleary-eyed when it comes to spiritual things. Rather he should choose those who do not sell justice at a price, who blush to tell a lie and make false assertions, who love the Lord more than the things of the flesh, and who feel compassion for the sufferings of their neighbours.

The second precept is that he should send his vassals and clergy and people to the lands of the unbelievers, where the catholic faith and acts of charity may be increased. This is why his vassals were killed in the city of Copenhagen, because he coveted part of another Christian king's kingdom.

The third precept is that the king should read daily the Hours of the Blessed Virgin my mother, and when he is able to interrupt judgments and other laborious business he may have on hand, let him read the Hours of that day. He should also hear two private masses or one sung mass each day. Let him also recall every day, five times in the day, my five wounds which I endured for him on the cross.

The fourth precept is that he should fast on the vigils of saints and of my holy mother which have been instituted by holy church. On Fridays let him fast eating fish only, and if he wishes, on Saturday let him eat milk products only. Let him observe Lent according to the custom of his country. But in his fasting he must take care that he be reasonable and moderate lest, as a result of inappropriate fasts or unwise vigils and excessively long private prayers, he may become listless when in council or careless in giving judgment. But when any major trouble develops, then let him obey the counsel and authority and judgment of the prelates of my church.

The fifth precept is that he should give to the poor as alms every tenth penny due to the royal treasury. But if he wishes charitably to

eorum, et tribuat eis victum et pecuniam manu sua, nisi forte fuerit in via, propter quam talia sunt omittenda. Ipsa quoque sexta feria exoccupet se totum, quando habet residenciam quietam; et audiat illa die querimonias subditorum communitatis regni. Et tunc inquirat de fidelitate et regimine prepositorum et iudicum regni, et vassallorum, et de exactoribus tributorum et redditum regalium. 40

vii est quod ipse rex sit discretus in donis suis, ut sic uni tribuat quod aliis non sit avarus. Et sic alicui pro vite merito et ampliori labore plus quam aliis donare voluerit et hoc faciat cum maturitate et cautela, ne notetur in rege inequalitas et occasio murmuracionis. Quia nichil sic reprehensibile in potentibus dominis est sicut prodigalitas aut nimia tenacitas. Et ita nichil decet et ornat regem sicut imperare cum modestia et laborantes in servicio suo remunerare cum caritate. 45

## 7

*Adhuc de eodem*

'Poterit eciam rex dare dona sua extraneis conservantibus pacem regno suo et hiis qui necessitatem paciuntur, si tamen hoc faciat quod vassalli et familiares proprii non negligantur aut obliviscantur.

viii est quod legem Dei non transgrediatur, nec novas inducat consuetudines contra statuta laudabilia, nec potestative disponat et iudicet que occurrunt menti eius, sed iuste secundum legem Dei et regni agat omnia, quia non decet regem multa precipere et nichil agere, iusticiamque relinquere et crudeliter imperare. 5

ix est quod rex se talem operibus exhibeat quatenus dignus sit nomine regio fugiendo cupiditatem et diligendo veraciter humilitatem. Quia quanto rex maior est ceteris tanto humilior sit coram Deo, a quo omnis potestas est. Qui ita in iudicio rationem strictam exigit a rege sicut a populo et a plebe. 10

x est ut rex discernatur ab aliis, necesse est ut habitum discretum et honestum et honorabilem habeat pre aliis. Quia sicut honor regis est iusticia et iudicium, sic honor plebis est pulcritudo regis et honestas eius. Propterea permittitur regi habitus honorabilis et honestus. Quem cum portaverit, non superbiat ex permissione sed humiliet se con- 15

fo.208v

40 give over and above that for some particular cause for love of me, then his reward will be all the greater.

The sixth precept is that each Friday he should gather together thirteen poor people and wash their feet, and give them provisions and money from his own hand, unless he happens to be on a journey. In that case he may omit acts of this sort. Each Friday when he is in a settled abode he should disengage himself entirely from business, and on that day hear the complaints of his subjects who form the community of his realm. Let him take that opportunity to make enquiry about the loyalty and conduct in office of the local officials and judges of the realm, and of his vassals, and about the collectors of the royal taxes and revenues. 45

The seventh precept is that the king should be prudent in his giving, so that he does not give so much to one person that he is mean towards others. When he wishes to reward some one person more than others in recognition of the merit of his life and greater service, he should do this after mature reflection and exercising caution, lest the king be accused of unfairness, and this becomes a cause for murmuring against him. For nothing is so reprehensible in powerful lords as prodigality or excessive meanness; and nothing more befits a king, and enhances his prestige, as ruling with restraint, and rewarding with his charity those who toil in his service. 50 55 60

## 7

*The same continued*

'The king may also make gifts to outsiders who are helping to preserve peace for his kingdom and to those who suffer want, providing that he does this without his vassals or members of his own entourage being neglected or forgotten.

5 The eighth precept is that he does not transgress the law of God or bring in new customs that go against generally approved statutes. Nor should he on his own authority lay down and decree as law whatever occurs to him; but he should always act justly in accordance with the law of God and of the realm, for it is not suitable for a king to issue many orders and not act upon them, to abandon justice and to govern harshly. 10

The ninth precept is that the king should by his actions demonstrate the extent to which he is worthy of the name of king by shunning greed and by a true love of humility. For to the extent that a king is greater than anyone else, so he must be correspondingly more humble in the presence of God, from whom all his power comes. For in his judgment God will demand from the king as strict an account as he does from the people and the ordinary folk. 15

siderando onus officii sui. Hiis autem diebus debet rex portare coronam in capite scilicet in die Nativitatis, Apparicionis, Pasche, Ascensionis et Penthecost', | Assumpcionis matris mee Virginis Marie, Exaltacionis<sup>a</sup> Sancte Crucis, Omnium Sanctorum, et omnibus illis diebus quibus judicia generalia tenet, et diebus illis quibus debet facere milites. Nam sicut in diebus festis humanitatis mee et glorificacionis sanctorum meorum totus exultat celestis exercitus propter beneficia mea, sic de justicia regis que notatur in corona gaudere debent justi in terris, et de retributione regis justi exultat tota curia celestis.<sup>b</sup>

Alia eciam decem consilia dat Christus regibus capitulo iiii<sup>to</sup> eiusdem libri dicens:

'Primo quod<sup>c</sup> in mensa sua non sit solus, sed cum aliquibus suis subditis sedeat, qui ex eius presencia consolabuntur corporaliter et spiritualiter, quia ex hoc a peccatis et inhonestatibus abstrahuntur.

Secundum consilium est quod post mensam stare poterit et honeste modicum solaciare. Quia ex humili collocucione et collacione domestica subditorum acquirit gratiam et amorem. Et tunc audiat multorum rationes et opiniones, aut imitandas aut reprobandas.

iii consilium est quod in omnibus judiciis et operibus suis sit misericors et justus, ut nec propter amicitiam vel falsam compassionem nec propter privatum bonum suum, aut propter temporalem utilitatem seu timorem, dimittat exercere justiciam. Nec propter iram seu impacienciam negligat seu obliviscatur misericordiam, quia indecens est regi vinci ab ira, et iudicem judicare subito, aut precibus a via justicie deviare.

iiii<sup>um</sup> est quod rex non committat regimina et judicia sua facienda illis quos sciverit esse parciales et cupidos, aut illis qui fraudulenter sciunt extorquere pecunias, quia tales faciliter deviant a justicia. Sed inquirat rex illos qui a natura bene ordinati progenitorum suorum imitantur bona vestigia, et qui magis justicie opera diligunt quam ditari.

v<sup>um</sup> est quod continue inquirat rex qualiter observatur lex et justicia in regno suo, et illos quos delinquentes corrigere poterit non dimittat impunitos. Et caveat quod non nimis emungat pecunias et emendas a delinquentibus, nec aliqua calliditate opprimat innocentes. Sed cum humilibus agat micus et severius punit induratos, et ubi majorem viderit humilitatem, misericordiam superexaltet equitati.'

<sup>a</sup> CA,D; Exaltacione C

<sup>b</sup> + Hec ille CA

<sup>c</sup> + ad del.C

The tenth precept is that, in order that the king may be distinguished from others, he must have distinctive apparel, which is decent and does him honour above others. For just as the king's honour lies in his giving justice and judgment, so the king's handsome and noble appearance brings honour to the ordinary people. For this reason the king is allowed honourable and decent apparel; but when he wears this, he must not grow arrogant as a result of this concession, but should keep himself humble by pondering on the burden of his office. The king should wear his crown on the following days: my Nativity, Epiphany, Easter, Ascension and Pentecost; the Assumption of my mother the Virgin Mary, the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, All Saints; and on all those days on which he holds general courts, and the days on which he has to make knights. For just as on the festive days commemorating my human life and the glorification of my saints the whole heavenly host exults at the favours conferred by me, so all just men on earth ought to rejoice at the justice of the king which is denoted in the crown, and the whole court of heaven exults at a reward dispensed by a just king.'

Christ gives ten further pieces of advice for kings in the fourth chapter of the same book. He says:

'The first counsel is that he should not sit alone at table, but with some of his subjects, who will derive bodily and spiritual comfort from his presence, because thereby they are drawn away from sinful and dishonourable actions.

The second counsel is that after a meal he may stand and take a little honest relaxation. For through unpretentious conversation and homely discourse he wins the good will and affection of his subjects. At that time he should listen to the arguments and opinions of many, both those that are to be imitated and those which he must reject.

The third counsel is that in all his judgments and all his actions he should be merciful and just, so that he does not abandon the administration of justice because of some feeling of friendship or false compassion, or because of any gain to himself, or any momentary advantage or fear. He should not neglect or forget mercy through feelings of anger or impatience, for it is unworthy of a king to let anger get the better of him, and of a judge to make a hasty judgment, or to deviate from the path of justice in response to pressure.

The fourth counsel is that the king should not entrust government or the giving of judgment in his courts to those whom he knows to be partial and greedy, or those who are skilled in extorting money under false pretences, for such men readily deviate from the paths of justice. But the king should seek out those who, with a disposition that is naturally well formed, follow in the good path trodden by their forebears, and who love the works of justice rather than to be made rich.

The fifth counsel is that the king should be continually enquiring how law and justice are being kept in his kingdom, and should not leave unpunished those who are at fault, and whom he is able to correct. He should take care that he does not squeeze out money and fines from

## 8

*Adhuc de eodem*

'Sextum est quod continue rex discuciat judicia et opera sua, et si ex facili et subito mentis impulsu se errasse viderit, non erubescat corrigere vel retractare que male acta sunt. Non enim ipse sapiencior est David, qui eciam erravit, nec sancior propheta qui credens mendacio occisus est a leone.

vii est quod non sit nimis subitus in agendo, sed providus et circumspectus considerando finem negotiorum. Innitatur<sup>a</sup> eciam consiliis sapiencium et expertorum et timencium Deum, quibus et obediat et seipsum non abscondat ab eis. Quia degeneris et suspiciosi est animi consiliarios probatos habere suspectos, et consilia mature et sobrie tractata cum adulantibus et assentantibus retractare.

viii consilium est quod caveat levitatem verborum et morum in omnibus, et apud familiares et domesticos suos, fugatque adulatores, assentatores et palpones quasi scorpionem, quia eum | foveat in peccatis et scandalizant bonos. Nam talem convenit esse | regem quod timeatur a juvenibus, honoretur a senibus, laudetur a sapientibus, diligatur a justis, et ab oppressis concordialiter desideretur.

Nonum est quod rex non communicet hiis qui ab ecclesia excommunicati sunt, nec foveat illos qui Deum et mandata eius derident. Sed informet eos verbis et ammonicionibus caritativis, et nisi resipuerint, ostendat eis severitatem suam et subtrahat eis beneficia sua. Nam honor regis est divina super omnia diligere et Dei honorem suis viribus augmentare.

x consilium est quod populum et communitatem regni sui diligat, milites suos clementer pertractet, et beneficia parentum in filiis<sup>b</sup> recordetur.

Hec de consiliariis et consilio regis sufficiant; ad propositum redeamus. Anno quo supra scilicet domini m<sup>o</sup> cc<sup>o</sup> lii obiit David<sup>c</sup> episcopus de Sanctoandr<sup>o</sup> vir per omnia commendabilis. Post quem canonici, vocato secum magistro Abel archidiacono Sancti Andre excellentis sciencie viro ad eleccionem, elegerunt magistrum Rober-

<sup>a</sup> imitatur CA  
<sup>b</sup> filios CA

<sup>c</sup> + de Bernhame CA

## 8

*Concerning the same*

delinquents to excess, nor oppress the innocent by employing some clever trick. But let him deal gently with the humble and punish hardened offenders with severity; and where he sees contrition to be great, let mercy be preferred to equity.'

'The sixth counsel is that the king should continually examine his judgments and actions, and if he sees that a sudden impulse, too readily arrived at, has made him err, he should not be ashamed to correct or reconsider what he has done amiss. For he is not wiser than David, who also erred, or more holy than the prophet who, because he believed a lie, was killed by a lion.

The seventh counsel is that he be not too hasty in acting, but farseeing and cautious, considering the ultimate outcome of matters. He must also rely on the advice of those who are wise, experienced and God-fearing. He must obey them and not withdraw himself from their counsels. For it is the mark of an ignoble and suspicious nature to suspect counsellors of proven merit and to go back on counsels arrived at by sober and considered deliberation, swayed by flatterers and sycophants.

The eighth counsel is that he should be beware of superficiality of speech and behaviour in all circumstances, both among his friends and those of his own household, and shun flatterers, sycophants and toadies as if they were so many scorpions, for they encourage him in wrongdoing, and give offence to good men. For the character of the king should be such that he is held in awe by the young, honoured by the old, praised by the wise, loved by the just, and his help is unanimously desired by the oppressed.

The ninth counsel is that he should not have communion with those who have been excommunicated by the church, nor favour those who mock God and his commandments. But let him instruct them with loving words and admonitions, and if they do not come to their senses, let him reveal his severity to them and withdraw from them all tokens of his favour. For the honour of a king consists in loving above all else those things which belong to God and in increasing God's honour with all his own might.

The tenth counsel is that he should love the people and the whole community of his realm, that he should be merciful in his dealings with his knights, and should remember services rendered by parents in dealing with their children.'

35 So much for the counsellors and counsel of a king. Let us return



tum de Stotevill<sup>d</sup> virum utique nobilem providum et discretum decanum Dunkeldensem. Contra quam eleccionem magister Abel appellavit et appellando Romam peciit. Rex Scocie contra canonicos vehementer offensus eo quod ad eleccionem scripsit pro Gamelino suo cancellario et in petitione sua minime exauditus est; unde consilio malignancium circa canonicos alienum se satis<sup>e</sup> reddebat rex, donec mortuo infra annum Abel electus est Gamelinus ad regis instanciam, timore magis, ut creditur, quam amore.

Anno domini m<sup>o</sup> cc<sup>o</sup> liii obiit pie memorie Robertus Grossum Caput episcopus Lincolnie. In cuius transitu celestis armonia a nonnullis audiebatur; qui injuste, ut dicitur, a domino papa Innocencio iiii<sup>o</sup> <excommunicatur, propter quod> de ipsa excommunicatione ad Deum Summum Judicem appellans in ipsa sententia defunctus est. Et quam injuste ipsa sententia in ipsum lata fuerit, gloriosa miracula ad eius tumbam celitus perpetrata ostendunt. Nec obstat quod dicitur: 'Quodcumque ligaveris super terram', hoc intelligendum est scilicet clave non errante. Ipso anno magister Abel post multa discrimina et examinationes coram domino papa factas rediit episcopus de Sancto Andr', a domino papa consecratus. Et in die apostolorum Petri et Pauli cum pontificalibus primo celebravit. Anno sequenti obiit Abel. Cui per eleccionem successit Gamelinus. Et anno precedenti scilicet domini m<sup>o</sup> cc liii Eadwardus Langschankis primogenitus regis Anglie Henrici filiam regis desponsavit Castelli.

d Stutewill' CA

e interlin.C

### *Quomodo ii<sup>o</sup> remoti sunt regis consilarii*

Eodem anno sopito in regno scocie iudicio et iusticia,<sup>a</sup> ob favorem filii sui regis Alexandri et procerum regni Henricus rex Anglie velut

a + exulante CA

to our theme. In the aforementioned year 1252 occurred the death of David bishop of St Andrews, a man admirable in every respect. As his successor the canons, having summoned as an elector Master Abel archdeacon of St Andrews, a very learned man, chose Master Robert de Stuteville dean of Dunkeld, who was certainly a noble, wise and distinguished man. Master Abel appealed against this election and took his appeal to Rome. The king of Scotland was greatly incensed against the canons because at the time of the election he had written to them supporting his chancellor Gamelin, and his request had been completely disregarded. So the king adopted a quite hostile attitude towards the canons, swayed by the advice of men of ill will, until on the death of Abel within a year Gamelin was elected at the king's insistence, more out of fear of the king, it is thought, than of respect.

In 1253 occurred the death of Robert Grosseteste of blessed memory bishop of Lincoln. At his passing heavenly music was heard by several people. It is said that he had been unjustly excommunicated by the lord pope Innocent IV. Therefore he had appealed against this excommunication to God the Supreme Judge, and died at the very moment when judgment was being given. The glorious miracles performed through the heavenly grace at his tomb show how unjust was the sentence which had been passed on him. The words: 'Whoever you bind on earth' are no objection to this, for they are to be understood [as holding good] only if the key does not err.

In the same year Master Abel, after undergoing many tribulations and examinations before the lord pope, returned as bishop of St Andrews, after consecration by him. On the feast of the apostles Peter and Paul he celebrated mass for the first time in his episcopal regalia. Abel died in the course of the next year. Gamelin succeeded him by process of election.

In the preceding year, that is 1253, Edward Longshanks, the eldest son of Henry king of England, married the daughter of the king of Castile.

### *The removal of the king's counsellors for the second time*

In that same year, since good judgment and justice slept in the realm of Scotland, because of the esteem in which he was held by his son King Alexander and the magnates of the realm, Henry king of England came to the castle of Wark, answering their request like a

G ii,90

pater fidelis per eos requisitus venit usque ad castrum de Werk, ubi habito per reges et suos consules pro statu regni Scocie tractatu diligenti, statim omnes consiliarii regis Scocie a suis officiis sunt amoti. | Alibi eciam sic scriptum repperi quod ipso anno misit rex Anglie comitem Glovernie et Johannem Mansell' clericum suum in Scociam<sup>b</sup> et cooperante comite Patricio de Dunbar regem Scocie apud Edinburgh' ceperunt, et cum regina sponsa sua tunc primo in thoro maritali copulaverunt. In tercio eciam libro ut singulorum veredicta<sup>c</sup> non reticiam sic repperi scriptum. Eo tempore comes Patricius de Dunbar et Alanus Ostiarius zelo rei publice succensi et sui in hac parte fautores volentes insurgere contra Walterum Comyn et alios magnates tunc de consilio regis existentes ut eos a domino rege amoverent de consensu domini regis Anglie, ut dicitur, venerunt ad Castrum Puellarum cum equis et armis, privatim associato eis Ricardo de Clare comite Glovernie; et castrum ingressi consiliarios regis et familiam suam tamquam improvisos<sup>d</sup> expulerunt, et dictum castrum cum domino rege et regina suis propriis militibus et servientibus commiserunt. Et post aliquantos dies regem Scocie cum regina ad regem et reginam Anglie, qui propterea usque ad Werk venerant, cum magna multitudine adduxerunt. Et ibidem dicti reges cum proceribus utriusque regni diuturnum colloquium tenuerunt, ubi multa statuerunt prelati et magnatibus Scocie satis displicencia, alia eciam regno satis pro futura. Ibi ordinarunt Ricardum Dunkeldensem episcopum regis Scocie cancellarium, David de Lyndeseia suum camerarium, et Alanum Hostiarium sive Durward summum justiciarium usque septennium. In reditu suo rex Anglie apud Lincolniam multos occidit Judeos eo quod quemdam puerum Hugonem nomine crudeliter interemerunt et sanctum martirem fecerunt: quosdam patibulo suspendit, quosdam equis exagitari per plateas fecit, quia dictum infantem cruci appendentes ibidem expirare compulerunt. Reverso, ut premisi, dicto domino rege Anglie ad sua, maxima dissencio inter magnates Scocie orta est, ex eo quod novi consiliarii regis priores consiliarios compota de bonis regiis<sup>e</sup> consumptis exigebant | ac per literas suas obligatorias ipsos de suis factis ad respondendum compellebant. Hoc factum est anno domini m° cc lv <quando eciam Ricardus dux Cornubie frater regis Anglie ad imperium Almannie eligitur>. Quo anno misit rex Scocie nuncios suos milites Rome ad cassandam eleccionem Gamelini, quam tamen ipse prius promovit. Qui post varias altercationes coram papa ventilitas et bursas evacuatatas ibidem imperfecto negotio mortui sunt. Gamelinus quoque donis et<sup>f</sup> expensis non parcens tandem gratiam

<sup>b</sup> Scocia C  
<sup>c</sup> dicta CA  
<sup>d</sup> improviso CA

<sup>e</sup> regis CA  
<sup>f</sup> om. CA

5 faithful father. There after the kings and their advisers had held an earnest discussion about the state of the realm of Scotland, all the counsellors of the king of Scotland were immediately removed from office. Elsewhere I have also found it written that in that same year the king of England sent the earl of Gloucester and John Mansel his clerk to Scotland, and with the help of Patrick earl of Dunbar they took the king of Scots prisoner at Edinburgh and united him with the queen his spouse in the marriage bed for the first time. [4 Sept.] [10 Aug.]

And – not to omit the truthful statements of any one – I have found the following account of the affair in a third book. At that time Patrick earl of Dunbar and Alan Durward, fired by zeal for the realm, and their supporters, wishing to move against Walter Comyn and other magnates who were then members of the king's council so as to separate them from the lord king, came to Edinburgh Castle with horses and arms, with the agreement of the lord king of England, as is said. Richard de Clare earl of Gloucester had secretly joined them. Entering the castle they took the counsellors of the king and his household by surprise, drove them out, and entrusted the said castle, with the lord king and his queen, to their own knights and sergeants. After some days they brought the king of Scotland with his queen, accompanied by a great number of people, to meet the king and queen of England, who had come to Wark for this very purpose. There the aforesaid kings, along with the magnates of both realms, held a lengthy conference, in the course of which they made many decisions that were pretty unwelcome to the prelates and magnates of Scotland, but also others beneficial to the kingdom in the future. There they appointed Richard bishop of Dunkeld as chancellor of the king of Scotland, David de Lindsay to be his chamberlain, and Alan the Usher (otherwise Alan Durward) to be his chief justiciar for seven years.

On his return journey the king of England killed many Jews at Lincoln because they had cruelly murdered a young boy named Hugh and made of him a holy martyr. Some he hanged from a gibbet. Others he caused to be dragged through the streets by horses, because in that same place they had done to death the aforesaid child by hanging him up on a cross. [Aug.]

As I have already said, once the aforesaid lord king of England had returned home, a most bitter dispute arose among the magnates of Scotland. For the king's new counsellors demanded from the former counsellors accounts for the royal property which had been squandered, and forced them to give an account of their actions by means of letters acknowledging their responsibilities. This happened in 1255. This was the year in which Richard duke of Cornwall, brother of the king of England, was elected German emperor.

In this year the king of Scotland sent his knights as envoys to

domini pape impetravit, et in ecclesia Sanctiandr' a Willelmo Glas-  
guensi episcopo in die Sancti Stephani consecratus est.

45

## 10

*De monasteriis Scocie interdictis  
et de capcione regis Alexandri*

G ii,91

Anno domini m° cc lvi<sup>to</sup> quedam monasteria Scocie auctoritate  
domini pape interdicta sunt pro defectu solucionis cuiusdam magne  
summe pecunie qua | Gamelinus Sanctiandr' episcopus dicta mon-  
asteria per sigilla sua obligaverat pro consecracione sua et placitis  
ad Romam. Quo anno Johannes abbas de Dunf' pro monasterii sui  
reconsiliacione Romam proficiscens in transmarinis partibus apud  
Pontiniacum fato concessit; cui Matheus eiusdem domus terrarius  
successit. Quo in anno de multis et arduis querelis Walterus Comyn  
comes de Menteth et eius complices coram rege Alexandro et suis  
consiliariis sepius acclamati non comparuerunt. Sed cum secundum  
assisam regni iudicium expectare non auderent, unanimiter consulti,  
inconsulte tamen et temere manus sacrilegas in christum Domini  
apponentes, regem in lecto suo dormientem apud Kinross de nocte  
rapuerunt, et ante diluculum apud Strivelyne in crastino Simonis et  
Jude anno domini m° cc lvii ipsum regem indecenter secum abdux-  
erunt. Sigillum quoque regis magnum, quod magister Robertus Stu-  
teuill' decanus Dunkeldensis vice cancellarii Ricardi episcopi porta-  
vit, violenter abstulerunt. In ipsa capcione fuerunt principales  
Walterus Comyn comes de Menteth. De quo non est modice miran-  
dum, qui tam fidelis extitit regi in sua coronacione et fecit ut amo-  
verentur<sup>a</sup> primi consilarii eo quod male regem et regnum guber-  
nabant; sed certe bona regis et firme eius provenientes<sup>b</sup> ad manus  
consiliariorum et eius racionia de eis non putancium<sup>c</sup> daturorum  
a via veritatis et equitatis declinare fecerunt; propter quod dicit

<sup>a</sup> + sui CA

<sup>b</sup> utpote firme custume et reverencia pro-  
veniencia for et firme eius provenientes CA

- 50 Rome to have the election of Gamelin annulled, though he himself  
had formerly promoted it. After the various arguments had had an  
airing before the pope and their purses had been emptied, they died  
there with their business still unfinished. At last Gamelin, who had  
also spared neither gifts nor money, obtained the favour of the lord  
55 pope, and was consecrated in the church of St Andrews by William  
bishop of Glasgow on St Stephen's Day. 26 Dec.

## 10

*The monasteries of Scotland are put under an interdict  
and King Alexander is seized*

- In 1256 certain monasteries of Scotland were put under an interdict  
on the authority of the lord pope for failure to repay a large debt for  
which Gamelin bishop of St Andrews had made the said monasteries  
liable with the backing of their seals, in order to pay for the expenses  
5 of his consecration and lawsuits at Rome. In the same year John  
abbot of Dunfermline, who was on his way to Rome in order to  
reconcile his monastery with the curia, died in foreign parts across  
the seas at Pontigny. He was succeeded by Matthew, the terrar of  
the said house.  
10 In that year Walter Comyn earl of Menteith and his accomplices  
were frequently cited before King Alexander and his counsellors to  
answer many serious complaints, but did not appear. But because  
they did not dare await trial according to the laws of the kingdom,  
they adopted a plan which, though agreed among themselves, was  
15 ill-conceived and rash. Laying sacrilegious hands on the anointed of  
the Lord, they seized the king at night as he lay asleep in bed at  
Kinross, and shamefully took him with them before dawn to Stirling  
on the morning after the feast of St Simon and St Jude in 1257. They  
also seized by force the king's great seal, which Master Robert [de]  
20 Stuteville dean of Dunkeld had in his custody while acting for the  
chancellor Bishop Richard.

- Among the prime movers in that kidnapping [was] Walter Comyn  
earl of Menteith. In his case this is much to be wondered at, for he  
was so loyal to the king at the time of his coronation and ensured that  
25 his first counsellors should be removed because they were guiding the  
king and the kingdom badly. But no doubt the possessions and  
revenues of the king which came into the hands of his counsellors  
and of those who did not think that they would have to render an

1257:  
29 Oct.

Augustinus quod: 'Avaricia, que Grece philargia dicitur, non in solo 25  
 argento, unde nomen duxisse resonat, sed in omnibus rebus que  
 immoderate cupiuntur et capiuntur intelligenda est. Ubicumque',  
 inquit, 'omnino plus vult quisque quam satis, huiusmodi avaricia  
 cupiditas est; cupiditas vero improba voluntas est, ergo improba 30  
 voluntas omnium malorum causa est.' Et ubicumque apposicio divi-  
 iarum maiorem accendit flammam, vehemencior ibi fit cupido. Expe-  
 dit igitur cuique regi habere consiliarios tales ut premisimus in  
 Brigitta. Principales igitur actores fuerunt Walterus Comyn comes  
 de Menteth, Alexander Comyn comes de Buchania, Willelmus comes  
 de Mar in malis ingeniosus satis, Johannes Comyn vir ad rapinam 35  
 et temeritatem expeditus, Hugo de Abirnethin, David de Lochor,  
 Hugo de Berkley et alii quamplures malignorum satellites, qui nichil  
 ad licitum sed omnia ad libitum facientes per phas et nephas in  
 populo regnaverunt; et sic fuit novissimus error pejor priore. Multe  
 persecuciones ex tunc et tribulaciones inter Scotorum proceres 40  
 suborte sunt, quia posteriores regis consules dampna et mala antierus  
 perpessa in priores refundere nitebantur. Unde tales pauperum con-  
 triciones et ecclesiarum spoliaciones sequebantur quales vise non  
 sunt in Scocia temporibus priscis.

c + se CA; se daturos for daturorum P

## 11

*De aliis incidentibus et intoxicacione et morte  
 Walteri Comin comitis de M[enteth]*

Anno precedenti id est domini m° cc° lvi° obiit egregius predicator  
 de Ordine Predicatorum Clemens episcopus Dunblanensis, variarum  
 linguarum interpres eloquentissimus, vir potens sermone et opere  
 coram Deo et hominibus. Qui ecclesiam episcopatus sui cathedrallem  
 predecessorum suorum incuria invenit aporiatam in tantum ut in ea 5  
 tamquam in rurali capella vix in ebdomada ter divina celebrarentur.  
 Quam in insigne sanctuarium construxit, terris et possessionibus  
 ditavit, prebendis et canonicis exaltavit. Anno sequenti id est domini

G ii,92

account to him for them caused them to stray from the path of truth  
 30 and equity. This is why Augustine says that: 'Avarice, which in Greek  
 is *philarguria*, is to be understood as subsisting not only in the sphere  
 of money [*argentum*] from which it has clearly got its name, but in  
 all things which are desired to excess and seized. In every case', he  
 says, 'where someone wants altogether more than he needs, desire  
 35 of this kind amounts to avarice. Desire is an excessive wish for  
 something. Hence wanting something to excess is the cause of all  
 evils.' And wherever the accumulation of wealth kindles a greater  
 flame, there desire becomes more insistent. So every king ought to  
 have the sort of counsellors we mentioned above in [our quotations  
 40 from] St Bridget.

Well then, the prime movers in this were Walter Comyn earl of  
 Menteith, Alexander Comyn earl of Buchan, William earl of Mar (a  
 man well versed in evildoing), John Comyn (one who was prone to  
 pillage and unruly behaviour), Hugh de Abernethy, David de  
 45 Lochore, Hugh de Berkeley, and several others the henchmen of evil  
 men. This group, who did nothing in accordance with the law but  
 everything in accordance with their own wishes, ruled the people  
 regardless of right or wrong. As a result this latest deviation was  
 worse than the first. From that time on there arose many acts of  
 50 persecution and many tribulations among the magnates of Scotland.  
 For these more recent counsellors of the king now tried to retaliate  
 against the former counsellors for the losses and injuries they had  
 suffered previously. So there ensued a worse grinding down of the  
 poor and spoliation of churches than had been seen in Scotland in  
 55 ancient times.

## 11

*Other events and the poisoning and death  
 of Walter Comyn earl of Menteith*

In the previous year, that is 1256, Clement bishop of Dunblane died, [1258:  
 that outstanding member of the Order of Preachers, a man most 19 Mar.]  
 eloquent in translating various tongues, 'powerful in speech and  
 action in the sight of God and of men'. He found the cathedral  
 5 church of his diocese reduced by the neglect of his predecessors to  
 such a state of decay that the divine offices were celebrated in it  
 scarcely three times a week, as if it were some rural chapel. He  
 built it up to be a hallowed sanctuary, enriched it with lands and

m<sup>o</sup> cc<sup>o</sup> lviii obiit magister Petrus de Ramseia episcopus Aberdonensis. Cui successit Andreas de Porton Angligena, vir prius per sacramentum fidelitatis Scoticus, affabilis et multum morigeratus. Anno sequenti obiit pie memorie Willelmus episcopus Glasguensis dictus de Bondington, qui multo tempore fuit cancellarius et consiliarius regis fidelissimus, vir dapsilis et liberalis in omnibus, qui ecclesiam suam Glasguensem miro artificio lapideo edificavit, et multis bonis ditavit et ornavit. Cui successit Nicholaus de Muffet vir laudabilis Thevidalie archidiaconus. Qui Romam pro consecratione sua proficiscens prodicione canonicorum suorum qui ipsum elegerant casatus est, et sic sedes vacabat. Eodem anno resignante Thoma cure pastoralis electus est in abbatem Sancti Columbe Willelmus in Sancte Petronille, et in die Sancti Columbe apud Crawmond benedictionem a Ricardo Dunkeldensi episcopo accepit. Eodem anno Walterus Comyn veteranus comes de Menteth veneno uxoris sue, ut dicitur, repentina morte interiit, qui fuit dux eorum qui comprehenderunt regem. Et quia, ut predicitur, isti Comynenses precipue fuerunt qui contra regem insurrexerunt, ideo nunc deletum est quasi nomen eorum in terra, cum et tunc tamquam majores regni multiplicati fuerant super numerum. Unde tunc computati sunt xxxii milites huius cognominis<sup>a</sup> qui uno et eodem tempore in regno militari accincti sunt cingulo. Ideo debent milites et magnates attendere ad apostolicum dictum magis accurate, videlicet: 'Regem honorificate.' Et anno sequenti comitissa de Menteth, contemptis proceribus nobilibus qui eam ducere volebant, cuidam ignobili militi Angligene Johanni Russell nomine se nupsit. Unde magnates Scocie indignantes mortem comitis viri prioris ei imposuerunt et tam ipsum Johannem quam comitissam<sup>b</sup> vinculis mancipaverunt. Interea Walterus *Bailloch* ex parte uxoris sue totum comitatum de Menteth proterve calumpniatus est, quem favore magnatum adeptus est. Sed et comitissa tot adversariorum insultaciones sufferre non prevalens<sup>c</sup> libertati donata et quadam summa pecunie accepta de Scocia ignominiose cum viro suo est profecta. Eodem anno vacante sede Glasguensi Alexander papa magistrum Johannem de Chiam natione Anglicum in episcopum Glasguen<sup>7</sup> Rome consecravat et regi eum destinavit. Cuius gratiam anno sequenti id est domini m<sup>o</sup> cc lx vix et cum maxima difficultate impetravit. Qui processu temporis clericis suis multum infestus, quorundam beneficia sibi usurpavit, et aliorum crumenas immisericorditer evacuavit. Ipso anno magna caristia fuit in partibus Scocie ita quod bolla farine ad iii<sup>or</sup> solidos venderetur. Audita sunt tonitrua perhorrida et fulgura immania que homines in agris et pecora passim combusserunt ac messes et arbores pluribus

<sup>a</sup> + in regno *del.C*  
<sup>b</sup> + de Menteth *CA*

<sup>c</sup> sustinens tandem *for* sufferre non prevalens  
*CA*

possessions, and increased its prestige by adding prebends and canonries.

In the following year, that is 1257, Master Peter de Ramsay bishop of Aberdeen died. He was succeeded by [Richard de Potton], an Englishman who had previously been naturalized as a Scot by taking an oath of fealty. He was an affable man, very easy in his manner.

In the following year William bishop of Glasgow of pious memory died, whose name was de Bondington. He had for long been chancellor and a most faithful counsellor to the king, generous and bountiful in every respect. He built his church at Glasgow with marvellous craftsmanship in stone, and enriched and enhanced it with a great deal of property. He was succeeded by Nicholas de Moffat archdeacon of Teviotdale, an admirable man. As he was setting out for Rome to be consecrated his election was annulled through the treachery of his own canons who had chosen him, and so the see fell vacant.

In the same year, on Thomas giving up his pastoral charge, William was chosen abbot of Inchcolm on the feast of St Petronilla, and on St Columba's Day received the blessing from Richard bishop of Dunkeld at Cramond.

In that same year Walter Comyn earl of Menteith, now an old man, died suddenly, poisoned by his wife, or so it is said. He had been the ringleader of those who had kidnapped the king. As I said earlier these Comyns were in the lead among those who rose against the king: as a consequence their name is now, so to speak, obliterated in the land, despite the fact that at that time they were multiplied beyond number in the ranks of the magnates of the kingdom. Thus at that time there were reckoned to be thirty-two knights of this name who at one and the same time wore the belt of knighthood in the kingdom. Therefore knights and magnates ought to pay greater attention to the words of the apostle: 'Honour the king.'

In the following year the countess of Menteith, scorning the noble magnates who wished to marry her, took as her husband an English knight of ignoble birth called John Russell. So the magnates of Scotland in angry response laid against her the charge of having caused the death of the earl her first husband, and put both the said John and the countess in chains. Meanwhile Walter [Steward] *Bailloch* impudently laid claim to the whole earldom of Menteith on his wife's behalf, and obtained it with the support of the magnates. The countess was no longer able to endure so many insults at the hands of her enemies. On being given her liberty and a sum of money she left Scotland ignominiously with her husband.

In that same year, when the bishopric of Glasgow became vacant, Pope Alexander consecrated at Rome Master John de Cheam, an Englishman by birth, as bishop of Glasgow and sent him to the king.

locis urendo consumpserunt; pluviosus autumpnus messes suffocavit; post autumpnum tempestates ventorum domos subverterunt et strages plurimas fecerunt; et sic multa signa illo anno apparuerunt. Obiit Alexander <papa eodem anno>. Cui in papam successit Urbanus <sup>iiii<sup>tus</sup></sup>. 55

## 12

*De institutione et indulgentia festivitatis  
Corporis Christi*

Hic anno sequenti instituit omni quinta feria imperpetuum post octavas Penthecost' celebriter fieri festum Corporis Christi; populumque fidelem ad colendum tam salutiferum festum donis spiritualibus animare volens, omnibus vere penitentibus et confessis qui in matutinali officio festi eiusdem in ecclesia in qua illud celebraretur 5 interessent, centum; qui vero misse, totidem; et qui in primis ipsius festi vespers, similiter centum; qui autem in secundis, totidem; illis vero qui prime, tercię, sextę, none ac completorii horarum officiis pro qualibet ipsarum, xl<sup>a</sup>; eis autem qui per octavas ipsius festi matutinalibus, vespertinis, misse ac predictarum horarum officiis 10 interessent singulis octavarum ipsarum diebus, eciam centum dies de injunctis sibi penitentiis misericorditer relaxavit. Huius devocionis Martinus <sup>v<sup>tus</sup></sup> imitator effectus presentis mundi curricula supersticiosius heresum fomentis guerrarumque turbinibus pestilenciarum et aliarum calamitatum dispendiis cernens circumplexa, amplioribus 15 spiritualibus recompensacionis impendiis fideles eosdem ad impercienda pro veneracione tanti sacramenti et ut illud quo pascantur et salventur ipsorum corda perlustret pociora reverencie et devocionis exercicia firmare summopere cupiens, singulis ex eis vere penitentibus et confessis qui et quociens in ipsius sacramenti profesto jejunium 20 vel loco ipsius aliud pium juxta suorum consilia confessorum opus

He won the king's favour, but only just and with great difficulty, in 1260 the following year (1260). In the course of time he became very 55 unpopular with his clergy, for he appropriated the benefices of some to his own use and mercilessly emptied the purses of others.

In that same year there was a great food shortage in parts of 1260? Scotland, so much so that a boll of flour was being sold for four 60 shillings. Dreadful claps of thunder were heard, and there were terrifying flashes of lightning which burned up men in the fields and animals far and wide, and destroyed crops and trees in several places by burning them up. A wet autumn choked the harvest [with weeds]. After the autumn, gales of wind wrecked houses and caused a vast 65 amount of destruction. Thus many portents appeared in that year.

Pope Alexander died in that same year. He was succeeded by [1261: 25 May] Urban IV.

## 12

*The institution of the feast of Corpus Christi  
and the indulgence [granted]*

In the following year Urban IV instituted the feast of Corpus Christi [1264: 11 Aug.] to be celebrated each year on the Thursday after the octave of Pentecost in perpetuity. Wishing to encourage the faithful to observe a festival so conducive to salvation by the granting of spiritual gifts 5 to all who were truly penitent and had confessed, and who were present at matins of the said feast in a church in which it was being celebrated, [he granted] a hundred days [indulgence]; to those who were present at mass the same number, likewise the same number to those present at the first and second vespers of the feast. To those 10 who were present at the offices of prime, tierce, sext, nones and compline, for presence at each of these [he granted] forty days [indulgence]. To those who right through the octave of the same feast were present at matins, vespers, mass and the offices of the aforesaid hours on every day of the octave he mercifully remitted a hundred days 15 from any penances which had been imposed on them.

Martin V, imitating his devotion, saw that the course of this 1429: 26 May present world is surrounded by incitements to superstition provided by heresies, the tempestuous whirlwinds of wars and the losses consequent on plagues and other calamities. To make those same faithful 20 people sharers in the greater spiritual riches of recompense [for all this], to increase the veneration of such a mighty sacrament, and in



fecerint, centum; et qui premissis in ecclesiis quibus illa celebrari contigerit officiis interfuerint, necnon episcopis et aliis prelatibus superioribus qui dictis officiis libenter interessent sed eis quominus in ipsis ecclesiis interesse possint pro conservandis suarum dignitatum 25 iuribus et aliis legitime tunc impeditis pro matutinali, ducentos; et pro misse officiis, totidem; ac pro qualibet vesperarum, etiam ducentos; reliquarum vero videlicet prime, tercię, sextę, none et completorii festi, octoginta, rursus autem in quibuslibet octavarum diebus pro singulis matutinalium missarum et vesperarum, similiter centum; 30 necnon reliquarum horarum officiorum huiusmodi, xl<sup>a</sup>; illis preterea qui processiones in quibus ipsum vivificum sacramentum dicto festo juxta prefatarum ritus | ecclesiarum deferretur continuo secuti fuerint, et quibuslibet in festo octavarum diebus huiusmodi pro pace et tranquillitate ecclesie missas devote celebrantibus pro singulis 35 ipsarum, necnon aliis in eodem festo eucharistie sacramentum devote summentibus, etiam centum singulis annis; profecto vice qualibet eis qui dum corpus dominicum | communicandis deferretur infirmis illud cum incenso luminari precedendo vel sequendo venerentur, similiter centum; et qui tunc illud alias devote secuti fuerint etiam l dies de 40 Omnipotentis Dei misericordia de injunctis eis penitentiis relaxat.

Quodque in festo et in diebus octavarum huiusmodi etiam<sup>a</sup> in terris et locis ecclesiastico quavis auctoritate suppositis interdicto, pulsatis campanis, januis apertis, et alta voce excommunicatis prorsus exclusis, sed interdictis ut citius reconciliari studeant admissis, et illis qui causam vel occasionem huiusmodi interdicti dederint altari tunc nullatenus appropinquantibus, misse et officia premissa licite celebrari possint auctoritate apostolica concedimus per presentes. Aliis que circa observationem interdictorum juxta canonicas sanctiones<sup>b</sup> in suo robore duraturis. 50

Insuper universos patriarchas, archiepiscopos, episcopos et alios<sup>c</sup> ecclesiarum prelatos monet et hortatur ac in virtute obediencie precipiendo et in remissionem peccaminum injungit ut per se vel per alios eorum subditis per singulas suarum civitatum et diocesum ecclesias<sup>d</sup> in dominica feriam quintam scilicet festum predicta proxima precedente salutaribus ad veneracionem potissime sacramenti huius monitis et exhortacionibus presencium literarum continenciam et effectum publicare et insinuare procurent, ut eodem suffragante misterio subditi et fideles ipsi graciaram uberiori fulciantur augmento, et ab illo qui se pro ipsis immolavit hostiam post huius vite cursum ad gloriam perducantur eternam. Iste est effectus bulle quam legi et copiavi, vera bulla plumbea cordula serica pendente. 60

<sup>a</sup> G; ecclesia C,D,R

<sup>b</sup> +instituta sunt G

<sup>c</sup> altered from aliorum C

<sup>d</sup> G; ecclesiarum C,D,R

order that the means whereby they are given [spiritual] nourishment and saved may thoroughly illumine their hearts, he particularly wished to strengthen the exercise of reverence and devotion. He 25 therefore granted to all of them who were truly penitent and had confessed, each time they had fasted on the day before the Feast of the Sacrament, or in place of that had done some other pious work following the advice of their confessors, one hundred days [indulgence]. And to those who were present at those offices in the aforementioned churches in which they happened to be celebrated, and to bishops and other higher prelates who would gladly have been present at such offices, but could not be present in these churches because they were engaged in preserving the prerogatives of their office, and were at that time quite legitimately prevented from attending for other reasons, he granted two hundred days for attendance at matins and the same number for attendance at mass, and two hundred for attendance at either first or second vespers, and for the remaining hours of the feast i.e. prime, tierce, sext, nones and compline eighty days. Again for each of the days of the octave he granted 40 for attendance at matins, mass and vespers likewise a hundred, and for similar attendance at each of the other hours forty. Moreover to those following immediately behind processions in which that same life-giving sacrament is carried on the aforesaid feast day in accordance with the rites of the aforesaid churches, and to any who devoutly 45 celebrate mass on any of the days of the octave at this festival for the benefit of the peace and tranquillity of the church, for each of these masses, and also to others who at that same festival devoutly receive the sacrament of the eucharist, he also granted a hundred days for each occasion they do this each year. Finally each time to 50 those who, while Our Lord's body is being brought for communion to be given to the sick, show reverence to it by preceding or following it with a lighted lamp, he likewise granted a hundred days; and to those following it devoutly on some other occasion, by the mercy of Almighty God he granted remission of fifty days from penances 55 enjoined upon them.

Moreover on our apostolic authority by this present document we grant that on the festival and the days of the octave of the same, even in lands or places which have been placed under an ecclesiastical interdict by any authority whatsoever, the aforesaid masses and offices may be lawfully celebrated with ringing of bells and open doors. Those who have been excommunicated are to be completely excluded in a loud voice, but those who are under interdict are to be allowed in, so that they may speedily seek reconciliation, while those who have given cause or provocation for this kind of interdict may in no way approach the altar. The other provisions relating to the observance of interdicts [which have been established] by the sanction of canon law are to remain in force. 65

Datum Rome apud Sanctos Apostolos vii kl' junii pontificatus sui anno xii.

## 13

*De duplicacione omnium premissarum indulgenciarum c'*

Sacrosanctum Basiliense consilium per bullam plumbeam cordula  
 canabis dependentem et de consensu ut inibi continetur domini  
 Eugenii pape iiii<sup>a</sup> premissas indulgencias duplicavit forma, ut pre-  
 mittitur, et effectum. Quam eciam vidi et perlegi. Et iam pro eo quod  
 sumus in materia indulgenciarum, liqueat quia in indulgenciis dandis  
 summus pontifex habet plenitudinem potestatis, ut *De penitenciis et*  
*remissionibus, Cum ex eo*. Ideo summus pontifex Johannes xxii<sup>us</sup>  
 divinum cultum ampliare cupiens et fidelium mentes excitare, per-  
 pendens veraciter crescere maliciam hominum et indies animas peri-  
 clitari nisi de thesauris ecclesie et sanctorum meritis adjuventur,  
 xxx dies indulgenciarum a predecessore suo Urbano iiii<sup>to</sup> premissis  
 concessas omnibus vere penitentibus et contritis, qui in fine salu-  
 tacionis angelice Jhesum<sup>b</sup> nominaverit, ratificavit; et totidem dies

a in red ink within a space that has been left b in large bookhand C

He [Martin V] also warns and exhorts all patriarchs, archbishops,  
 bishops and other prelates of churches, commanding them by virtue  
 70 of their obedience, and enjoins on them for the remission of sins that,  
 acting themselves or through others subordinate to them, they should  
 on the said Sunday immediately before the Thursday of the feast  
 endeavour to make known and impart the contents and general tenor  
 of the present document, throughout all the churches of their cities  
 75 and dioceses, with salutary admonitions and exhortations for the  
 utmost veneration of this sacrament. Thus with the help of that  
 same mystery those of the faithful who are subject to them may be  
 strengthened by a richer increase in the gifts of God's grace, and  
 after they have finished the course of this life may be brought to  
 80 eternal glory by Him who offered himself as a victim for their sake.

That is the general tenor of the bull which I have read and copied,  
 with a genuine lead *bull*a hanging [from it] by a silken cord. Dated  
 at Rome at the church of the Holy Apostles on 26 May in the twelfth  
 year of his pontificate.

## 13

*The doubling of all the aforesaid indulgences etc.*

The holy council of Basel, by means of a lead *bull*a hanging by a  
 hempen cord, and with the consent of the lord pope Eugene IV, as  
 is contained therein, doubled the aforesaid indulgences in the same  
 form and general tenor as has already been given. This bull also I  
 5 have seen and perused.

And since we are now discussing indulgences, it must be made  
 clear that the supreme pontiff has full authority when it comes to  
 granting indulgences as stated in [the Decretal] *De Penitenciis et*  
*Remissionibus, Cum ex eo*. Therefore the supreme pontiff John XXII,  
 10 wishing to make more widespread the worship of God and to stir the  
 minds of the faithful, and observing that in truth men's wickedness is  
 on the increase and their souls are daily in peril unless they receive  
 help from the [spiritual] treasury of the church and the merits of the  
 saints, ratified the thirty days indulgence granted by his aforesaid  
 15 predecessor Urban IV to all who are truly penitent and contrite, and  
 who have said the name 'Jesus' at the end of the Angelic Salutation.

adjecit sermonem faciens populo Avinione in die Omnium Sancto-  
rum anno domini m° ccc° xvii. Idem eciam concessit cuicumque 15  
contrito ut supra geniculanti vel reverenter inclinanti ad sonum huius  
nominis Jhesus quociens contigerit nominari, quia non est aliud  
nomen sub | celo datum hominibus in quo oporteat eos salvos fieri  
xxx dies indulgenciarum. De quo mellifluo nomine quidam sic ait:

Omen super omen Jhesus est venerabile nomen.  
Nomine namque Jhesu flectitur omne genu  
tam terrenorum celestium quam baratorum;  
ergo laudetur Jhesus in secula seculorum.

Idem concessit quociens dicentibus psalterium Beate Marie xxiii  
annos xxiii septimanas et iii dies indulgenciarum, quod psalterium 25  
composuit magister Stephanus de Langton archiepiscopus Cantuar'.  
Idem insuper quociens legentibus, dicentibus vel audientibus pas-  
sionem secundum Johannem et, ne quis propter eius prolixitatem a  
dicendo retraheretur, abbreviavit illud evangelium sive passionem,  
que sic incipit: 'Passio c' secundum Johannem. In illo tempore 30  
apprehendit Pilatus Jhesum', concessit ccc dies. Idem eciam concessit  
xxx dies c' dicenti flexis genibus trina vice interpolatim<sup>c</sup> ter salu-  
tationem angelicam ad pulsum campane post completorium. Idem  
preterea concessit quociens preter ad vespas dicenti psalmum Mag-  
nificat xxiii annos, totidem septimanas et iii dies. Item quicumque 35  
dixerit post refeccionem: 'Deus det vivis gratiam, defunctis mis-  
ericordiam et requiem, ecclesie pacem, | nobis quoque vitam  
eternam', habet xl dies c'. Item quicumque dixerit post aliquod opus  
peractum: 'Dulce nomen Jhesu Christi et nomen gloriose virginis  
matris eius Marie sit benedictum in secula amen', habet xl dies. Item 40  
quando transitum facis per cimiterium vel juxta dicito: 'Avete, omnes  
fideles anime! Christus, qui vos redemit suo sanguine precioso, digne-  
tur vos a penis liberare et angelis suis in celis associare, qui vivit',  
habebis xl dies c'. Similiter quociens dixeris: 'Nos cum prole pia  
benedicat virgo Maria', habebis tres annos indulgenciarum.<sup>d</sup> Ad 45  
annalia redeamus. Anno secundo precedenti, scilicet domini m° cc  
xlviij,

clericus quidam in sinodo episcoporum Parisius predicare compulsus  
angustiabatur non modicum quid nam digne posset coram tot prelati-  
bus ecclesie predicare. At ubi accessurus<sup>e</sup> oracionem premitteret, venit ad 50  
eum Diabolus et dixit ei: 'Quid angustiaris istis clericis predicare? Dica-  
eis istud et non aliud: "Princeps inferni principes salutatur ecclesie. Leti  
omnes nos grates eisdem referimus, quia per eorum negligenciam ad  
nos fere totus mundus divolvitur, quia cum ipsis prelati nobis eorum

<sup>c</sup> + tres del.C

<sup>d</sup> much of this passage from Deus det vivis  
l.36 in large bookhand, but not all of it C

<sup>e</sup> processurus D,R,

He added the same number of days when preaching to the people at  
Avignon on All Saints' Day 1317. He also granted to everyone who 1317:  
being penitent as described above, genuflects and bows reverently at 1 Nov.  
20 this name of Jesus as often as it happens to be named – because there  
is no other name given under heaven in which men may be saved –  
thirty days indulgence. Concerning this mellifluous name someone  
says as follows:

A sign above all others, Jesus is a name to be venerated;  
25 for at the name of Jesus every knee bows  
of all who dwell on earth, in heaven and in hell.  
Therefore let the name of Jesus be praised world without end.

He likewise granted twenty-three years, twenty-three weeks and  
three days indulgence as often as someone recites the Psalter of  
30 the Blessed Virgin. This Psalter was composed by Master Stephen  
Langton, archbishop of Canterbury. Likewise he granted in addition  
three hundred days every time anyone reads, recites or listens to the  
Passion according to St John. Lest anyone should be deterred from  
reciting it by reason of its length, he shortened that gospel or passion.  
35 His version begins thus: 'The passion [of our Lord Jesus Christ]  
according to John. At that time Pontius Pilate arrested Jesus.' Like-  
wise he granted thirty days to anyone saying on their knees a triple  
repetition of the Angelic Salutation, each repetition said three times  
at intervals, when the bell is struck after compline. He likewise  
40 granted to anyone saying the canticle *Magnificat* otherwise than at  
vespers, twenty-three years, the same number of weeks and three  
days. Likewise whoever says after a meal: 'May God grant to the  
living his grace, to the dead his mercy and repose, to the church  
peace, and to us eternal life' has forty days [indulgence]. Likewise  
45 whoever, after any task is completed, says: 'May the sweet name of  
Jesus Christ and the name of the glorious Virgin his mother Mary  
be blessed for evermore. Amen.' has forty days [indulgence]. Likewise  
when you pass through a cemetery or by it, say: 'Hail, all faithful  
souls. May Christ, who has redeemed you with his precious blood,  
50 deign to free you from torments and make you one with his angels  
in heaven. Who lives, etc.', and you will have forty days [indulgence].  
Likewise as often as you say: 'May the Virgin Mary with her merciful  
Son bless you', you will have three years indulgence.

Let us return to our annals. In the second year prior to this, that 1248  
55 is 1248,

a certain cleric had to preach before a synod of bishops at Paris, and  
was greatly exercised as to what he could possibly preach that would  
be fitting in the presence of so many prelates of the church. But as he  
was on his way to preach, and was making a preliminary prayer, the  
60 Devil came to him and said: 'Why are you worried about preaching to

subditi pariter offeruntur." Invitus quidem hec tibi dico, sed Altissimi 55  
jussione coactus.' Respondit clericus: 'Michi,' inquit, 'si narravero,  
non credetur.' Et Diabolus tangens maxillam eius: 'Ecce,' ait, 'signum  
nigredo insolita faciei. Hanc antequam predices non contingat aqua  
quia frustra. Post predicacionem vero signo crucis cum spergimine aque 60  
benedicte delebis.' Processit autem clericus predicaturus in sinodo, et  
ammirantibus cunctis in signo faciei insolito tantum illa que jussa sunt  
recitavit et ad horrorem maximum cunctorum corda permovit.

G ii,96

Simile legimus sicut quidam monachus | Cisterciensis in suo Poli-  
craticon recitat accidisse in Burgundia, quod, cum quidam sacerdos ad  
statutam veniens sinodum transitum haberet per medium cuiusdam 65  
nemoris, obvium habuit Diabolum in forma hominis transformatum.  
Quem cum salutasset, tradidit ei literam quamdam clausam dandam  
episcopo Remensi et rectoribus congregatis in sinodo. Quam cum  
episcopus in conspectu omnium apparuisset, legi fecit. Cuius tenor  
erat talis: 'Rectores tenebrarum rectoribus ecclesiarum salutem man- 70  
damus vobis quod multum diligimus vos, eo quod quicquid vobis  
<commissum sit><sup>f</sup> per vestra mala exempla ad inferos cum magno  
pondere trahitis. Gaudium namque nobis omnibus est de vobis cum  
dividimus spolia capta preda.'<sup>g</sup> Hec ibi.

<sup>f</sup> marginal insertion in usual cursive hand C    <sup>g</sup> from Rectores 1.70 in large bookhand C

14

*De invencione Sancte Crucis apud Peblez  
et de appellacione comitisse de Menteth*

Anno domini m° cc lx comitissa de Menteth nuncios ad Romanam  
curiam destinavit conquirens<sup>a</sup> de violencia sibi illata et de spoliacione  
hereditatis sue. Ad cuius requisicionem postea venit quidam nuncius  
a latere domini pape Urbani missus in Angliam apud Eboracum  
Poncius nomine ad inquisicionem faciendam ex speciali mandato 5

<sup>a</sup> conquirens CA

these clerics? Give them this message and no other. "The prince of hell  
greet the princes of the church. We all rejoice and give them our best  
thanks, for through their negligence almost the whole world is coming  
under our control. For along with the prelates themselves those who 65  
are subject to their authority are also being offered to us." I tell you  
this against my will, but under compulsion on the orders of the Most  
High.' The cleric replied: 'If I tell them this they will not believe me.'  
The Devil, touching his jaw, said: 'Here is a sign, an unusual black mark  
on your face. Let no water touch it before you preach, for it would be  
useless. But after you preach you will be able to erase it by sprinkling  
holy water in the form of a cross.' The cleric then went on to preach 70  
before the synod and, with everyone wondering at the unusual black  
mark on his face, he repeated only as he had been instructed, and stirred  
the hearts of all who were present to a state of sheer terror.

75 Likewise we have read in the account of a certain Cistercian monk,  
in his *Policraticon*, that it happened in Burgundy that a certain priest  
on his way to a synod that had been called had to pass through the  
middle of a wood. There he met the Devil transformed into human  
shape. The Devil greeted him and handed him a sealed letter to be  
80 given to the bishop of Rheims and the rectors [of churches] gathered  
together for the synod. When the bishop had appeared before the  
assembled company, he had the letter read out. Its general drift was  
as follows: 'We the rulers of darkness send you the rulers of the  
churches our best wishes, for we love you dearly. For by the bad  
5 examples you give you are dragging down to hell with a heavy weight  
everything that has been entrusted to you. You give us all great  
pleasure when we have captured the booty and are dividing out the  
spoils.'

14

*The finding of the holy cross at Peebles,  
and the appeal of the countess of Menteith*

In 1260 the countess of Menteith sent agents to the Roman court 1260  
complaining about the violence she had suffered and the spoliation  
of her inheritance. In response to her request there came to York in [1263: July]  
England a certain Pontius sent as a nuncio from the side of the lord  
5 pope Urban, with a special mandate from the lord pope to make  
enquiry into the wrongs and hardships unjustly inflicted on the  
countess according to her. Now the legate sent summonses to Sir

domini pape super injuriis et molestiis eidem comitis ut dicebat injuste<sup>b</sup> illatis. Qui quidem legatus citare fecit dominum Walterum *Bailloch* dicti comitatus occupatorem, episcopos eciam et abbates et proceres ferme totius Scocie, ad perhibendum de hiis testimonium veritati. Quod attemptatum fuit contra privilegia<sup>c</sup> regis et regni Scocie 10 ut aliquis extra proprios fines ad alicui respondendum vocaretur. Rex autem perpendens non solum se et regnum suum ac suos super hiis citacionibus gravari, sed et privilegia sua antiqua in hac parte adnullari, cum ipse secundum leges regni sui paratus esset hanc causam determinare, non ulterius se et regnum indebite sustinens 15 gravari, contra dictum Poncium ad summum pontificem appellavit. Et sic sub discussione lis adhuc pendet. Anno sequenti nata est in Anglia primogenita regis Scocie nomine Margarita. Quo eciam anno vii idus maii et regni regis Alexandri xiii inventa est quedam magnifica crux et venerabilis apud Peblez, astantibus honestis viris presbyteris 20 clericis et burgensibus; sed quoto anno vel a quibus personis ibidem abscondita fuerit penitus ignoratur. Creditur tamen quod seviente Maximiani<sup>d</sup> persecucione in Britannia per quosdam fideles<sup>e</sup> abscondebatur circa annum domini ducentisimum nonagesimum sextum. Inde vero non longe postea ibidem reperta est una urna lapidea quasi 25 tribus vel iiii<sup>or</sup> passibus a loco quo illa gloriosa crux fuerat inventa, cineres et ossa continens cuiusdam corporis humani quasi membratim detruncati. Cuius autem reliquie nondum scitur ab aliquo. Quidam tamen autumant illius esse reliquias cuius nomen | inventum est scriptum in ipsa petra in qua crux illa sancta | jacebat. Sculpebatur 30 autem in ipsa petra forinsecus: 'Locus<sup>f</sup> Sancti Nicholai episcopi.' In ipso quoque loco ubi crux inveniebatur per ipsam crucem crebra fiebant et fiunt miracula, atque populi catervatim ibidem confluxerunt et confluunt, oblaciones et vota sua Deo devote portantes. Unde rex de consilio episcopi Glasguensis ecclesiam ibidem hone- 35 stam in honorem Dei et Sancte Crucis fieri fecit. Hoc anno fames magna omnes fines Scocie invasit ex corrupcione messium. Item orta est dissencio inter magnates Anglie eo quod Franci nimiam familiaritatem regis Henrici nacti sunt propter favorem regine. Eodem anno fratres de Monte Carmeli primo venerunt in Scociam. 40 Quibus Ricardus Dunkeldensis episcopus quandam capellam honestam quam juxta Perth apud Tulilum sumptuoso opere construxerat primo dedit ad inhabitandum et divina celebrandam.<sup>g</sup>

b om. CA  
c privilegium CA  
d + sive Maxi' CA

e + ibidem CA  
f Loculus CA  
g celebrandum CA; celebranda D

Walter *Bailloch* who was in possession of the said earldom, and to the bishops, abbots and nobles of nearly the whole of Scotland to 10 give their testimony as to the truth of these charges. It was an attack on the privileges of the king and the kingdom of Scotland for anyone to be cited to respond before anyone outside the borders of the kingdom. The king considered that not only were he and his realm and his subjects being wronged in the matter of these summonses, 15 but also his ancient privileges were being rendered void in this area, since he was ready to judge the case himself according to the laws of his realm. And so he did not allow himself and his realm to be wrongfully oppressed any longer, but appealed to the lord pope against the aforesaid Pontius. So the dispute is still under discussion. 20 Next year Margaret the first-born daughter of the king of Scotland was born in England. [1261: [28 Feb.]

In the same year on 9 May and the thirteenth year of the reign of King Alexander, a marvellous and venerable cross was found at Peebles, in the presence of honest men, priests, clerics and townsfolk. [1261-2:] 9 May  
25 But when or by whom it had been buried is a complete mystery. It is believed, however, that when the persecution of Maximian was raging in Britain it was buried by some of the faithful about the year 296 A.D. Not long after that there was found in the same place, about three or four paces away from the spot where that noble cross 30 had been found, a stone urn containing the ashes and bones of a human body which had been, so to speak, dismembered limb from limb. No one as yet knows whose remains they were. But some assert that they are the remains of the person whose name was found written on the stone upon which that hallowed cross was resting. 35 For carved on the surface of the stone was: 'The resting place of the holy bishop Nicholas.' In the place where the cross was found frequent miracles were and still are performed through the power of that cross, and the people flocked there in crowds and still do, devoutly bringing their prayers and offerings to God. So the king, 40 on the advice of the bishop of Glasgow, caused a splendid church to be built there to the honour of God and of the Holy Cross.

That year all parts of Scotland suffered from a great famine caused [1261-2] by the harvest being ruined. Also dissent arose among the magnates of England because Frenchmen had gained a position of excessive intimacy with King Henry because of the favour shown them by his 45 queen.

In the same year the friars of Mount Carmel first came to Scotland. [1261-2] Richard bishop of Dunkeld was the first to give them a handsome chapel which he had built on a lavish scale at Tullilum near Perth, 50 where they could live and celebrate the divine offices.



*De bello de Largys et victoria per Sanctam M[argaritam]  
reginam Scocie*

Anno domini m<sup>o</sup> cc<sup>o</sup> lxxiii<sup>o</sup> circa festum Beati Petri ad Vincula rex Aco Norwagie venit apud novum castrum de Are cum piraticis suis navibus octies xx<sup>ti</sup> habentibus intra se viginti milia hominum belligerorum. Dicebat enim omnes insulas Scocie inter Hiberniam et Scociam sitas jure hereditario suas esse. Et ideo manu valida castella de Aran et de Botha obsessit et cepit, et omnes ecclesias mari finitimas<sup>a</sup> absque metu divino crudeliter depredavit,<sup>b</sup> de quo momentaneum profectum conquisivit. Nam cum ipse cum sua classe in festo Nativitatis Beate Marie<sup>c</sup> applicuit in terram de Conyngham ad locum qui dicitur Largys. Interea contigit quod quidam<sup>d</sup> miles strenuus Johannes Wemis nomine vi cotidianarum febrium vehementer fatigatus, dum lassa membra infirmitate aliquantulum mitigata sompno grato exhibuit, huiusmodi visionem cernere promeruit. Videbatur namque sibi se in ostio<sup>e</sup> ecclesie Dunfermelien<sup>f</sup> consistere dominamque vernanti venustate decoratam et omni regio ornatu insignitam de eadem ecclesia maturo prodire incessu. Que in manu dextra militem ducebat procerimum, fulgentibus armis indutum, gladio militari accinctum, et cum casside coronata redimitum. Quos pedetentim et per ordinem sequebantur tres incliti milites jocundi et alacres consimilibus armaturis prefulgentes. Ex qua visione miles non modice propter subitacionem insperate obviancie permotus, sed de eleganti benignitate precedentis domine confortatus, tali sanctam reginam exorsus est affamine: 'Obsecro, o domina gloriosa, ut que sis michi indices et quo istis proceribus te comitantibus procedis?' 'Ego sum', inquit, 'Margarita olim Scotorum regina. | Miles manu- ductus dominus est Malcolmus meus rex maritus, et hii sequaces milites nostri sunt filii, huius eciam regni dum vixissent<sup>g</sup> inclitissimi<sup>h</sup> reges, cum quibus<sup>i</sup> ad Largis patriam defensura propero, victoriam actura de tiranno qui regnum meum<sup>j</sup> suo nititur et injuste<sup>k</sup> subjugare dominio. Nam michi<sup>l</sup> ut scias hoc regnum a Deo accepi<sup>m</sup> com-

G ii, 98

a CA; lac. with finitini- in margin in different hand C; finibus D  
b depredatus est CA  
c interlin. C  
d CA, D; quidem C  
e + aquilonali CA  
f Dunfermelyne D

g vixerant in humanis tres for vixissent CA  
h D; inclitissim C  
i + ut scias CA  
j nostrum CA  
k + suo D; del. C  
l nobis CA  
m accipimus CA

*The battle of Largs and the victory granted by  
Saint Margaret queen of Scotland*

In 1263 around the time of the feast of St Peter in Chains King Haakon of Norway came to the new castle of Ayr with his pirate ships, 160 in number, containing twenty thousand fighting men. For he asserted that all the islands of Scotland which lie between Ireland and Scotland were his by right of inheritance. So with a strong force he besieged and took the castles of Arran and Bute, and cruelly plundered all the churches that lay close to the coast without fear of divine wrath. As a result he enjoyed success which was, however, of short duration, for on the feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin he and his fleet put in to the coast of Cunninghame at a place called Largs. 1263: 1 Aug. 8 Sept.

At that time it chanced that a courageous knight, John Wemyss by name, who was completely worn out by the severity of fevers which recurred daily, had gladly abandoned his weary limbs to sleep, as the illness had in some small degree abated, when he was privileged to see the following vision. He appeared to be standing at the [north] doorway of the church at Dunfermline. A lady of radiant beauty and resplendent in full royal attire came quickly out of the aforesaid church. She was leading on her right arm a distinguished-looking knight, clad in gleaming armour, girded with the sword of a knight, and wearing a helmet with a crown on it. Three noble knights, brisk and cheerful in appearance, followed them at a stately pace and in due order, all gleaming in similar armour. The knight was not a little disturbed by the suddenness of this unexpected encounter, but took comfort from the beauty and benevolence of the lady who headed the group, and so addressed the sainted queen as follows: 'Glorious lady, please tell me who you are and where you and your noble companions are going.' She replied: 'I am Margaret, formerly queen of Scots. The knight who has my arm is the lord king Malcolm my husband, and these knights who are following us are our sons, the most renowned kings of this realm while they lived. In company with them I am hurrying to defend our country at Largs, and to win a victory over the usurper who is unjustly trying to make my kingdom subject to his rule. For you must know that I received this kingdom from God, granted in trust to me and to our heirs for ever.' When the queen finished speaking she quickly disappeared and the knight awoke.



mendatum et heredibus nostris imperpetuum.' Cumque sermonem regina comlessset, mox disparuit et miles evigilans quamvis egritudine cronica plusquam credi posset afflicto, quem si forte tunc videres, diceres quasi in imagine pertransiuntem hominem, sine viribus virum procedere volentem nec valentem, certabat contra naturam suam homo impotens, certabat contra suorum consilium ut si proficisceretur, sine profectu<sup>n</sup> moreretur ut eis videbatur sine mora. Sed velint nolint servi, miles a proposito non destitit; sed sive<sup>o</sup> vectus vel feretro ingressus<sup>p</sup> iter inceptum ad Dunf<sup>r</sup> peregit. Cum autem illuc venisset, priorem domus accersivit visumque suum enarravit sompnium; nec tale sompnium quo sepe diludimur extitit, sed celitus ostensum<sup>q</sup> ut exitus<sup>r</sup> se habuit. Nondum enim servorum manus pre infirmitatis magnitudine vix ipsum poterant<sup>s</sup> sustentare ut singula loca circa feretrum in quo reliquie regine<sup>t</sup> continebantur cum lacrimosa devocione quivisset osculari. In oscula igitur et preces singultuosis nutibus ruens in reliquias, statim sensit se sospicem et jocundum; et<sup>u</sup> qui continuo infirmus<sup>v</sup> venerat, dans Deo laudes<sup>w</sup> incolumis recessit. Dum hec ita se haberent, ecce venit famulus boni nuncii baiulus referens modum victoriae apud Largys commisse.<sup>x</sup>

n profecto for sine profectu CA  
o + leticia CA  
p CA; ingressus C,D  
q CA; onersum C,D  
r + rei CA  
s + comode del.C  
t + sancte CA

u CA; ut C,D  
v infirmus et impotens for continuo infirmus CA  
w + alacer et CA  
x + viii<sup>o</sup> die septembris anno quo supra et regnacionis Alexandri iii anno xvi CA

## 16

*De eodem bello et morte regis Norwegie  
cum aliis incidentibus*

Dum igitur apud Largys die et anno quibus supra grave commissum fuit bellum, <ubi Alexander Stewart de Dondonald pronepos primi Walteri Stewart preerat et Noricos vicit, ex parte nostra cecidit Petrus Curry miles. Iste Alexander fuit avus nobilis Walteri S[tewart]<sup>a</sup> qui desponsavit<sup>b</sup> filiam Roberti de Brois.<sup>c</sup> Huius Alexandri iii regis hoc nomine anno xvi commissum est bellum de Largys.> Interea nutu

a + Anglorum malliatoris CA  
b + Marioriam CA

c + regis CA

He was afflicted with chronic illness more severely than one could believe possible. If you had chanced to see him then, you would have said that he was like a man becoming a wraith, a man without strength wishing to walk and unable to do so. Yet this man, feeble as he was, struggled against his own constitution and against the advice of his men that if he set out on a journey he would die without getting anywhere, immediately as it seemed to them. But whatever the wishes of his servants, the knight did not abandon his design; but travelling in a carriage or on a litter he finished the journey he had undertaken and reached Dunfermline. On arrival there he summoned the prior of the monastery and told him about his dream. It was not the sort of dream by which we are often deluded, but one revealed by heaven, as the outcome showed. For as yet his illness was so severe that his servants' hands could hardly hold him up so that he could, with tearful devotion, kiss the whole area round the shrine in which the relics of the queen were kept. As he was hurrying over to the relics to kiss them and pray with tearful jerks of his head, he suddenly felt well and in good spirits; and the man who had come there a permanent invalid went cured, giving praises to God. At this point, suddenly a servant came in, the bringer of the good news of the victory just won at Largys.

## 16

*The same battle, and the death of the king of Norway  
together with other events*

So in the course of that severe battle fought at Largys in the year 1263: and on the day aforementioned, in which Alexander Steward of Dundonald great-grandson of Walter the first Steward was in command and conquered the Norwegians, there fell on our side the knight Peter Curry. Alexander was the grandfather of the noble Walter Steward who married the daughter of Robert de Bruce. The battle of Largys was fought in the sixteenth year [of the reign] of this Alexander, the third king of that name. Meanwhile by the will of God and through the merits of St Margaret the queen and protectress

fo.212

G ii,99

Dei et meritis Sancte Margarite regine regni Scocie protectricis, ipso die belli orta | <est> in mari validissima tempestas, que naves concuciens anchoras evulsit,<sup>d</sup> vela in undis projecit, ac armamenta<sup>e</sup> singula nimiis fluctibus et ventorum rabie dirupta ab omni prorsus compage seriali comperta sunt et dissoluta. Quibus adinvicem navibus exagitatis, grassantibus et conquassatis, necnon ad terram et scopulos fractis et elisis in milibus, populi ad littora | submersi et dejecti salum de cadaveribus sibi fecit offas. Et qui ad terram illèsi applicuerunt cum nostris congregiuntur et mox prosternuntur, occiduntur, fugantur et submerguntur. Inter ceteros tamen milium occisorum unum nobilem Noricum regis Achonis nepotem, magne potencie et strenuitatis virum, Noricus rex deflet interemptum. Qui tamen et ipse rex vix evadens, dolens et merens cum confusione non modica<sup>f</sup> usque ad Orchadium repatriavit. In qua cum hiemasset manum forciozem pro Scotis debellandis expectans ibidem mortuus est. De quo quidam Noricus sic de eo ait:

Acho rex magnus, satis audax mitis ut agnus  
justis letatur, injustos ense minatur.

Cui successit filius eius Magnus nomine vir prudencie ac literature gracia preclarus. De quo quidam sic ait:

Norica regna rego, nomine Magnus ego.<sup>g</sup>

Cuius pater dominus Acho ut fertur ante mortem diversas literas sigillatas sigillis quorundam nobilium Scocie misit eidem regi Alexandro, continentes quomodo illi nobiles scripserunt dicto regi Achoni ut veniret<sup>h</sup> in Scociam promittentes eidem quod secum forent in auxilio contra proprium regem. Sed non est veresimile. Sed<sup>i</sup> verius creditur sicut tradunt alii, quod mortuo rege Achone scripserunt Norici sub testimonio sigilli regis sui ut sibi precaveret de certis nobilibus regni sui rex Scocie. Hoc instinctu<sup>j</sup> scripserunt ut rex de suis magnatibus tamquam pro commissis vindictam sumeret, ut et ipsi expedicius<sup>k</sup> regnum Scocie si libuerit impoterum subjugaret. Nam ex antiquo fertur Noricos invidia tabescentes<sup>l</sup> nimium contra Scotos et Pictos fermentari, presertim quia regnatores in Scocia de ipsis sepius et<sup>m</sup> semper triumpharunt, sicut potissime patuit in illo ammirabili bello de Loncardy ubi Norica gens cum suo rege totaliter perierunt. Quo cum semel isdem rex peragratis et depopulatis provinciis tam Pictinie quam Scocie sibi subjectis cum innumerabili

d + navas conquassavit del.C

e armanienta CA,D

f + re del.C

g + Iste titulus in baltheo regio eius insculpebatur CA

h CA; venirent C,D

i quia CA

j + ut presumitur CA

k CA; expedicius with first -ci- interlin.C

l calescentes CA,FF

m quasi CA; et quasi FF,P

10 of the realm of Scotland, on the very day of the battle a most severe gale arose on the sea. It smashed the ships together, tore up anchors and hurled sails into the waves, and the separate bits of rigging were seen to be torn away completely from every joint in turn by the huge waves and the fury of the winds and smashed to bits. The ships being  
15 thus driven out of position relative to each other, hurtling about and being crushed together, and also smashed against the land and the rocks, and dashed into thousands of pieces, the sea rendered shapeless the bodies of the people who had been drowned close to the shore when thrown out [of the boats]. Those who reached the land  
20 unharmed engaged our men and soon were overwhelmed, cut down, put to flight and drowned. Among all the thousands of slain the Norwegian king lamented [especially] the death of one noble Norwegian, the nephew of King Haakon, a man of great strength and courage. The king himself only just escaped, and returned homewards all the way back to Orkney, grieving and lamenting and in  
25 considerable disarray. As he was spending the winter there awaiting the arrival of a stronger force to enable him to conquer the Scots, he died in Orkney. A certain Norwegian says this of him:

King Haakon the Great, bold yet gentle as a lamb,  
rejoices at the sight of the just, but threatens the unjust with his sword.

His son Magnus succeeded him, a wise man and distinguished by the gift of learning. It is said of him:

I rule the realm of Norway. Magnus is my name.

[This motto was engraved on the royal sword-belt.]

35 They say that his father, the Lord Haakon, before his death sent a letter sealed with the seals of certain noblemen of Scotland to King Alexander. This told how those nobles had written to the aforesaid King Haakon [suggesting] that he should come to Scotland, and promising him that they would help him against their own king. This  
40 is not likely. But others give an account that is more convincing, namely that on Haakon's death the Norwegians wrote a letter, accredited by their king's seal, to say that the king of Scotland should beware of certain nobles of his kingdom. [It is likely that] they wrote this with the intention that the king take vengeance on his magnates  
45 as if they had committed crimes, so that they themselves might more easily subdue the kingdom of Scotland at a later date if they so wished.

For it is said that from ancient times the Norsemen have been consumed with envy and rage against the Scots and Picts, especially  
50 because those who have ruled in Scotland have often, indeed always, triumphed over them, as was very clearly seen in that remarkable battle of Luncarty, in which the Norsemen with their king were

[1263:  
16 Dec.]

exercitu convenerat, et fere totum regnum tam per mare quam terram  
confluxerat et deditioni subegerat, tandem regem Pictorum infra<sup>n</sup> 45  
opidum<sup>o</sup> Berthe cum maxima multitudine opidanorum et aliorum  
circumvicinorum ad eum confugiencium obsidendo circumclusit.

n + obi del.C

o obitum R

## 17

*Quomodo rex Pictorum de Noricis triumphavit  
et navigium suum combussit ac patriam liberavit*

Et est notandum quod sicut in antiquatis scripturis repperi villa  
Sancti Johannis, que nunc Perth dicitur, Bertha dicebatur. Unde:

Villa Johannis pluribus annis<sup>a</sup> Berta dabatur;  
Perth quia perditur ac quia vincitur sic vocitatur.

G ii, 100

In qua cum non superfuit<sup>b</sup> regi Pictorum multum de victualibus 5  
preter duo dolia vini et pauci ad modum panes, legacionem misit  
| rex obsessus regi Noricorum cum illis duobus doliis [vini], succo  
nigri elebori<sup>c</sup> herbe videlicet<sup>d</sup> sompnorifere delibuti, et iiii<sup>or</sup> carris  
sive bigis panibus confertis, quasi diceret quod satis habundarent in  
victualibus; sed quia 'durum esset eis contra stimulum calcitrare', 10  
optulit ei opidum, quod in crastino erat redditurus dummodo regem  
et Noricos propterea graciosos invenirent. Propter quod Norici ultra  
modum exhilarati vacaverunt hac nocte sequenti<sup>e</sup> lusibus et ebrietati,  
et tamquam inexplorati propter jocunditatem nuncii subito ante-  
quam dilucesceret ab opidanis in giro circumvallati cum aliis ut 15  
previsum fuerat compatriotis et Scotis sibi tunc conjunctis. In debri-  
atos impetum cum clangore tubarum et vociferacione cloch-  
bulgiarum, tinnitu pelvium et sonitu cimbalarum cum horrido cla-  
more in improvisos irruunt, et eos sine misericordia tamquam oves  
interimunt, adinvicem dividentes spolia, letantes sicut victores capta 20  
preda. <Simile huius legimus de quodam duce Carthaginensi de quo  
refert Sextus Julius<sup>f</sup> libro ii capitulo quinto. Qui habuit bellum contra

a + sic vocitatur del.C  
b + rut' del.C  
c D; elobori C

d interlin.C  
e interlin.C  
f CA; Julius C,D

totally destroyed. Once that same king had arrived there with an  
innumerable army, after ranging over and devastating the provinces  
55 of Pictland and Scotland under his control, and had attacked almost  
the whole kingdom by land and sea and made it subject to his rule,  
he ended up by laying siege to the king of the Picts who was in the  
town of Bertha with a very great multitude of townspeople and  
others from the surrounding area who had fled to take refuge with  
60 him.

## 17

*How the king of the Picts triumphed over the Norsemen  
and burned their fleet and freed his country*

And it should be noted that, as I have found in ancient writings, St  
John's Town, which is now called Perth, used to be called Bertha.  
Hence:

St John's Town was given the name Berta for many years.

5 It is [now] called Perth because it is ruined and conquered.

The king of the Picts had very little left in the town by way of  
provisions, apart from two casks of wine and only a few loaves. So  
the besieged king sent a deputation to the king of the Norsemen with  
those two casks of wine, after it had been adulterated with the juice  
10 of the black hellebore, an herb which causes drowsiness. He also sent  
four carts or waggons filled with loaves, as if to say that they had  
plenty of provisions; but, because it was 'hard for them to kick  
against the goad', he offered [the Norse king] the town. This he would  
surrender the next day if they found the king and the Norsemen  
15 agreeable to that. At this the Norsemen rejoiced immensely and  
devoted the following night to merriment and drinking. It was as  
men not keeping watch after receiving such joyful news that suddenly,  
before dawn broke, they were completely encircled by the townsfolk,  
who were joined by others of their compatriots according to prior  
20 arrangement, and some Scots who were their allies on this occasion.  
They made a surprise attack [on the Norsemen] in their drunken  
state, with the noise of trumpets and the skirling of bagpipes, the  
rattling of basins and the sound of cymbals, accompanied by a  
terrifying shout. They slaughtered them without mercy like sheep,  
25 dividing the spoils amongst themselves, rejoicing as victors do over  
booty they have captured.

quosdam de Affrica qui Carthaginensibus rebellabant. Fuerunt autem isti de Affrica avidi nimis ad bibendum vinum. Quod intel-  
 ligens dux usus est contra eos tali cautela. Accepit multa dolia vini 25  
 et miscuit eum cum succo mandragore, que est herba mirabiliter  
 sompnorifera, faciens homines dormire ita profunde quod fiunt  
 insensibiles, sicut dicit Aristoteles, primo De sompno et vigilia. Et  
 ideo solet dari hominibus qui sunt propter aliquam infirmitatem  
 secandi ut possint sine dolore secari. Dolia igitur vini sic infecti 30  
 dimisit iste princeps in tentoriis suis, et fugit ad cautelam tentoria  
 derelinquens. Affrici igitur gaudentes tentoria invadunt, et inveni-  
 entes victualia cum vino in habundancia comederunt et biberunt de  
 isto vino infecto; et statim omnes sic oppressi sunt sompno quod  
 nullomodo se juvare poterant. Hoc explorans dux predictus de nocte 35  
 rediit, super eos et miseros sicut voluit trucidavit.<sup>g</sup> Sic factum est de  
 Noricis. Sed et ne aliqui eorum pro | refugio navigium peterent,  
 ipsa eadem nocte qua devicti sunt Norici, sicut ante previsum fuerat  
 certe galee cum scaphis et liburnis propter hoc garnizate et undequ  
 collecte in ampne Thaynensi ex insperato supervenerunt, ubi dum 40  
 medium silencium tenerent omnia et nox in suo cursu iter perageret,  
 usque ad tercium noctis conticinium naucleri more Gedionico in  
 manibus sinistris tenentes lagenas vacuas ac lampades in medio  
 laguncularum, cum valido clamore ceperunt inter se lagenas com-  
 plodere et lampades subito emonstrare; dextris vero<sup>h</sup> ceperunt igni- 45  
 fera tela una cum pilis ac pilulis stuphis lini pice ac bitumine sepo<sup>i</sup>  
 necnon sulphure compactis et compaginatissimis fulminacionem igneam  
 sagittare et emittere qua tota illa classis Norica combussa<sup>j</sup> et con-  
 sumpta descendit in profundum sicut lapis et sicut plumbum in  
 aquis vehementibus, ita ut non solum navigium sed et fugientes de 50  
 campestri bello ad ipsum, cladem in maritimis experirentur. Unde  
 contigit ut de numerosa multitudo Noricorum tam in mari quam  
 in terra periclitancium, nec unus quidem fuit<sup>k</sup> qui effugeret vel nun-  
 cium de commissis Norwegie reportaret, preter unum dumtaxat mili- 55  
 tem ad legacionem<sup>l</sup> fungendum propterea monoculatum. Unde con-  
 tigit regno Scocie amodo et usque in sempiternum irrecuperabile  
 dampnum, quod ubi sinus fluvii Thaynensis erat pro tranquillissimo  
 portu in tota Albania habitus et compertus, post subversionem  
 navium in eisdem locis succreverunt cirtes<sup>m</sup> et colles arenosi mon-  
 tesque gibbosi et amfractus turgidi, quibus quandoque in locis juxta 60  
 agitationem fluctuum et reciprocaciones undarum nunc loca effi-  
 ciuntur plana, nunc valles nunc montana, <nunc vadosa nunc  
 profunda,> ut numquam in eodem statu biennio videantur continuo

g + Hec ipse CA  
 h interlin.C  
 i cepo CA  
 j combusta CA

k fuerat CA  
 l legacione C, CA, D  
 m sirtes CA

fo.212v

G ii, 101

We have read something similar to this about a Carthaginian  
 commander. Sextus Julius relates his story in Book II, Chapter 5.  
 He was waging war against some of the inhabitants of Africa who  
 30 were rebelling against the Carthaginians. Now those Africans were  
 very fond of wine. Realizing this the commander used a similar ploy  
 against them. He took many casks of wine and mixed it with the  
 juice of the mandrake plant, an herb with marvellous powers as  
 a soporific, which makes men sleep so deeply that they become  
 35 unconscious, as Aristotle says in the first book of *On Sleep and  
 Waking*. Hence it is customary to give it to those who have to undergo  
 surgery because of some illness, so that they can be cut open without  
 feeling any pain. So the general left the barrels of wine which had  
 been thus doctored in his tents, and fled by way of a ruse, abandoning  
 40 the tents. So the Africans occupied the tents in high glee, and finding  
 provisions with wine in abundance, ate and drank of that doctored  
 wine. Immediately they were all overcome by sleep to such a degree  
 that they were completely unable to help themselves. The aforesaid  
 commander having ascertained this, returned in the night, attacked  
 45 them and slaughtered these unfortunate men exactly as he desired.  
 Exactly the same happened to the Norsemen.

But lest any of them should take refuge with their fleet, on the  
 same night on which the Norsemen had been beaten, according to a  
 prearranged plan, some reliable galleys, equipped with boats and  
 50 skiffs for this very purpose and brought together from all parts,  
 unexpectedly arrived in the river Tay. Then, while all things observed  
 a common silence and night was journeying on its course, until the  
 third part of the night the sailors like Gideon held empty flagons in  
 their left hands, and lamps inside the flagons. Then with a loud shout  
 55 they began to smash each other's flagons and suddenly revealed the  
 lamps. With their right hands they began to shoot and to hurl  
 incendiary missiles together with darts and balls made up from a  
 combination of flax tow, pitch, bitumen, tallow and sulphur. This  
 fiery thunderbolt set fire to and consumed the entire Norse fleet, and  
 60 it went to the bottom like a stone, and like lead in fast-flowing water,  
 so that not only was the fleet destroyed, but also those who were  
 fleeing to it from the land battle came to grief in the sea fight. The  
 result was that out of the huge multitude of Norsemen who were  
 risking their lives on both sea and on land, there was not one left to  
 65 flee or carry back news of the disaster to Norway, except for one  
 soldier who was left with one eye to perform that mission.

From then on and for ever after the kingdom of Scotland suffered  
 irreparable loss as a result. For whereas the estuary of the river Tay  
 had been considered to be the most sheltered harbour in the whole  
 70 of Albany [Scotland] and was well known for this, after the sinking  
 of the ships, in the very places where they had sunk there arose

permanere. Cuius occasione de post multe naves ex insperato sicut  
testatur vicinia sepius periclitantur. Sed et hoc pro certo constare 65  
videtur quod ubicumque infra sabulum major navis submergitur,  
major et tumidior elevacio arenosa efficitur. At in ipso loco ubi trieris  
quem Greci durconem vocant cum suis carinis conglobatus<sup>n</sup> perierat,  
ibi illa adhuc caribdis periculosa recedente mare apparet que Drum-  
ley dicitur, quod tantum sonat sicut Caribdis, ubi submersi jacuerunt, 70  
id est *drownit lay*. Et quia propterea ibidem tam confusibiliter devicti  
sunt Norwigenses, postmodum per multa annorum curricula<sup>o</sup> nullus  
cingendus erat in militem qui non devoveret cum tempus et oportu-  
nitas afforet mortem avorum vindicare. Sed et certe fuerunt qui-  
dam de finitimis regni qui Achoni regi Norwegie scripserunt anim-  
antes eum contra naturalem suum dominum, sicut in sequentibus  
clarius constabit.<sup>p</sup>

n conglobatis CA  
o + ibidem del.C

p patebit CA

## 18

<sup>a</sup> *De homagio facto per regulum Mannie regi Scotorum*

Anno domini m<sup>o</sup> cc lxxiii<sup>o</sup> natus est regi Alexandro filius paterno  
nomine vocitatus apud Jedwod xii kal' januarii die videlicet Sancte  
Agnētis Virginis. Unde per omnes fines Scocie duplici de causa laudes  
Deo resonabant; eo quod uno eodemque die per unum nuncium 5  
mors regis Noricorum qui regem regnumque infestabat, per alium  
vero sui novelli filii nativitas regi nunciabatur. Morte quidem Norico-  
rum regis Aconis Alexandro regi Scotorum propalata, validum fes-  
tinanter exercitum congregans, versus insulam de Mannia se preparat  
navigio profecturum. De hoc regulus Mannie instructus et ultra

a + De bello moto inter regem Anglie et  
Simonem de Monte Forti et del.C; see next

rubric, where these words were added before  
the chapter number was inserted

sandbanks, sandy hillocks, humpbacked mountains and twisting  
piles [of sand]. In these places at various times according to the  
movements of the waves and the ebb and flow of the tides, flat areas  
75 are created at one time, and at another valleys, at yet another time  
mounds, at one moment shallows and at another deep water, so that  
these places never seem to remain the same for two years on end.  
This is the reason why since then many ships often find themselves  
in danger unexpectedly, as those who live round about testify. But  
80 it also seems to be a well-established fact that wherever a larger ship  
is submerged beneath the sand, there the raised shelf of sand is larger  
and more protuberant. But in the very spot where the trireme which  
the Greeks call a *durco* sank, crushed together with its keels, there,  
at low tide, that dangerous whirlpool is still to be seen, which is  
85 called Drumlay, because it makes a noise as loud as Charybdis. There  
the drowned men have rested, that is *drownit lay*.

And because, for the reasons mentioned, the Norsemen were so  
utterly confounded in the defeat they suffered there, subsequently,  
over a long period of years everyone who was to be invested as a  
90 knight had to vow that, when time and opportunity allowed, they  
would avenge the death of their forbears. But indeed there were some  
on the borders of the kingdom [of Scotland] who wrote to Haakon  
the king of Norway, encouraging him to take up arms against their  
natural lord, as will become more evident in what follows.

## 18

*Homage done to the king of Scots by the under-king of Man*

In 1264 a son was born to King Alexander at Jedburgh on 21 1264:  
[January], the feast day of St Agnes the Virgin. He was given his [21 Jan.]  
father's name. So in every part of Scotland praise to God resounded  
on two counts, for on one and the same day one message announced  
5 the death of the king of the Norwegians, who was troubling both the  
king and the realm, while another brought the king news of the  
arrival of his new-born son.

When the death of Haakon king of the Norwegians was made  
known to Alexander king of Scots, he quickly collected a strong  
10 army and prepared to set off in his fleet to the Isle of Man. When  
the under-king of Man got to hear of this, he was more terrified than  
can be imagined. He sent his envoys to the king to ask that he might



quam credi potest perteritus nuncios suos regi direxit ut concessis 10  
 sibi prius induciis in propria persona seipsum sibi ubicumque infra  
 regnum<sup>b</sup> presentaret. Nec tamen rex a suo divertens proposito pro-  
 inde reflexit habenas; sed salvo sibi misso conductu coactum<sup>c</sup> celeriter  
 exercitum ad insulam Mannie tendens duxit, ad oppidum de Dum-  
 fress<sup>d</sup> usque pervenit. Ubi occurrens idem regulus homo regis Scocie 15  
 devenit, homagium sibi pro suo regniculo faciens imperpetuum de  
 se tenendo, sub hac tamen condicione quod si rex Noricorum qui pro  
 tempore fuerit ipsum presumpserit infestare, refugium sibi salvum et  
 suis haberet in Scocia futuris<sup>e</sup> de cetero temporibus. Et ipse regulus  
 Mannie regi Scocie domino suo previderet quociens opus fuerit de 20  
 decem galeis piraticis, quarum quidem quinque xx<sup>ii</sup> iiii remorum et  
 reliquas quinque duodecim. Quo peracto negotio de regis precepto  
 cum festinatione debita Alexander comes de Buchania, Willelmus  
 comes<sup>e</sup> de Mar et Alanus Dur- | ward assumpta secum non modica 25  
 manu militum ac vernaculorum occidentales insulas Scocie adierunt,  
 et hos proditores quorum hortatu anno precedenti rex Norwagie in  
 Scocia applicuit occiderunt; et quosdam in fugam compulerunt,  
 atque quibusdam majoribus suspensis maximam ex ipsis insulis pre-  
 dam reportarunt. Hoc anno transfretavit rex Anglie Henricus et  
 regina una cum eorum filio Eadwardo ad contrahendum matri- 30  
 monium cum sorore regis Hispanie. Obiit Rogerus de Quency comes  
 Wincestrie constabularius Scocie. Cuius terre tribus filiabus postea  
 equa lance divise sunt. Obiit Nicholas de Sowlez dominus Vallis  
 de Liddal apud Rothomagum, vir tocius regni eloquentissimus et  
 sapientissimus. Cui successit Willelmus filius eius.<sup>g</sup> Rex Alexander 35  
 David comitem de Atholia et Colbanum filium Malcolmi comitis de  
 Fiffe et alios quosdam nobiles in die Natalis Domini armis militaribus  
 apud Sconam insignivit. Venerunt fratres Carmelite<sup>h</sup> primo in  
 Angliam. Maximus exoritur conflictus et contencio inter regem  
 Anglie et barones suos pro provisionibus factis in parlamento 40  
 Oxoniis.

<sup>b</sup> + sib *del.C*

<sup>c</sup> coacto *CA*

<sup>d</sup> *CA*; futuro *C,D*

<sup>e</sup> *S*; Comyn *C,D,R*

<sup>f</sup> + Robertus abbas de Abirbroth ob eius  
 elacionem intolerabilem et prodigam ipsius

ecclesie dilapidacionem exabbas effectus

est. Cui eiusdem domus prior successit

*del.C*

<sup>g</sup> + Eodem anno *CA*

<sup>h</sup> *corrected from Carmalite C*

first be granted a truce and then present himself in person before the  
 king anywhere in the kingdom. But the king did not because of this  
 15 deviate from his intention, nor did he rein his horses round. But  
 when a safe-conduct had been sent, he quickly gathered together his [summer]  
 army and led it in the direction of the Isle of Man, getting as far as  
 the town of Dumfries. There the same under-king met him, and  
 became the liege man of the king of Scotland, doing homage to him  
 20 for his under-kingdom, to be held forever from him, but under the  
 condition that if whoever was king of the Norwegians at the time  
 should presume to attack him, he should have a safe refuge for  
 himself and his men in Scotland at any time in the future, and that  
 the under-king of Man should provide his lord the king of Scotland  
 25 with ten pirate-type galleys, as often as there should be need, five of  
 which should have twenty-four oars and the other five twelve.

When this business had been concluded, on the king's orders  
 Alexander earl of Buchan, William earl of Mar and Alan Durward  
 went with due haste to the western isles of Scotland, taking with [summer]  
 30 them no small number of knights and retainers. They killed those  
 traitors who in the preceding year had encouraged the king of Nor-  
 way to land in Scotland. Some they forced to take flight; and after  
 hanging some of the leading men, they brought back a very large  
 amount of booty from these islands.

35 In the same year Henry king of England and his queen, along with  
 their son Edward, went overseas to solemnize his marriage with the  
 king of Spain's sister.

Roger de Quincy earl of Winchester, constable of Scotland, died. [25 Apr.]  
 His lands were subsequently divided among his three daughters, each  
 40 getting an equal share.

Nicholas de Soules lord of Liddesdale died at Rouen, the wisest  
 and most eloquent man in the whole kingdom. He was succeeded by  
 his son William.

On Christmas Day at Scone King Alexander invested with the 25 Dec.  
 45 arms of a knight David earl of Atholl and Colban, son of Malcolm  
 earl of Fife, and certain other nobles.

The Carmelite friars came for the first time into England.

A very serious dispute and conflict arose between the king of  
 England and his barons over the Provisions which had been made  
 50 at the parliament at Oxford.



*De contractu inito inter reges Scocie et Norwegie  
pro insulis et de bello inter regem Anglie  
et Simonem de Monte Forti inito*

Noricorum rex Magnus filius Achonis anno domini m° cc° lxx misit suum cancellarium [et]<sup>a</sup> dominum Gilbertum episcopum de Hamar Alexandro regi Scotorum apud Perth. Qui sibi de Botha et de Aran optulit imperpetuum insulas pacifice possidendas, adeo tamen ut omnes alias insulas<sup>b</sup> quas Acho pater suus postulaverat habere posset in pace. Quod rex omnino facere parvipendit. Episcopus autem cum de sua legacione responsum audisset revertens in patriam regi suo nunciavit invanum se laborasse, sed et cum Scotis consuluit ut tractaret. Igitur anno deinde sequenti remisit rex Noricus dictum suum cancellarium et alios magnates in Scociam. Qui per literas de rato regi Scotorum contulerunt omnes insulas que sunt inter Scociam et Hiberniam quas Acho pater suus<sup>c</sup> proclamaverat. Ac etiam omne jus et clameum quod in dictis insulis umquam ipse rex Magnus vel suorum quisquam predecessorum habuit eidem regi Scocie reddiderunt, dummodo idem rex Scocie infra duos annos iv<sup>m</sup> marcas<sup>d</sup> argenti dicto regi Norwagie persolveret, et singulis annis sibi postea et suis heredibus centum marcas. Habito super hoc maturo avisamento tandem ad id consensum est, quamvis pluribus de Scocia contractus displicuerat. Propter hoc quod per multorum curricula temporum priusquam Scoti longe Britanniam advenerant, introducti primo per Eugenium Rothay quemdam eorum ducem, predictas coluerunt insulas; et abinde usque tempus illud fatale contencionis filiorum regis Scocie Malcolmi Canmor contra Dovenaldum Ban<sup>e</sup> dictorum filiorum patrum, quo diviso totaliter regno, Magnus nomine Noricorum rex filius Olavi potenter insulas invadens suo subdiderat dominio, Scoti nulla interrupcione prepediti easdem continuo possederunt. | Anno precedenti exorta est magna dissencio inter Henricum regem Anglie et Eadwardum filium suum ex una parte et Simonem de Monte Forti comitem de Laycester ac magnates Anglie ex altera, unde ipsi magnates Alienoram reginam Anglie et omnes Francigenas cum confusione de finibus Anglie ejecerunt. Rex vero

<sup>a</sup> S<sup>b</sup> + pacifice possidendas del.C<sup>c</sup> D; suas C<sup>d</sup> CA; marc' C<sup>e</sup> + nothum del.C

G ii, 103

*The agreement entered into between the kings of Scotland  
and Norway concerning the islands, and the outbreak of  
fighting between the king of England and Simon de Montfort*

In 1265 Magnus son of Haakon king of the Norwegians sent his chancellor and sir Gilbert bishop of Hamar to Alexander king of Scots at Perth. As regards Bute and Arran he offered Alexander the islands to be held in peaceful possession in perpetuity, but with the proviso that he [Magnus] should possess peaceably all the other islands to which his father Haaakon had laid claim. The king of Scots completely scorned this proposal. After the bishop had received the king's reply relating to his mission, he returned to Norway and informed his king that his labours had been in vain, but advised him to come to an agreement with the Scots. So next year the king of Norway sent his aforesaid chancellor and other magnates back to Scotland. On the strength of their letters of authorization they granted the king of Scots all the islands which lie between Scotland and Ireland to which his father Haakon had laid claim. They also restored to the selfsame king of Scots every right and claim which King Magnus or any of his predecessors ever had in the aforesaid islands, provided that the same king of Scotland would pay 4000 marks of silver to the said king of Norway within two years, and subsequently 100 marks each year to himself and his heirs. When this offer had been given mature consideration, it was eventually agreed, although the treaty had displeased several on the Scots side. The reason for this was that the Scots had inhabited the aforesaid islands for a very long time long before they had come to Britain when they were brought there by Eochaid Rothay, one of their leaders; and, undisturbed by any incursion, they had held them in uninterrupted possession right up to that ill-fated time of strife between the sons of Malcolm Canmore king of Scotland and Donald Ban, the uncle of the said sons. When the kingdom had been completely split by this, Magnus Olafsson king of the Norwegians had invaded the islands and made them subject to his rule by force.

In the preceding year there arose a great quarrel between Henry king of England and his son Edward on the one side and Simon de Montfort earl of Leicester and the magnates of England on the other. As a result the magnates ignominiously drove out of England Eleanor queen of England and all those of French birth. King Henry and his

1265:  
[summer]

1266

[2 July]

[1264]

35

Henricus et filius eius exercitum circumquaque copiosum colligentes contra dictos magnates apud Hewis <ii idus maii> bellum commiserunt. Tandem utrimque strage non modica procerum et populi peracta, rex et filius eius Eadwardus Langschankis nuncupatus a Simone Montford capiuntur. Ac etiam dominus Johannes Comyne et alii milites et valentes viri Scocie qui jussu regis Alexandri ad succursum regis Henrici venerant, capti sunt et apud London' carceribus deputantur.

## 20

*De evasione principis Eadwardi et bello de Evashame*

Anno domini m° cclxv<sup>10</sup> apparuit in Anglia mirabilis cometa per xv continue dies. Quo anno Eadwardus filius regis Anglie qui in custodia arctissima servabatur inau- | dita prudencia ante festum Johannis Baptiste de procuracione Gilberti comitis Glovernie evasit, nam custodibus suis seipsum quamplurime exinanivit;<sup>a</sup> quibus et si pauca dedit multa tamen promisit, et eisdem se consonum in omnibus exhibebat, attendens ad illud Salustii dicentis:

Consulo quisquis eris qui pacis federa queris  
consonus esto lupis cum quibus esse cupis

id est quam diu esse cupis. Postquam igitur Eadwardus princeps carcares evaserat, congregato undecumque exercitu grandi, apud Ewshame inter ipsum principem et Simonem Laicestrie comitem forte bellum committitur in vigilia Sancti Oswaldi. In quo conflictu ipse Simon cum Henrico primogenito suo interemptus est. Ipso vero in bello octoginta septem proceres nobiles trecenti vernaculi armati et quingenti pedites ex parte comitis Simonis corruerunt, et quamplures carceribus et vinculis mancipati sunt. Rex autem Scocie ex sua mera voluntate ad succursum regis Anglie et consanguinei sui Eadwardi tres homines de qualibet hida in expeditione connumeravit; sed audita ruina Simonis cum suis complicibus Scoti liberaliter a<sup>b</sup> principe Anglie dimissi ad propria redierunt. <'Hida autem Anglice vocatur terra unius aratri culture sufficiens per annum.' Unde hide dicuntur jugera.> Omnes quoque qui cum Simone in bello persteterunt exheredati sunt aut proscripti, ita ut in anno sequenti rex Anglie infra unam ebdomadam terras xvii<sup>m</sup> d. ac lx nobilium alienis conferret,

a + et placenter humiliavit CA

b + rege del.C

son gathered a large army from every part of England and joined battle with the said magnates at Lewes on 14 May. Eventually, after considerable slaughter of both nobles and common people on both sides, the king and his son called Edward Longshanks were captured by Simon [de] Montfort. Likewise Sir John Comyn and other knights and valiant men of Scotland who had gone to help King Henry at the command of King Alexander were captured and consigned to prisons in London.

## 20

*The escape of Prince Edward and the battle of Evesham*

In 1265 a marvellous comet appeared in England for fifteen days on end.

In this year Edward the son of the king of England, who was being kept in very close custody, escaped just before St John Baptist's Day, abetted by Gilbert earl of Gloucester. Edward displayed hitherto unheard-of cleverness, for he abased himself exceedingly before his guards [and humbled himself to please them]. He made them many promises, even if he gave little, and showed himself to be like them in all respects, heeding in this the words of Sallust:

I advise you whoever you are who seek terms of peace,  
be like the wolves with whom you wish to associate

(that is as long as you are of that mind).

So after Prince Edward had escaped from prison, he gathered together a large army from every quarter. A major battle was fought between the prince and Simon earl of Leicester at Evesham on the eve of the feast of St Oswald. In this conflict Simon himself with his firstborn son Henry were killed. In the fighting eighty-seven noble magnates, three hundred armed retainers, and five hundred foot-soldiers fell on Earl Simon's side, while very many were consigned to prison and fetters. The king of Scotland from motives of sheer goodwill assigned three men from each hide to form an expedition to go to the aid of the king of England and his own kinsman [Prince] Edward. But when the downfall of Simon and his accomplices had become known, the Scots were generously sent away by the English prince and returned home. ('Now a hide is the expression in English for an area of land sufficient for cultivation with one plough each year'; and so hides are called ploughgates.)

quorum pars maxima vias et stratas obsidebat et vispiliones<sup>c</sup> facti sunt. Mortalis tunc obsidio inter regem et exheredatos erupit, qua ville combuste oppida dirupta,<sup>d</sup> territoria depopulata, ecclesie spoliata, | religiosi a cenobiis effugati, ecclesiastici angariati, populi pessundati; nusquam pax, nusquam securitas.<sup>e</sup> Hoc in tempore de exheredatis et bannitis surrexit et caput erexit ille famosissimus sicarius Robertus Hode cum LitiJohn<sup>f</sup> et eorum complicitibus, de quibus stolidum vulgus hianter in comediis et in tragediis prurienter festum faciunt, et super<sup>g</sup> ceteris romanciis mimos et bardanos cantitare delectantur. De quo etiam quedam commendabilia recitantur, sicut patuit in hoc quod cum ipse quondam in Barnesdale iram regis et fremitum principis declinans missam ut solitus erat devotissime audiret – nec aliqua necessitate volebat interrumpere officium – quadam die cum audiret missam, a quodam vicecomite et ministris regis eum sepius per prius infestantibus in illo secretissimo loco nemorali ubi misse interfuit exploratus, venientes ad eum qui hoc de suis perceperunt ut omni annisu fugeret suggererunt. Qui ob reverenciam sacramenti quod tunc devotissime venerabatur omnino facere recusavit. Sed ceteris suis ob metum mortis trepidantibus, Robertus in tantum confisus in eum quem<sup>g</sup> coluit inveritus cum paucissimis qui tunc ei forte affuerunt inimicos<sup>h</sup> congressus eos de facile devicit, et de eorum spoliis ac redempcione ditatus ministros ecclesie et missas in maiore veneratione semper et de post habere preelegit. Attendens quod vulgariter dictum est:

Hunc Deus exaudit qui missam sepius audit.

Eadwardus tandem filius regis rebelles suos quosque volens subjugare Johannem de Vessy et alios quosdam in castello de Alnwick cepit et usque Londonias transmisit. Deinde apud Roxburgh cum rege Scocie se collocaturus divertit. Cui rex Scocie et regina Margarita soror dicti Eadwardi et fere tota nobilitas Scocie occurrerunt. Et post multas exultaciones et applausus utrimque factos alterutri ad propria cum gaudio sunt reversi. Eodem anno Ricardus episcopus Dunkeldensis novum chorum in ecclesia Sancti Columbe <de Emonia> propriis<sup>i</sup> construxit sumptibus, cuius anime propterea benedicat Dominus Amen.

<sup>c</sup> CA; vispoliones C

<sup>d</sup> diruta CA

<sup>e</sup> + sed squalor calamitas fames et rapina viguerunt CA

<sup>f</sup> pre CA

<sup>g</sup> + tunc del. C

<sup>h</sup> insequentes CA

<sup>i</sup> + sumptibus del. C

Moreover all those who supported Simon in that battle were outlawed and disinherited, so that in the following year within one week the king of England bestowed lands worth 17,560 nobles on others. The greater part of the disinherited infested the roads and streets and became robbers. Then a deadly struggle broke out between the king and the disinherited, in the course of which villages were burned, towns wrecked, whole stretches of land depopulated, churches pillaged, religious driven from their monasteries, clerics had money extorted from them and the common people were ruined. Nowhere was there peace, nowhere security.

At this time there arose from among the disinherited and outlaws and raised his head that most famous armed robber Robert Hood, along with Little John and their accomplices. The foolish common folk eagerly celebrate the deeds of these men with gawping enthusiasm in comedies and tragedies, and take pleasure in hearing jesters and bards singing [of them] more than in other romances. Yet some of his exploits thus recited are commendable, as is clear from what follows.

Once when he was in Barnsdale, avoiding the king's anger and the prince's rage, and was hearing mass most devoutly as was his habit – he was unwilling to interrupt the service no matter the pressure he was under – when he was thus hearing mass one day, he was tracked down to that secluded woodland spot where he was hearing it by a certain sheriff and king's officers who had often proved themselves his enemies in the past. Some of his men who spotted this came to him and advised him to make every effort to escape. But because of his reverence for the sacrament which at that moment he was most devoutly worshipping, he absolutely refused. While the rest of his men were trembling in fear of death, Robert having great trust in Him whom he was worshipping, with those very few who happened to be there with him fearlessly took on his enemies and easily beat them. Being much enriched with spoil and ransom money taken from them, from then onwards he always chose to hold the ministers of the church and masses in even greater veneration. For he paid heed to the common saying:

God listens to the man who hears mass often.

At last Edward the king's son, wishing to subdue all those who had rebelled against him, captured John de Vesci and certain others in the castle of Alnwick and sent them to London. Then he turned aside to confer with the king of Scotland at Roxburgh. The king of Scotland and Queen Margaret, the sister of the said Edward, and almost the whole nobility of Scotland met him. After many expressions of joy and congratulation on both sides, they returned home happy.

[1267: early]

## 21

*De Ottobono legato in Scocia non admissio  
et aliis incidentibus*

Anno domini m° cc° lxvi obiit Malcolmus comes de Fiffe. Et regina Anglie de partibus Gallicanis<sup>a</sup> in Angliam transfretavit. Filius et heres comitis de Marre desponsavit comitissam relictam comitis de Fife nuper defuncti. Isto eciam anno grassati sunt acrius Anglie barones exheredati et regales; inter quos Rogerus de Mortuo Mari marchias Wallie, Johannes Dayvillis insulam de Hely occupabant; Robertus Hode <inter><sup>b</sup> fructa et dumeta silvestria exulabat. Inter quos quam maxime strages communibus et plebeis, civitatibus et mercatoribus ingruebant. Sed et insuper munitissimum castrum de Killinword, ad quod fere omnes proceres regi rebellantes confugerant, Henricus | rex cum Edwardo prin- | cipe filio suo et exercitu obsident copioso; unde ipsi qui fuerunt de reliquiis Simonis de Montfort, videntes ipsum castrum propugnaculis et antemuralibus inexpugnabile, pro viribus constanter repugnabant. Tandem inedia fameque pertesi castrum tali pacto reddiderunt ut et ipsi vitas et membra optinerent. Ottibonus interea Romane sedis legatus, ad pacem inter regem et barones reformandam in Angliam veniens, Londoniis residenciam fecit; qui, frustra se laborare perpendens, episcopis Scocie scripsit ut de singulis ecclesiis parochialibus iiii<sup>or</sup> marcas, de ecclesiis quoque cathedralibus sex marcas nomine procuracionis sue sibi destinarent; quod rex de consilio cleri omnino fieri prohibuit. Insuper, pro expensis ad hoc fiendis accepta a clero pecunia ii<sup>m</sup> marcarum, ad sedem apostolicam appellavit. Hoc in anno Saraceni multos de fratribus Templi et Hospitalis interfecerunt ac eorum terras invaserunt. Adam abbas de Melros ob eius superbiam et obstinacionem apud capitulum generale depositus est, et Johannes eiusdem domus prior in abbatem electus est. <Hoc eciam anno ossa episcoporum Dunkeldensium translata sunt, scilicet ossa episcopi Johannis de Laycester ad aust-[rum, ossa vero Ricardi et] Gilberti

G ii,105;  
fo.214

<sup>a</sup> transmarinis CA

<sup>b</sup> written twice, once in each margin C

<sup>c</sup> D; lac.C

## 21

*Ottobono the papal legate is refused entry to Scotland  
and other events*

In the same year Richard bishop of Dunkeld built the new choir [1266] in the church of St Columba on Inchcolm at his own expense. Wherefore may the Lord bless his soul. Amen.

- In 1266 the death occurred of Malcolm earl of Fife. And the queen of England crossed the sea from France to England. The son and heir of the earl of Mar married the widowed countess of the recently deceased earl of Fife. [1266: 29 Oct]
- 5 In that year also the disinherited English barons and those loyal to the king clashed fiercely; amongst them Roger de Mortimer occupied the Welsh Marches and John d'Eyville occupied the Isle of Ely; Robert Hood was an outlaw amongst the woodland briars and thorns. Between them they inflicted a vast amount of slaughter on the common and ordinary folk, cities and merchants. King Henry, however, along with his son Prince Edward and a huge army also besieged the very well fortified castle of Kenilworth, where almost all the nobles who were rebelling against the king had taken refuge. There the remnants of Simon de Montfort's following, seeing that the castle with its towers and protecting walls was impregnable, defended themselves steadily with all their might. At length, worn out by lack of food and starvation, they handed over the castle on the condition that they keep life and limb. [May]
- 15 In the meantime Ottobono a legate from the Roman see came to England to restore peace between the king and the barons and took up residence in London. Considering that his work was inadequately supported, he wrote to the bishops of Scotland that they were to send him as procurations four marks from each parish church and six marks from each cathedral church. But the king on the advice of the clergy expressly stopped this payment. Moreover he appealed to the apostolic see, after receiving from the clergy the sum of 2000 marks to cover the cost of this course of action. [1265: Nov.]
- 20 In this year the Saracens killed many Knights Templar and Hospitaller and invaded their lands. [1266]
- 25 Adam abbot of Melrose was deposed from office at a meeting of the general chapter on account of his pride and stubbornness, and John, prior of the same house, was elected abbot. [1267]

ad aquilonem in novo choro insule Emonie juxta altarem sunt tumu- 30  
lata.>

Anno domini m° cc° lxxvii facta est pax inter regem Henricum<sup>d</sup> et  
Leulinum principem Wallie. Lodovicus rex Francie filium suum apud  
Parisius in diem Penthecost' coronavit et crucem versus Jerosolimam  
contra Saracenos pugnaturus accepit. 35

Eadmundus junior filius regis Anglie factus est comes Laicestrie,  
quam per mortem rebellis amisit Simon de Monte Forti, filio suo  
Simone in Francia exulante. Hugo Giffard dominus de Zester  
moritur, cuius castrum, vel saltem caveam et dongionem, arte  
demoniaca antique relaciones ferunt fabrifactas. Nam ibidem hab- 40  
etur mirabilis specus subterraneus opere mirifico constructus, magno  
terrarum spacio protelatus, qui<sup>e</sup> communiter 'Bohall' appellatus est.  
Eodem anno Robertus de Maneris camerarius quandoque domini  
regis Alexandri mortuus est. Robertus de Abirbroth exabbas effectus  
eo quod monachi providenciam exhibicionis sue, per Gamelinum 45  
episcopum Sancti Andr' factam, irreverenter subtraxerunt, et pud-  
enter ejecerunt; sedem appellans peciit apostolicam.<sup>f</sup> Pax inter regem  
et barones Anglie per Ottibonum Romane sedis legatum et archi-  
episcopum Rothomagensis circa festum Sancti Johannis Baptiste  
reformata est, ita ut, omni rancore utrimque sedato, rebelles regis 50  
terris et redditibus suis per triennium privarentur.

<sup>d</sup> + Anglie CA  
<sup>e</sup> + Boal del.C

<sup>f</sup> + Eadmundus junior filius regis Anglie  
factum del.C

## 22

*De aliis incidentibus<sup>a</sup> et dissensione  
inter regem et clerum<sup>b</sup>*

Anno quo<sup>c</sup> supra vermes et eruce olera per totam fere Angliam  
et Scociam tamquam brucus corroseverunt. Tempus fuit siccum et  
amenum et fructus terre habundans. Sed in profesto xi<sup>m</sup> Virginum

<sup>a</sup> + et Othone legato c xxii del.C  
<sup>b</sup> + Scocie CA,D

<sup>c</sup> quoque CA

Also in this year the bones of some bishops of Dunkeld were 1266  
moved, that is the bones of Bishop John de Leicester were buried to  
35 the south, and the bones of Richard and Gilbert were buried to the  
north, beside the altar in the new choir of Inchcolm.

In 1267 peace was made between King Henry [of England] and 1267:  
Llywelyn prince of Wales. [29 Sept.]

Louis king of France crowned his son in Paris on Whitsunday and 5 June  
40 took the cross to go to Jerusalem and fight against the Saracens. [24 Mar.]

Edmund, the younger son of the king of England, was made earl [1265:  
of Leicester. The rebel Simon de Montfort lost this earldom at his 26 Oct.]  
death. His son Simon was then in exile in France.

The death occurred of Hugh Gifford, lord of Yester. Old tales tell  
45 that his castle, or at least his cellar and keep, were wrought by  
witchcraft. For there is there a marvellous underground cavern won-  
derfully constructed and extending under a large area of ground. It  
is popularly called Bo' Hall.

In the same year the death occurred of Robert de Meyners,  
50 formerly chamberlain to the lord king Alexander.

Robert of Arbroath lost his position as abbot because the monks  
disrespectfully deprived him of the provision for his maintenance  
laid down by Bishop Gamelin of St. Andrews, and shamefully threw  
him out. He appealed to the apostolic see.

About the time of the feast of St John the Baptist peace was [1266:  
55 restored between the king and the barons of England by Ottobono 29 Aug.]  
legate of the Roman see and the archbishop of Rouen, in such a way  
that, after all the rancour had been assuaged on both sides, the rebels  
against the king were deprived of their lands and rents for a period  
60 of three years.

## 22

*Other events, and dissension between the king  
and the clergy [of Scotland]*

In the same year worms and caterpillars destroyed the vegetable crop 1267  
like locusts throughout almost the whole of England and Scotland.  
The weather was dry and mild and the produce of the land was  
plentiful; but on the eve of the feast of the 11,000 Virgins a very great 20 Oct.  
5 storm arose from the north, as a result of which the sea, whipped up  
into a frenzy and overstepping its proper limits in an extraordinary

tempestas permaxima ab aquilone suborta est, unde mare, in rabiem  
concitatum fines debitos miro modo transgrediens, domos, villas,  
arbores complanavit, et dampna plurima intulit multis locis, sed  
maxime inter flumina de le Thay et Twede. Tempestas talis | non  
est visa a diebus Noe usque ad diem illum, sicut adhuc vestigia  
manifestant.<sup>d</sup>

Reginaldus le Chen<sup>e</sup> camerarius regis effectus est. Ipso anno paca-  
vit clerus Scocie Otibono legato in Anglia<sup>f</sup> commoranti de qualibet  
marca sex denarios et Huberto cardinali de qualibet marca v  
denarios, non obstante appellacione de consensu regis, et expensis  
sibi propterea presolutis. Nam quamdiu rex cum suo clero unanimes  
persteterunt, sua jura viriliter defensarunt. Sed rege conmoto contra  
clerum inconsulte satis per iniquos consiliarios, remissius se in facto  
ecclesie habuerunt: quod levi causa nullatenus rege fovenda subito  
nimis emergerat. Rex autem in se firmiter quadratus et in cunctis  
agendis<sup>g</sup> satis strenuus et consultus, instinctu tamen suorum curi-  
alium contra ecclesiam et clerum cepit rebellare contra morem  
solutum, fovens excessus militum. Nam venerabilem virum, sibi olim  
interrimum,<sup>h</sup> de Sancto Andrea episcopum Gamelinum<sup>i</sup> per mobilia  
et manerias suas saisando sive recognoscendo voluit omnino de facto<sup>j</sup>  
compellere ut Johannem de Dunmor militem pro offensis manifestis  
priori et conventui de Sancto Andr<sup>j</sup> injuste illatis excommunicatum  
nulla satisfaccione preambula absolveret. Episcopus vero ipsum ad  
instanciam regis nequaquam absolvit, sciens quod venia non datur  
nisi correcto;<sup>k</sup> quinymmo ut bonus<sup>l</sup> iudex sententiam in ipsum domi-  
num Johannem | confirmavit,<sup>m</sup> et omnes alios qui ad illam com-  
pulsionem consilium dederunt, exceptis<sup>n</sup> personis domini regis, regine  
et eorum liberorum, tam per episcopatum suum quam per alios  
episcopatus, fecit<sup>o</sup> constanter excommunicatos denunciari, ab ipsa  
denunciacione non cessando donec miles, rubore suffusus, humiliter  
veniam peccit et, ad instanciam regis absolutus, quod forisfecerat  
plene satisfecit. Rex itaque et clerus concors effectus, caucius se  
de cetero opponentibus restiterunt, sicut in sequentibus patefiet. Nam  
cito post hoc venit quidam Romanus ex parte legati, petens licenciam  
a domino rege Scocie ut ipse legatus Romanus posset fines Scocie  
intrare et visitare. Rex cum clero consultus, visa commissione legati,  
hoc omnino fieri denegavit. Interim obiit Albinus episcopus Bre-

d ut speratur for sicut adhuc vestigia mani-  
festant CA

e Chene for le Chen CA

f CA; Angliam C,D,R

g + ut in tali etatula adolescente CA

h intimiorem CA

i interlin.C

j de facto om.CA

k D,CA; correcte C

l inflexibilis CA

m militem per aggravaciones innovavit, com-  
prehendens infra illas [sic] for dominum  
Johannem confirmavit CA; same variant  
but with illam for illas FF,P

n + dumtaxat CA

o + eos rubbed, perhaps erased C; + et R

way, flattened houses, farms and trees, and caused a great deal of  
damage in many places, but expecially between the rivers Tay and  
Tweed. Such a storm had not been seen since the time of Noah to  
that day, as the traces still show clearly.

Reginald le Chen was made chamberlain to the King.

In this year the clergy of Scotland paid sixpence for every mark  
to Ottobono the legate, who was staying in England, and fivepence  
for every mark to Cardinal Hubert, notwithstanding an appeal made  
concerning the consent of the king, and the money paid to him in  
advance on this account.

For as long as the king stood firmly in agreement with his clergy,  
they defended their rights courageously. However, once the king had  
been inadvisedly turned against the clergy by wicked councillors,  
they became more careless in church matters; this happened very  
suddenly, from a very slight cause which should not have been  
in any way fostered by the king. Although the king was stoutly  
independent and was energetic and well advised in all his business  
[as much as one can be at such a youthful age], at the instigation of  
his courtiers he began to rebel against the church and the clergy  
contrary to his usual practice, supporting the excesses of some  
knights. For by seizing or resuming possession of the moveable goods  
and estates of the venerable Bishop Gamelin of St Andrews, who  
had formerly been very close to him, he wanted in very fact to  
compel him to absolve the knight John de Dunmore, who had been  
excommunicated for manifest offences unjustly done to the prior  
and convent of St Andrews, without having offered any previous  
satisfaction. But the bishop did not absolve him at the request of the  
king, knowing that pardon is not given except to someone who has  
been corrected. Indeed as a good judge he confirmed the sentence on  
Sir John in [stronger terms], and resolutely caused all the others who  
had advised this act of coercion (with the exception of the lord  
king, the queen and their children) to be declared excommunicate  
throughout his own diocese as well as the others; and this ban was  
not to be lifted until the knight in question, overcome with shame,  
humbly sought pardon, and after absolution at the request of the  
king had made full satisfaction for what he had done wrong. In this  
way the king and the clergy were brought into agreement and care-  
fully resisted their opponents from then on, as will become apparent  
in what follows.

For soon after this there came a certain Roman on behalf of the  
legate, who requested permission from the king of Scotland for the  
Roman legate himself to cross the Scottish border and to make a  
visitation. Having seen the legate's commission and having consulted  
with the clergy, the king absolutely forbade this visitation.

In the meantime the death occurred of Albin bishop of Brechin, [1269]



chinensis, loco cuius electus fuit Willelmus ipsius ecclesie decanus, vir per omnia laudabilis, sed rauce vocis. Qui gratiam legati, si que in eo superfuerat, in Angliam adiit de consecratione petiturus; ubi nichil proficiens, sed quasi cum indignacione electum ab eo reiciens, curiam Romanam indilate adivit et de<sup>p</sup> consecracione facilliter se 45 expedit.

p + confirmacione ac CA

## 23

*Quomodo bonus episcopus vel prelatus se debet habere  
erga principes et tyrannos<sup>a</sup>*

A diebus illis dominus rex episcopum Gamelinum in magna reverencia et<sup>b</sup> dileccione habebat, sciens eum virum justum et sanctum; ad consilium autem eius de post multa bona faciebat, et libenter eum non tamquam Herodes sed tamquam rex catholicus<sup>c</sup> ut Johannem audiebat. Propter quod utrique competere poterit quod scriptum est 5 Sapientie decimo capitulo, videlicet: 'Stetit contra reges horrendos'.

G ii, 107

Omnis bonus prelatus talis debet esse ut pro jure ecclesie et pro veritate sane doctrine audeat stare contra principes et tyrannos | sicut apostoli et prophete, sicut martires et confessores, ut de eo possit dici: 'Stetit contra reges horrendos.' In quibus verbis bonum prelatum quatuor commendant, duo a parte subjecti et duo a parte objecti. A parte quidem subjecti,

videlicet	Rectitudo consciencie	ibi	stetit contra reges horrendos. <sup>d</sup>	15
	Fortitudo resistencie			
a parte objecti	Altitudo reverencie			
	Magnitudo benevolencie			

Primo vero debet esse in prelato rectitudo consciencie, unde monet apostolus: 'State succincti lumbos vestros in veritate, et induti lorica justicie, et calciati pedes in preparacionem evangelii pacis.' Proprietas palme est quod nullo pondere impeditur; quin semper teneat stature rectitudinem quantumcumque opus magnum sibi superponatur cum crescit. Et ideo quia sic invenitur invicte virtutis, deputabatur in orna-

<sup>a</sup> tyrannizantes for et tyrannos CA

<sup>b</sup> + devocione ac CA

<sup>c</sup> + libenter eum del. C

<sup>d</sup> CA presents the schematic passage in C, D, R thus: A parte quidem subjecti: videlicet

rectitudo consciencie ibi stetit, fortitudo resistencie ibi contra; a parte objecti: altitudo reverencie ibi reges, magnitudo benevolencie ibi horrendos

in whose place was elected William dean of the said church, a man praiseworthy in all things, except that he had a hoarse voice. He went to England to seek the grace of the legate for his consecration, 55 if he had any to spare. When he had no success, as if disdainfully rejecting appointment by the legate, he promptly left for the Roman court and easily dispatched the business of his [confirmation and] consecration.

## 23

*How a good bishop or prelate ought to behave  
towards princes and tyrants*

From that time the lord king held Bishop Gamelin in great reverence and [devotion and] love, knowing him to be a just and holy man; moreover afterwards he did many good things on his advice, and willingly listened to him, not like Herod when he heard John, but 5 like a catholic king. Because of this what is written in Wisdom, Chapter 10 could apply to both of them: 'He defied formidable kings.'

Every good prelate ought to be ready to defy princes and tyrants for the right of the church and for the truth of sound doctrine, like the 10 apostles and prophets, the martyrs and confessors, so that it can be said of him: 'He defied formidable kings.' In these words four qualities in a good prelate are commended, two subjective [i.e. exercised by him] and two objective [i.e. earned by him]. The subjective ones are: an upright conscience and strong powers of resistance; the objective ones are: a high degree of respect and a great amount of benevolence. By these means 'he defied formidable kings'.

Firstly, indeed, a prelate must have an upright conscience; thus the apostle urges: 'Stand firm. Fasten on the belt of truth; put on integrity as your coat of mail; let the shoes on your feet prepare the way for the 20 gospel of peace.' It is a characteristic of the palm-tree that it is not impeded by any weight, but rather it always keeps its upright stature, no matter how great a weight may be placed on it when it is growing. And because it is found to be of such unconquerable virtue, it was used for the adornment of the victorious. Allegorically the [good] prelate, no matter how great a burden may be placed upon him, either by 25 tyrannical persecution, or by unjust slander, must nevertheless always keep his upright stature in his conscience, so that that line from the

mentum victorum. Morali ter prelatus,<sup>e</sup> quantumcumque onus sibi imponatur sive per persecucionem tyrannicam sive injustam calumpniam, semper tamen servare debet stature rectitudinem in consciencia, ut sibi merito dici possit illud Canticum vii: 'Statura tua assimilata est palme.' Dicit enim Aristoteles primo Ethicorum quod virtuosus debet esse tetragonus sive thessara, que in omni parte sua equaliter stat.

ii<sup>o</sup> in bono prelato debet esse fortitudo resistencie contra malos; et ideo dicitur 'contra', non enim licet sibi fugere, fingere vel favere: fugere per cure dimissionem; fingere per dissimulationem; favere per adulacionem; sed stare scilicet contraveniendo, contraopponendo, contradicendo. Unde de prelatis bonis potest exponi illud Psalmum:<sup>f</sup> 'Posuisti nos in contradiccione vicinis nostris.'

iii<sup>o</sup> a parte objecti notatur altitudo reverencie quia contra reges sic Helias contra Achab<sup>g</sup> et omnes prophete contra reges se objecerunt, sicut sparsim patet i<sup>o</sup> et ii<sup>o</sup> Machabeorum.<sup>h</sup> Et ut in gestis Persarum et Medorum reperitur, orientales utuntur elephantibus<sup>i</sup> in bellis suis. Est enim elphas animal ita forte quod supra dorsum suum construitur unum castrum ligneum in quo possunt xxx vel xl<sup>a</sup> vel eo circa homines dimicare. Alexander ergo pugnaturus contra Porum regem duplici contra istos elephantes utebatur cautela: una vice ordinavit quod ponerentur statue eree plene prunis calidis et ferventibus in via ubi debebant transire isti elephantes, qui, statuas homines estimantes, eas cum promuscidis subvertere nitebantur; et statim ab ere ferventi in promuscidis combusti fugam inierunt, et maximam stragem in exercitum Indorum fecerunt. Alia vice coram suo exercitu fecit minari unum gregem porcorum, in quo jussit unum porcellum teneri et affligi. Quo clamante totus grex grunnire cepit. Modo elephas naturaliter timet suis grunnitum. Audientes autem illi elephantes tantum strepitum porcorum grunnientium, fugam inierunt et in exercitum proprium maximam stragem fecerunt. Morali ter per istos elephantes, qui sunt animalia maxima fortissima et castissima, signantur majores prelati in ecclesia propter magnitudinem dignitatis et propter similitudinem castitatis, quia elephas est animal castissimum. Horum est officium exercitum ecclesie precedere, et malos hostes mugitu sue predicacionis terrere. Super istos collocantur turres lignee, quia eis supponuntur ecclesie et committuntur animarum cure. Talis fuit Petrus, cui dixit Dominus: 'Tu es Petrus et super hanc petram edificabo ecclesiam meam.' Diabolus ergo timens istos, duplicem providit cautelam: primo enim ponit contra eos statuas ereas plenas igne. Iste statue sunt mali nobiles, procures et potentes qui videntur generosi sicut fuerunt patres eorum, qui ecclesias dotaverunt; sed non sunt nisi statue et larve, quia effigiem exteriorem hominis habent, sed non vitam, non prudenciam, non racionem, non mansuetudinem, quam homini indixit natura. Sunt tamen statue eree, propter strepitum pompe et secularis superbie, repleti intrinsecus igne

<sup>e</sup> + bonus CA

<sup>f</sup> p<sup>o</sup> unexpanded C,D,R,E,CA

<sup>g</sup> + et Johannes contra Herodem P

<sup>h</sup> in libris Regum et Machabeorum for i<sup>o</sup> et

ii<sup>o</sup> Machabeorum CA

<sup>i</sup> B; elephantis C,D,CA,R,E

Song of Songs [Chapter] 7 may be deservedly quoted to him: 'You are stately as a palm-tree.' For Aristotle says in the first book of his *Ethics* that a virtuous man must be a tetragon or cube, in which every part is equal.

Secondly a good prelate must display strong powers of resistance against evil men; and I say 'against', because he may not flee, lie or fawn – fleeing by abandoning his charge; lying by dissimulation; fawning by adulation. But he must make a stand by moving against, acting against, and speaking against [evil men]. So it can be said of good prelates what is said in the Psalms: 'Thou hast humbled us before our neighbours.'

Thirdly, on the objective side a high degree of respect is noted where Elijah set himself against Ahab, [and John against Herod,] and all the prophets set themselves against kings, as is clear from the examples scattered throughout [the books of Kings and] the first and second books of the Maccabees.

And as is found in the history of the Persians and Medes, the eastern peoples use elephants in their wars. For the elephant is an animal so strong that a wooden castle is built on its back, in which approximately thirty or forty men can fight. So when Alexander was about to fight against King Porus, he used a deceitful trick against those elephants. On one occasion he arranged that bronze statues full of hot burning coals be placed in the road where these elephants were expected to cross. Thinking that the statues were men, they tried to overturn them with their trunks; and at once their trunks were burnt by hot bronze and they fled, causing very great slaughter in the army of the Indians. On another occasion he caused a herd of pigs to be driven in front of his army, and ordered one of the piglets to be held and beaten. When the herd heard its squealing, they all started to grunt. Now the elephant is naturally afraid of the grunting of swine; so when those elephants heard this great din of grunting pigs, they took to flight and caused very great slaughter amongst their own army. Allegorically these elephants, which are very big, very strong and chaste animals, represent the major prelates of the church on account of the greatness of their dignity and the similarity of their chastity, as the elephant is a very chaste animal. Their duty is to lead the army of the church, and to frighten evil enemies by the trumpeting of their preaching. On them are placed wooden towers, because churches are put under their authority and the care of souls is entrusted to them. Such was Peter, to whom the Lord said: 'You are Peter, the Rock; and on this rock I will build my church.' Therefore the devil is afraid of them and prepares a deceitful trick: for at first he places in front of them bronze statues filled with fire. These statues are wicked nobles, magnates and men of power who seem to be as generous as were their fathers, who endowed churches; but they are nothing but statues and masks, because they have the outward appearance of a man, but they do not have the life, nor the wisdom, nor the reason, nor the gentleness which nature has granted to man. They are just bronze statues, because of the clashing sound of pomp and worldly pride, filled inside with the fire of anger, and for that reason

iracundie, et ideo sunt de familiaritate et secta diaboli, de quo dicit Job: 'Alitus eius prunas ardere facit.' Isti stant contra elephantes – id est episcopos – et comburunt promuscidas eorum ita quod nec corripere nec corrigere eos audent. Et non solum istos timent episcopi nostri moderni,<sup>j</sup> ymmo strepitum porcorum. Porci sunt lubrici; et moraliter sus est meretrix, juxta illud Proverbia xi:<sup>k</sup> 'Circulus aureus in naribus suis, mulier pulcra et fatua.'

Non sic timuit noster Gamelinus, sed stetit contra reges horrendos, 75 sicut et Moises in portentis et signis.

<sup>j</sup> + statuas eneas CA

<sup>k</sup> Salomoincum [sic] for Salomonicum] for Proverbia xi CA

## 24

*Quomodo citantur per legatum prelati et clerus Scocie  
et de crucesignatis et aliis*

Anno quo supra scilicet domini m<sup>o</sup> cc<sup>o</sup> lxvii Johannes de Chiam episcopus Glasguensis non bene conveniens cum suis canonicis et clericis ultimum vale illis faciens adiit partes transmarinas; et in recessu ab eisdem, cum omnes Deo recommendaret, clara sibi voce ait quidam clericus forte ab eodem per prius beneficio mutilatus:<sup>a</sup> 5

Hospes colubri non rediturus abi.

Alexander rex Scocie tenuit Natale suum regaliter et cum maximo applausu apud Berwicum fere cum omnibus proceribus regni sui, ubi eciam affuit Eadmundus, junior filius regis Anglie, comes Laicestrie, cum sorore sua Scotorum regina collocuturus et regem Scocie solaturus; ubi eciam Johannes filius Johannis Comyn ab ipso rege Alexandro baltheo precingitur militari. Anno sequenti citati sunt per Otibonum legatum omnes episcopi ut ad quindenam post Pascha coram eo ubicumque foret comparerent ad suum consilium celebrandum. Similiter mandavit clero Scocie ut vel abbates duo vel duo priores pro toto clero Scocie mitterentur. Attamen episcopi communi consilio pro se destinaverunt Ricardum et Robertum Dunkeldensem et Dunblanensem episcopos, ne quid ipsis absentibus in eorum prejudicium statueretur. Clerus vero reliquis pro se misit abbatem de Dunf<sup>e</sup> et priorem de Londor'. Legatus quoque nova quedam statuta 20

<sup>a</sup> + ait C,D,CA

- they belong to the household and following of the devil, about whom Job says: 'His breath sets burning coals ablaze.' These men stand against the elephants – that is the bishops – and burn their trunks so that they do not dare to seize or correct them. And our modern bishops are afraid not only of them, but even more of the noise of pigs. Pigs are slippery creatures; and allegorically the pig is a harlot, according to Proverbs [Chapter] 11: 'Like a gold ring in a pig's snout is a beautiful woman without good sense.'
- 80
- 85 Our Gamelin was not afraid as they are, but defied formidable kings, just as Moses did with signs and wonders.

## 24

*How the prelates and clergy of Scotland were summoned  
by the legate. The crusaders and others*

In the above year 1267 John de Cheam bishop of Glasgow, who was not getting on well with his canons and clerks, bade them a final farewell and went overseas; as he was going away from them and was commending them all to God, a certain clerk who by chance 5 had formerly been deprived of a benefice by him said in a clear voice:

Friend of the snake, go away, never to return.

Alexander king of Scotland celebrated his Christmas feast royally and most acceptably at Berwick with almost all the magnates of his realm. Present also was Edmund, the younger son of the king of 10 England, earl of Leicester, in order to have some talk with his sister the queen of Scots, and to provide companionship for the king of Scotland. Here also John son of John Comyn received the belt of knighthood from King Alexander himself.

In the following year all the bishops were summoned by Ottobono 15 the legate to appear before him a fortnight after Easter, wherever he might be, to attend his council. At the same time he ordered the clergy of Scotland to send two abbots or two priors to represent them as a whole. However the bishops by common agreement sent Richard and Robert, bishops of Dunkeld and Dunblane, on their behalf, lest in their absence any statutes be passed which would 20 prejudice them. And the remaining clergy sent the abbot of Dunfermline and the prior of Lindores to represent them. The legate also

1267

25 Dec.

1268:  
22 Apr.

G ii, 109

fo.215v

tam de secularibus quam religiosis personis Scotorum precipue constituit; que penitus clerus Scocie observare recusarunt. Legatus tandem, pace qualicumque in Anglia inter magnates reformata, crumena plena repatriavit circa Sanctum Johannem. Eodem anno magna | signacio crucis ubique terrarum contra Saracenos facta est; 25  
nam cruce signatus est Ludovicus Christianissimus rex Francie cum filio suo primogenito Ludovico cum plebe plurima suorum procerum. Similiter Eadwardus et Eadmundus filii regis Anglie et cum eis Anglorum turba magna. Ad quorum expensas, hortatu Ottiboni et ad instanciam regis Anglie, papa Clemens clero Scocie scripsit 30  
ut decimum denarium omnium suorum proventuum ecclesiasticorum Anglie regi persolverent; quod rex et clerus unanimi consensu et voce facere renuerunt, pro eo quod de proprio suo regno missuri erant juxta qualitatem regni competenter. Nam nobilis David comes de Atholia <et Adam comes de Carrik> cum aliis quam- 35  
pluribus nobilibus et militibus cruce signati letancius ad expeditionem processerunt. Hoc anno hiemps erat asperima continuis turbinibus grandinum, nivium et pluviarum. Rex Mannie mortuus est, cuius relictam comes Malisius de Strathern postea duxit scilicet filiam Eugenii | de Ergadia. 40

## 25

*De diversis incidentibus et quod excommunicatio  
non est parvipendenda*

Rex Alexander versus Man exercitum suum citari fecit, ibidem contra insultus rebellium castrum metaturus. Tandem inito consilio quosdam de suis cum Galweiensibus illuc transmisit, et exercitus reversus est. Ver fuit ventosum et pluviosum; estas similiter ventosa, frigida et pluviosa, unde magna strages fuit animalium, scilicet cervorum, 5  
damorum, equorum silvestrium, sed maxime ovium. Maria mater regis Alexandri, scilicet uxor Johannis de Aconia, fugiens a viro suo, venit in Scocia de partibus transmarinis. Inter quos tandem Johannes episcopus Glasguensis pacem reformavit ad instanciam regis Scocie sibi scribentis ita, ut ipse singulis annis perciperet de dote ipsius in 10

passed some new statutes concerning both secular and regular clergy among the Scots in particular; but the clergy of Scotland utterly 25  
refused to observe them. However the legate, having restored peace of some sort in England among the magnates, returned home with a bulging purse, around the time of the feast of St John. [July]

In the same year a great many people in different countries took 1268  
the cross against the Saracens. For Louis, the most Christian king of France, along with his first-born son, Louis, and a great crowd of 30  
his magnates became crusaders. At the same time so did Edward and Edmund, sons of the king of England, and with them a great crowd [June]  
of English, for whose expenses, at the urging of Ottobono and the suggestion of the king of England, Pope Clement wrote to the clergy 35  
of Scotland telling them to pay to the king of England the tenth penny of all their ecclesiastical revenues. This the king and clergy by unanimous agreement and with one voice refused to do, because they were about to send crusaders from their own realm in numbers which accorded with its standing as a kingdom. For the noble David earl 40  
of Atholl and Adam earl of Carrick along with very many other nobles and knights had joyfully taken the cross and were advanced in their preparations for the expedition.

In this year the winter was very harsh with continual whirlwinds [1267-8]  
of hail, snows and rain.

45 The death occurred of the king of Man, whose widow afterwards 1268  
married Earl Malise of Strathearn. She was the daughter of Ewen of Argyll.

## 25

*Various events; and excommunication is not  
to be treated lightly*

King Alexander caused his army to be summoned for an expedition 1268  
to the Isle of Man, so that he might build a fortification there against the assaults of rebels. Then after taking further advice, he sent some of his own men over there along with some men of Galloway, and 5  
the army went home.

The spring was windy and rainy; and the summer was likewise 1268  
windy, cold and rainy. For this reason there was a high death-rate amongst animals, that is amongst red deer, fallow deer, forest ponies, but most of all sheep.

10 Mary the mother of King Alexander, wife of John d'Acre, fled

Scocia v<sup>o</sup> marcas, et ipsa moram faceret in Scocia. Obiit comitissa de Mar soror comitis de Buchania. Magna dissencio orta est inter comitem de Mar et episcopum Moraviensem ob multas injurias ecclesie Moraviensi illatas per ipsum comitem; unde ipse comes a legato excommunicatus est. Abbas de Melros et magna pars conventus sui in consilio apud Perth celebrato solemniter excommunicatus est, eo quod pacem de Wedall infregerunt et domos episcoporum Sanctiandr<sup>r</sup> violenter invadentes quemdam clericum interfecerunt et alios plures vulneratos reliquerunt. Eadwardus et Eadmundus filii regis Anglie, post bellorum sedacionem, post rebellium confederacionem, venerunt apud Rokesburgiam gracia spaciandi et cum rege Scocie et regina sorore sua colloquendi. Consequenter rex Scocie cum manu militum electa et modesta Eboracum accessit una cum regina,<sup>a</sup> socerum suum regem Anglie de tribulacionibus et angustiis prehabitis consolaturus. Obiit Johannes episcopus Glasguensis vir eximie sciencie in partibus transmarinis, et electus est magister Nicholaus de Moffet archidiaconus Thevidalie, qui eciam ante dictum Johannem electus fuit in episcopum, sed fraude canonicorum suorum, ut prescripsimus, cassatus | vir sancte vite et dapsilitatis. Obiit papa Clemens. Hoc anno Conradinus olim nepos Frederici imperatoris, domini papae Clementis iii<sup>ti</sup> excommunicacionem parvipendens, cum regem Karolum <fratrem regis Francorum>, cui papa regnum Cecilie contulerat, debellaturus intraret; et plerique factum regis Karoli pro desperato haberent, congressum cum innumeris contra dictum regem paucissimis comitatum confecit; sed statim Conradinus<sup>b</sup> post fugam captus decollatus est.

Hic Clemens papa sedit annis tribus mensibus ix, et tanto tempore sedes vacavit. Hic uxorem et filios habens primo fuit famosus advocatus regis Francie et consiliarius; deinde mortua uxore, propter vitam bonam et scienciam laudabilem primo Podiensis episcopus, et post Narbonensis archiepiscopus, et tandem Sabinensis episcopus et cardinalis efficitur; sed cum post in Angliam propter pacis reformationem a papa Urbano legatus missus fuisset, absens a cardinalibus Perusii in papam electus est. Sic vigiliis, jejuniis et oracionibus ac aliis bonis operibus intentus fuit, quod multas quas tunc ecclesia sustinebat tribulaciones, Deus suis meritis creditur extinxisse.

Anno domini m<sup>o</sup> cc<sup>o</sup> lxi hiemps erat asperima ita quod a festo Sanctiandr<sup>r</sup> usque festum Purificacionis Nostre Domine nemo poterat arare aut terram excolere. Rex Anglie misit iterum nuncios ad petendum decimum denarium de<sup>c</sup> clero Scocie; clerus, sicut prius, reclamavit et ad dominum papam appellavit ac clericos<sup>d</sup> ad curiam destinavit.

<sup>a</sup> + re socru del.C

<sup>b</sup> + in excommunicacione perseverans CA

<sup>c</sup> + reg del.C

<sup>d</sup> + propterea CA

from her husband and came to Scotland from overseas. At length John bishop of Glasgow made peace between them at the insistence of the king of Scotland, who had written to the husband saying that he would himself receive 500 marks from her dower in Scotland every year, while she might remain in Scotland.

The death occurred of the countess of Mar, sister of the earl of Buchan.

A great quarrel arose between the earl of Mar and the bishop of Moray on account of many injuries done to the church of Moray by the earl himself. For this reason the earl was excommunicated by the legate.

The abbot of Melrose and a large part of his convent were solemnly excommunicated at a council held at Perth, because they had broken the peace of Wedale by violently attacking the houses of the bishop of St Andrews [there], had killed a certain clerk, and had left many others wounded.

Edward and Edmund, the sons of the king of England, after damping down the wars and reaching an agreement with the rebels, came to Roxburgh as part of a tour, and to talk with the king of Scotland and with the queen their sister. Afterwards the king of Scotland, accompanied by the queen, went to York with a small select band of knights to console his father-in-law the king of England over his aforementioned tribulations and difficulties. [Sept.]

The death occurred overseas of John bishop of Glasgow, a man of distinguished learning; and Master Nicholas de Moffat archdeacon of Teviotdale was elected. He had been elected bishop before the said John, but this man of holy life and generosity had been thwarted by the deceit of his canons, as we have described.

The death occurred of pope Clement.

In this year Conradin, grandson of the former Emperor Frederick, treating lightly his excommunication by the lord pope Clement IV, began to wage war on King Charles (brother of the king of the French), on whom the pope had bestowed the kingdom of Sicily. It was the general view that King Charles' position was hopeless as Conradin prepared with innumerable followers to do battle with the said king, who was accompanied by very few. But in a short time Conradin [persisting in his excommunication] was to put to flight, captured and beheaded. [29 Nov.] [1267: Oct.]

This Clement had been pope for three years and nine months, and then the papal throne was vacant for the same length of time. He had a wife and sons, and was at first a well-known lawyer and counsellor of the king of France; then on the death of his wife, because of his good life and praiseworthy learning, he was made first of all bishop of Le Puy, and afterwards archbishop of Narbonne, and at length cardinal-bishop of Sabina. But when after this he was sent as legate to England by Pope

1268:  
[23 Aug.]

[29 Oct.]



## 26

*De aliis incidentibus*

Hoc etiam anno orta est dissensio inter comitem de Atholia et Johannem Comyn, eo quod dictus Johannes castrum fundavit apud Blare in prejudicio ipsius comitis; quam rex consilio procerum suorum sedavit. Causa diutine vacationis sedis apostolice fuit dissensio inter cardinales, quia citramontani transmontanos contempserunt, eo quod ambo ad apicem apostolatus aspirabant.<sup>a</sup> Mortui sunt clerici de Scotia ad curiam Romanam qui ibidem variis de causis mittebantur. Audita sunt plura miracula per sanctum Simonem comitem de Monteforti apud Eveshame, qui pro fidelitate et pace terre Anglicane in bello cum multis corruit. Sed propter indignacionem regis et regaliū miracula sunt interim repressa. Ipso anno Johannes abbas de Melros cure resignavit pastoralī; et dominus Robertus de Keldeleth, qui primo fuit abbas de Dunf<sup>r</sup> et domini regis cancellarius, sed metu ductus, ut premisimus, apud Neubotil habitum ordinis Cistercii suscepit, abbas effectus est Malroccensis.

fo.216 Obiit Ricardus abbas de Cambuskineth et Ricardus Grossus eiusdem ecclesie prior in abbatem | preficitur. Obiit Hugo prior de Maia, vir magne sanctitatis et abstinencie; et Willelmus monachus de Redinghis in Scotia missus in priorem a domino rege pro tunc admittitur. Sed propter pericula que regno possint per talem locum exoriri, rex taliter operatus est ut de post Anglici ad infirmiora regni exploranda non admittantur; redemit locum ne inimici inter regnicolas sedem

<sup>a</sup> R; aspirabant with as- interlin.C; ac spirabant D; spirabant CA

Urban to restore peace, he was elected pope in his absence by the cardinals in Perugia. He was so strict with vigils, fasts and prayers and other good works that by his merits it is believed that God ended the many tribulations which the church was then suffering.

60 In 1269 the winter was so harsh that from the feast of St Andrew to the feast of the Purification of Our Lady nobody could plough or work the land. 1268-9 30 Nov. 2 Feb.

The king of England again sent messengers to ask for a tenth penny from the clergy of Scotland. As before the clergy protested and appealed to the lord pope and sent clerks to the papal court [on this account]. 1269: [Mar.?] 65

## 26

*Other events*

Also in this year a quarrel arose between the earl of Atholl and John Comyn, because the said John built a castle at Blair, which harmed the interests of this earl. The king settled the dispute with the advice of his magnates. 1269

5 The matter of the long vacancy on the apostolic throne caused dissension amongst the cardinals, since those from south of the Alps despised those from north of the Alps because both groups were aspiring to the supreme papal dignity. The deaths occurred of Scottish clerics at the Roman court who had been sent there on various matters. 10

There was word of many miracles at Evesham through the saintly Earl Simon de Montfort, who along with many others fell in battle fighting for the reputation and peace of the land of the English. But on account of the indignation of the king and the royal followers the miracles were suppressed for the time being. 15

In that year John abbot of Melrose resigned from his pastoral charge and sir Robert de Keldeleth was made abbot of Melrose. Previously he was abbot of Dunfermline and chancellor of the lord king, but was frightened into joining the Cistercian order at Newbattle, as we have described above. The death occurred of Richard abbot of Cambuskenneth, and Richard the Fat, prior of the said church, was promoted abbot. 1269

The death occurred of Hugh prior of May, a man of great holiness and abstinence, and William, a monk of Reading, was sent to Scotland and was accepted as prior by the lord king for the time being. 25



vendicaret. <Ad istud | accelerandum et ad quitanciam habendam  
de monachis de Redinche solvit dominus Willelmus [Wischart]<sup>b</sup> epis-  
copus Sanctiandr' vii<sup>c</sup> marcas et contulit ipsum prioratum mon- 25  
asterio Sanctiandr' pleno jure.><sup>c</sup> Reginaldus de Chene camerarius  
domini regis curam suam reliquit et dominus Thomas filius Thome  
filii Randulphi vir magne mansuetudinis et sapientie camerarius  
domini regis effectus est. Motus maximus versus Terram Sanctam  
contra Sarracenos ubique terrarum populi infiniti factus est Deo 30  
inspirante;

unde Ludovicus rex Francie Christianissimus non territus laboribus  
preteritis et expensis, quas olim fecerat ultra mare, iterato cum filiis  
duobus, adjuncto sibi rege Navarrie et quamplurimis ecclesiarum pre- 35  
latis et baronibus, pro navigatione Terre Sancte iter arripuit. Verum  
ad hoc ut facilius Terra Sancta recuperaretur, incidit eis consilium ut  
regnum Tirnicii, quod in medio consistens non parum daret trans-  
fretantibus impedimentum primitus Christianorum subicerent  
potestati. Et cum portum in Cartaginem, qui est prope Tirnicium, 40  
optinuissent, infirmitas, que illo anno maxime circa confinia maris  
viguit, in eodem Christianorum exercitu nimis invaluit; ubi de regis  
Francie filiis unum, postea legatum domini pape Albanensem cardi-  
nalem, et demum ipsum regem Christianissimum Ludovicum cum plu- 45  
ribus comitibus et baronibus, necnon et aliis simplicibus de medio  
sustulit; ubi etiam David comes de atholia viii idus augusti in Cartagine  
mortuus est. Quam feliciter rex predictus vitam finierat rex Navarre  
domino Tusculano per literas intimavit; nam in infirmitate sua laudare 50  
nomen Domini non cessans, illam oracionem sepiissime interserebat,  
videlicet: 'Fac nos,<sup>d</sup> Domine, prospera mundi despicere, et nulla eius  
adversa formidare.' Orabat et pro populo quem secum adduxerat,  
dicens: 'Esto,<sup>d</sup> Domine, plebi tue sanctificator et custos' c'. Appro- 55  
pinquans autem ad finem, suspexit in celum, dicens: 'Introibo in domum  
tuam; adorabo ad templum sanctum tuum; et confitebor nomini tuo,  
Domine.' Et hoc dicto obdormivit in Domino. Et cum de morte pii regis  
Christianorum exercitus turbaretur et Saracenorum letaretur, dominus 55  
Karolus rex Cecilie bellator egregius, pro quo adhuc vivens frater suus  
rex Francie miserat, navigio cum magna milicia advenit. De cuius  
adventu Christianis gaudium, paganisque mesticia accrevit.

Qui laudabiliter bella Christi peregit et infideles ad dedicionem coegit.

<sup>b</sup> D, R; lac. C

<sup>c</sup> Ad istud ... jure om. CA

<sup>d</sup> + quamvis CA

But on account of the dangers for the realm which might arise  
through such a place, the king took action which would ensure that  
in future the English were not allowed in to spy out the weaker parts  
of the kingdom: he bought up the place lest enemies acquire a base  
amongst his subjects. In order to speed up this process and to gain 30  
the release of the island from the monks of Reading, sir William  
Wischart bishop of St Andrews paid 700 marks and transferred the  
priory in question to the monastery of St Andrews with full rights.

Reginald le Chen gave up his office as the lord king's chamberlain,  
35 and Sir Thomas, son of Thomas son of Ranulf, was made the lord  
king's chamberlain. He was a man of great gentleness and wisdom.

There was a very great movement of countless people from lands  
everywhere towards the Holy Land against the Saracens, under the  
inspiration of God.

40 So Louis, the most Christian king of France, undaunted by past hard-  
ships and by expenses previously incurred overseas, once more set out  
to sail to the Holy Land with his two sons, having been joined by the  
king of Navarre and very many prelates of churches as well as barons.  
In order that the Holy Land might be won back more easily they hit  
45 upon the plan firstly to subject to the power of the Christians the  
kingdom of Tunis, which being situated in the middle [between Europe  
and the Holy Land] was no small obstacle to those who were crossing  
the sea. And when they had taken the port of Carthage, which is near  
Tunis, the sickness which that year was raging around the shores of the  
50 sea was rife amongst the army of the Christians; and there it carried  
off from their midst one of the sons of the French king, then the cardinal  
of Albano, legate of the lord pope, and finally the most Christian king  
Louis himself, along with many counts and barons, as well as other  
ordinary folk. Also in Carthage David earl of Atholl died on 6 August. 6 Aug.  
55 The king of Navarre wrote to the lord [cardinal] of Tusculum about  
how joyfully the above-mentioned king ended his life. For during his  
illness he did not cease from praising the name of the Lord, and very  
often he would repeat the following prayer: 'O Lord, make us despise  
the riches of this world and have no fear for any of its adversities.' He  
60 also prayed for the people whom he had brought with him, saying: 'O  
Lord, sanctify and watch over your people,' etc. And as he approached  
his end he raised his eyes heavenward, saying: 'I will enter into your  
house and I will worship at your holy temple, and I will confess in your  
name, O Lord.' And having said this he fell asleep in the Lord. And  
65 when the army of the Christians was troubled by the death of their  
pious king, and the Saracens were overjoyed, the Lord Charles king of  
Sicily, the illustrious warrior, whom his brother the king of France,  
while still alive, had summoned, arrived by ship with a large army. At  
his arrival the joy of the Christians increased, as did the grief of the  
70 pagans.

He laudably pursued the wars of Christ and forced the infidels to  
surrender.

*De eodem Sancto Ludovico et aliis incidentibus*

De hoc Sancto Ludovico alibi sic repperi: 'Ludovicus rex Francie, flos principum, procerum gloria, milicie nobilitas, pauperum erarium.' Postquam insulam quandam maximam super Saracenos cum suo exercitu bellando acquisivit; que insula Barbaria dicitur et habet in se civitates multas, oppida et castella fortissima, inter que civitas quedam que Thunis dicitur precellit, ubi ipse rex et filius eius Johannes Triston nomine in fata decesserunt et cum eo populus multus Christianorum; inter quos<sup>a</sup> David comes<sup>b</sup> de Atholia et alii quamplures | nobiles Anglie et Scocie mortui sunt;<sup>c</sup> cuius David ossa in Scociam sunt translata. Primogenitus vero regis Francie superstes postquam patrem suum honorifice tumulaverat, ad Gallias rediens, die Purificacionis apud Sanctum Dionisium diadema regni suscepit. Karolus rex Sicilie frater regis Francie iam defuncti miles strenuissimus et in bellis expertissimus, qui provincias multas super Saracenos acquisivit, accepta magna pecunia de ipsis Saracenis ad propria reversus est; et tamquam imperator a Romanis adeo honoratus est, ut senator tocius Romani imperii efficeretur. Fratris autem eius Sanctissimi Ludovici<sup>d</sup> tanta extant opera preclara et scripta per-magnifica commendacione valde digna et relacione predicabilia; unde filios suos numquam passus in diebus veneris est ferre certa<sup>e</sup> florida vel huiusmodi vanitati ostensiva, ob honorem eius qui in Parascheve pro nobis passus est. Sic enim edoctus erat a gloriosa matre, que sepiissime sibi dicere solebat: 'Plus vellem te, karissime fili, mortem incurrere temporalem quam per aliquod peccatum mortale te tuum | offendere creatorem.' Multum enim<sup>f</sup> persecutus est rex Ludovicus omnem juracionem execrabilem, unde legitur eum sepius dixisse: 'Tantum', inquit, 'horreo verbum de neganda fide eciam sub condicione audire, quod non possem illud exprimere sono vocis.' Hic quidem civem Parisiensem, qui turpiter jurando Christum blasphemaverat, juxta regale statutum in sui peccati penam et aliorum terrorem ferro candenti in labiis cauterizari precepit. Cum audiret propter hoc nonnullos in se maledicta congerere: 'Vellem', inquit,

<sup>a</sup> + nobilis CA<sup>b</sup> comes om. CA<sup>c</sup> morte temporali mercati sunt vitam eternam for mortui sunt CA<sup>d</sup> + iam ut premititur mortui ut in legenda

Fratrum Predicatorum de Edinburgh

reperi CA

<sup>e</sup> ferta CA; ferta P<sup>f</sup> enim interlin. over est del. C

G ii, 112

fo. 216v

*More about St Louis; and other events*

I have found the following written in a different place about this saintly Louis: 'Louis king of France, the flower of princes, the glory of the magnates, the nobleness of the host, the treasure-house of the poor.'

- 5 After he had fought the Saracens with his army, he won from them a certain huge island called Barbary, which contains many cities, towns and very strong fortresses, among which the city called Tunis is outstanding. It was here that the king himself and his son called John Tristan met their fate, and with him a great number of Christians, amongst whom was David earl of Atholl, as well as a great many other nobles of England and Scotland, [bought eternal life with temporal death]. David's bones were brought to Scotland. [1270] [Aug.]

- 10 The surviving first-born son of the king of France, after he had honourably buried his father, returned to France and was crowned on the day of the Purification at St Denis. Charles king of Sicily, brother of the late king of France, a very active knight and extremely skilled in warfare, who won many lands from the Saracens, returned to his own country after receiving a large sum of money from these Saracens. And he was so honoured by the Romans as a general that he was made senator of the whole Roman empire. 1271: [15 Aug.]

- 20 There exist very many famous works of his brother the most holy Louis [now deceased, as stated above, as I have found in the *Life* of this saint belonging to the Dominican friars of Edinburgh,] and writings [about him] most worthy of the greatest praise and commendable in their telling. They say that he never allowed his sons to carry garlands of flowers or any suchlike showy things for vanity on Fridays, out of respect for Him who suffered for us on Good Friday. For so he had been taught by his glorious mother, who very often used to say to him: 'I would rather that you, my dearest son, suffer temporal death than that you should offend your creator by any mortal sin.' Indeed King Louis severely persecuted all detestable swearing: we read that he would often say: 'I have such a horror of hearing a word which denies the faith, even under special conditions, that I couldn't express that word with my voice.' Indeed he ordered that a citizen of Paris who had blasphemed against Christ by basely swearing be branded on his lips with a burning hot iron, according to a royal statute, as a punishment for his sin and as a deterrent to

'quoad vixero, in labiis meis talem indecenciam sustinere, dummodo istud pessimum juracionis viciū de regno nostro penitus tolleretur.' Hic propterea erat imitator egregius avi sui piissimi Philippi, de quo et pro ista materia vide supra libro viii<sup>o</sup> capitulo xxvii. 35

Anno m<sup>o</sup> cc<sup>o</sup> septuagesimo magister Nicholaus de Moffet electus Glasguensis mortuus est, qui se nimis proterve contra religiosos et alias ecclesiasticas personas gerebat. Cui ad regis instanciam magister Willelmus Wischard archidiaconus Sanctiandr' et domini regis cancellarius <electus est>, vir magne sagacitatis et hastucie. <Eodem anno combusta est ecclesia de Elgyn et edificia canonicorum. Rogerus abbas de Corsraguel curam suam reliquit et reversus est apud Dunf', unde venit; post quem electus est Nicholaus eiusdem domus monachus.> 40 45

Obiit Walterus de Baltrodi episcopus Cathenensis, vir discretus consilio et sanctitate vite commendabilis.

Ipsa anno Robertus abbas de Scona baculum pastorem resignavit ob persecuciones conventus sui intolerabiles. Et dominus Nicholaus quidam neophitus post multas disceptaciones inter ipsum et conventum de Scona prehabitas, plus domini regis timore quam amore, abbas effectus est. Iste Nicholaus ad episcopatum Cathenensis electus est, eo quod abbas de Scona canonicus sit ecclesie Cathenensis, cuius apicem plus regis precario quam vite merito adeptus est. 50 55

*De aliis incidentibus et vacacione quinque episcopatum*

Anno quo supra Simon abbas de Dunf' et Willelmus comes de Mar missi sunt ad regem Anglie pro comitatu de Hontyngdon', cuius honores a temporibus antiquis rex Scocie per suos progenitores habebat. Sed rex Anglie et eius consilarii dictum comitatum detinebant. Obiit Ricardus de Potthon Aberdenensis episcopus, cui successit magister Hugo de Benhame. Obiit et Colbanus comes de Fiffe, cuius 5

others. When he heard that on account of this many people were heaping abuse on him, he said: 'I would be willing to bear such a disgrace on my own lips for as long as I live if only this wicked fault of swearing is entirely eliminated from our kingdom.' Because of this he was the illustrious imitator of his most pious grandfather Philip, for whom, and concerning this matter, see above Book VIII, Chapter 27.

In the year 1270 the death occurred of Master Nicholas de Moffat, 1270 bishop-elect of Glasgow, who behaved in a most high-handed way towards monks and other clerical persons. In his place Master William Wischard archdeacon of St Andrews and the lord king's chancellor was elected at the instance of the king. He was a man of great wisdom and sharpness of mind.

In the same year the church and the canons' houses at Elgin burnt down.

Roger abbot of Crossraguel relinquished his charge and returned to Dunfermline, whence he came. After him Nicholas a monk of the same house was elected. 55

The death occurred of Walter de Baltrodi bishop of Caithness, a man discreet in counsel and commendable in the holiness of his life.

In that year Robert abbot of Scone resigned from his office because of intolerable harassment by his convent. And a certain sir Nicholas, a novice, was made abbot only at the end of many disputes between himself and the community at Scone, more out of fear of the lord king than out of love. This Nicholas was elected to the bishopric of Caithness – the abbot of Scone being a canon of the church of Caithness. He obtained this exalted position as a result of royal favour rather than for the merits of his life. 60 65

*Other events; and vacancy in five bishoprics*

In the above year Simon abbot of Dunfermline and William earl of Mar were sent to the king of England for the earldom of Huntingdon, the honours of which the king of Scotland held through his ancestors from ancient times. But the king of England and his counsellors withheld the said earldom. 5

The death occurred of Richard de Potton bishop of Aberdeen. He

comitatus commendatus est Alexandro filio regis donec filius Colbani verus heres, puer viii annorum, legitime sit etatis.

Dovenaldus filius Willelmi comitis de Mar die Sancti Michaelis apud Sconam de rege Alexandro arma militaria percepit. Obiit 10 Johannes abbas de Aberbr' et dominus Adam de Inverlownan electus est. Obiit Adam abbas de Balmurynach' et dominus Willelmus de Perisbi electus est. Eodem anno Willelmus Ferreris filius comitis de Ferreris, que fuit filia Rogeri de Quency constabularii Scocie, accepit relictam Colbani nuper defuncti et dignitatem constabularie, 15 quam Alexander comes de Buchane injuste tenuit pretextu uxoris sue scilicet filie junioris ipsius Rogeri de Quency. Stella quedam mirabilis circa horam nonam manifeste videbatur in alto celi cardine per tres dies circa festum Sancti Michaelis. Magna fuit caristia et totum tempus ipsius anni<sup>a</sup> pluviosum. Princeps Anglie Eadwardus de 20 Langschankis vulneratus fuit a quodam Saraceno in civitate Achon, quem propterea propriis manibus de lecto exiliens viriliter jugulavit. Anno sequenti quinque episcopatus vacabant simul, scilicet Glasguensis, Brechinensis, Aberdonensis, Cathanensis et Sanctiandr'. Quos omnes rex in manu sua tenuit, aut censum annuum per electos 25 ipsorum episcopatum finaliter<sup>b</sup> accepit, eo quod<sup>c</sup> vacabat sedes apostolica per dissencionem cardinalium; quare nullus electorum potuit gratiam consequi consecrationis. Gamelinus Sanctiandr' paralisi defecit apud Inchemurthach et in ecclesia Sanctiandr' juxta altare magnum versus aquilonem sepelitur. Qui fuit vir magni consilii, 30 defensor ecclesie dapsilitatis et curialitatis, dum vitales in prosperis caperet auras. Cuius loco magister Willelmus Wischard archidiaconus Sanctiandr' et cancellarius regis electus pro tunc ad cathedram episcopalem Glasguensem ecclesie <postulatus est ad Sanctummandr'>. Et mirum multis visum est quod vir tam magne opinionis, 35 qui fuit ut dictum est electus Glasguensis et Sanctiandr' archidiaconus, domini regis cancellarius ac rector sive prebendarius viginti duarum,<sup>e</sup> tanta captus fuit ambicione quod hec omnia eidem non sufficerent, | quin potius simulacione quam religione, plus regis timore quam sui amore episcopatum Sanctiandr' sibi usurparet. Is 40 de illis apparet et<sup>f</sup> est de quibus Juvenalis:

Non propter vitam faciunt patrimonia quidam,  
sed vicio ceci propter patrimonia vivunt.  
Crescit amor nummi quantum ipsa pecunia crescit.

Hoc anno Henricus filius Richardi imperatoris Alemannie apud 45 Viterbiam in ecclesia orans a filiis Simonis de Monteforti, apud Evashame interfecti, subito circumseptus crudeliter interemptus est.

a stelle CA  
b + et de facto CA  
c + eciam tunc CA

d + justi iudicii CA  
e + ecclesiarum CA  
f interlin.C

was succeeded by Master Hugh de Benham. The death also occurred of Colban earl of Fife, whose earldom was entrusted to Alexander the king's son until Colban's son, the true heir and a boy of eight, 10 came of age.

Donald son of William earl of Mar was knighted at Scone by King 29 Sept. Alexander on St Michael's day.

The death occurred of John abbot of Arbroath, and sir Adam de Inverlunan was elected.

15 Adam abbot of Balmerino died, and sir William de Perisby was elected.

In the same year William Ferrers, son of the countess of Ferrers, who was the daughter of Roger de Quincy constable of Scotland, married the widow of the Colban who had recently died, and received 20 the dignity of constable, which Alexander earl of Buchan unjustly held on the strength of his wife, who was a younger daughter of the said Roger de Quincy.

A certain marvellous star was clearly seen about 3 p.m. in the 29 Sept. highest part of the sky for three days around Michaelmas. There was 25 a great dearth and much rain for the whole of that year.

Edward Longshanks prince of England was wounded by a certain [1272: June] Saracen in the town of Acre, as a result of which he jumped up from his bed and courageously throttled him with his own hands.

In the following year five bishoprics were vacant at the one time. 1271 30 These were the bishoprics of Glasgow, Brechin, Aberdeen, Caithness and St Andrews. The king held them all in his own hand, and deliberately [in practice] took an annual levy from the bishops-elect of those bishoprics, because [also at that time] the apostolic see was vacant on account of dissension amongst the cardinals. This was 35 why none of the bishops-elect could obtain the grace of consecration.

Gamelin of St Andrews died following a stroke at Inchmurdo and [29 Apr.] is buried in the church of St Andrews next to the high altar on the north side. He was a man of weighty counsel [and fair judgment], the defender of generosity and courtesy in the church while he was 40 alive and well. In his place Master William Wischard, archdeacon of St Andrews and the king's chancellor, was postulated to St Andrews. [3 June] He was at that time bishop-elect for the see of Glasgow. And it seemed an amazing thing to many people that a man of such high repute, who was, as already stated, bishop-elect of Glasgow, archdeacon of St Andrews, the lord king's chancellor, and rector or 45 prebendary of twenty two [churches], was seized by such ambition that all these were not enough for him; but indeed, more out of pretence than out of piety, more out of fear of the king than out of selfishness, he took possession for himself of the bishopric of St 50 Andrews. This man appears to be one of those of whom Juvenal writes:

*De Martha comitissa de Carrik Roberto Broys  
desponsata*

Eodem anno Willelmus de Sowlez filius et heres Nicholai de S[owlez] die Sancti Michaelis apud Hadyngton a domino rege Alexandro arma militaria suscepit. Robertus Wischard consanguineus Willelmi Wischard cancellarii ad procuracionem ipsius et regis instanciam ad ecclesiam Glasguensem eligitur, qui prius fuit archidiaconus Laudonie, juvenis etate sed moribus senior; qui statim post electionem ad expedienda tam sua quam cancellarii negocia versus Romam profectus est. Malisius comes de Strathern in partibus Gallicanis decessit, vir genere et liberalitate preclarus, et super omnes<sup>a</sup> compatriotas munificus, apud Dunblan sepelitur. Obiit Robertus Rossen' episcopus, qui Rosmarkin edificavit, et Robertus archidiaconus eius loco eligitur. Adam<sup>b</sup> comes de Carrik in Terra Sancta pro Christo peregrinaturus ibidem moritur, reliquens unicam filiam heredem nomine Martham, que sibi in comitatum successit. Que dum una dierum cum suis armigeris et domicellis ancillis quo sibi placuerat venatum pergeret, egregio militi juveni speciosissimo trans eadem equitanti rura, Roberto de Brois nomine, filio Roberti de Brois cognomine nobilis domini Vallis de Anandia in Scotia et de Clyveland in Anglia, obviavit. Que quidem peractis hinc inde salutationibus velut curialium moris est et osculis, ipsum venandi gracia spaciandique manere supplicat. Sed et illius quodammodo renuentis habenas vi quadam, si dicere fas est, propria manu retraxit, et secum militem quamvis minime volentem versus Turnbiri ducebat suum castrum. Ibique spacio dierum quindecim vel amplius cum suis perhendinans, comitissam clandestine, benevolis eciam et amborum

<sup>a</sup> omnes om.CA

<sup>b</sup> Nigellus CA

*The marriage of [Marjorie] countess of Carrick  
to Robert Bruce*

Some people do not make fortunes for the sake of living,  
but rather, blinded by vice, they live for the sake of their fortunes.  
The love of gain grows as much as the amount of money itself grows.

- 55 In this year Henry son of Richard emperor of Germany was suddenly surrounded and cruelly murdered while praying in church in Viterbo by the sons of the Simon de Montfort who was killed at Evesham. [13 Mar.]

In the same year William de Soules, son and heir to Nicholas de Soules, was knighted at Haddington by the lord king Alexander at Michaelmas. 1271: 29 Sept.

- Robert Wishart, a relative of William Wischard the chancellor, was elected to the church of Glasgow. This was arranged by the said William at the instance of the king. Before this he was archdeacon of Lothian, a young man in years but mature in his ways. Immediately after his election he set off for Rome to see to his own business and that of the chancellor. [after 3 June]

- 10 Malise earl of Strathearn died in France. He was a man distinguished by his birth and generosity, and more munificent than any of his compatriots. He is buried at Dunblane. [before 23 Nov.]

The death occurred of Robert bishop of Ross, who built Rosemarkie, and Robert the archdeacon was elected in his place. [1249]

- 15 Adam earl of Carrick, who was going on a pilgrimage for Christ in the Holy Land, died there, leaving an only daughter called [Marjorie] as his heir, who succeeded him in the earldom. One day, while she was out hunting as she liked to do with her men-at-arms and ladies-in-waiting, she met a distinguished and very handsome young knight by the name of Robert de Bruce, son of Robert surnamed de Bruce the noble lord of Annandale in Scotland and of Cleveland in England, riding across the same stretch of countryside. When greetings and kisses had been given on each side, as is the custom of courtiers, she begged him to stay for hunting and walking about; when he hesitated, she by force, so to speak, with her own hand pulled back his reins and brought the knight with her, unwilling though he was, to her castle of Turnberry. And while staying there 1271

amicis insciis, uxorem duxit, regio super hoc consensu nullatenus procurato. Quapropter tocius regni vulgaris fuit assercio quod ipsum juvenem quasi vi rapuerat in maritum. Quod ut regis Alexandri pervenit ad aures, castrum cepit de Turnbiri ac omnes alias terras et possessiones illius in suis manibus fecit recognosci, eo quod incon-  
 30 sulta majestate regia cum domino Roberto de Brois se maritare presumpsit. Intervientibus tandem amicorum precibus et pacta pecunie quadam summa regis animum animequiores et | benevolum invenit ac eciam totum dominium idem Robertus optinebat. Ex qua divina providencia<sup>c</sup> filium genuit cui nomen patris impositum est  
 35 Robertus, futurum conterende gentis Anglie baculum, Scotorum vero salvatorem, propugnatorem et regem de stirpe regia progenitum, cuius pater fuit iste Robertus comes de Carrik ex parte uxoris; cuius Roberti patris pater Robertus Brois senior, cuius pater ille inclitus Robertus qui desponsavit Isabellam comitis David de Hon-  
 40 tington secundogenitam. Natus est ergo feliciter<sup>d</sup> anno <post hoc iii<sup>o</sup>> Robertus rex futurus, unde quidam:

M semel ad bis c, l, x bis, i quater adde,  
 tunc rex Robertus omni probitate refertus  
 festo quo Sancti Translacio fit Benedicti  
 extiterat natus divinitus ymmo vocatus.

45

<sup>c</sup> D,CA; provideii [sic] C<sup>d</sup> + hoc del.C

## 30

*De variis incidentibus*

Anno domini m<sup>o</sup> cclxxii magna sterilitas terre et maris infecunditas, aeris inequalitas fuit, unde hominum plurima infirmitas et bestiarum mortalitas provenit. Sabbato infra octavas Epiphanie circa mediam noctem quidam ventus vehemens ab aquilone subito cum grandine irruens domos subvertit, dormientes suffocavit et edificia alta com-  
 5 planavit; et de vehementia tempestatis ignis egrediens ecclesiam de Abirbr' et plures alias incendit. Fames prevalida Franciam, Angliam, Scociam et plures provincias invasit, nam pecora fere interierunt, fruges defecerunt, pauperes penuria perierunt. Thesaurus in Terram

along with his followers for the space of fifteen days or more, he secretly married the countess, the friends and well-wishers of both [1272?] knowing nothing about it. They had in no way obtained the royal consent for this marriage, and because of this it was the common talk of the whole realm that she had all but carried off this young man into marriage by force. When news of this reached King Alexander, he took the castle of Turnberry and resumed possession of all  
 35 her other lands and property, because she had had the presumption to marry Sir Robert de Bruce without having consulted his royal majesty. At length, following the entreaties of his friends and the payment of a certain agreed sum of money, this Robert found the king better-disposed and benevolent towards him, and even obtained  
 40 the whole lordship. Through divine providence he had a son by [Marjorie] who was named Robert after his father. He was to become the stick which beat the English; indeed he was to become the saviour, the champion and the king of Scots, born as he was of royal stock. His father was this Robert who was earl of Carrick by right of his  
 45 wife; his grandfather was Robert Bruce senior, whose father was the famous Robert who married Isabella the second daughter of David earl of Huntingdon. Thus fortunately Robert the future king was born in the third year afterwards, about whom it is written:

1274  
11 July

One thousand plus twice one hundred, fifty and two tens, and add four times one,  
 50 then King Robert, full of all excellence,  
 on the feast of the Translation of St Benedict  
 was born, or rather was summoned by divine will.

## 30

*Various events*

In the year 1272 there was a great lack of productivity on the land and unfruitfulness at sea, as well as turbulence of the air, as a result of which many people fell ill and many animals died. On the Saturday  
 5 of Epiphany week at about midnight a strong north wind, suddenly rushing down and bringing hail, overturned houses, smothered those sleeping within and flattened high buildings. And fire arising from the vehemence of the storm burnt the church of Arbroath and many others. A great famine hit France, England, Scotland and many areas, for the cattle mostly died, the crops failed, and the poor died

9 Jan.



fo.217v

Sanctam et Romam per peregrinos et clericos<sup>a</sup> transportatur, ple- 10  
bicula omnino periclitatur. Ingeramus de Cowcy | avunculus regis  
Scocie venit cum sorore sua et nepote rege Scocie collocuturus; qui  
postquam loca regalia spaciando visitaverat non vacua crumena  
repatriavit. Die veneris ante Pascha inter Christianos et Sarracenos  
bellum grave commissum est, in quo multi fratres de Templo et de 15  
Hospitali cum plebe multa Christianorum corruerunt.

Multi electorum steterunt in curia Romana nichil ad libitum expe-  
dientes. Citacio generalis facta est per papam Gregorium x ut omnes  
archiepiscopi, episcopi, metropolitani et alii prelati, reges et persone  
seculares convenirent anno gracie m<sup>o</sup> cc<sup>o</sup> lxxii apud Lugdunum Gallie 20  
tractaturi de pace et statu ecclesie<sup>b</sup> et de subsidio Terre Sancte. Ita  
tamen quod in qualibet provincia remanerent duo episcopi.

Mortuus est magister Richardus de Inverkethyn camerarius Scocie  
et Dunkeldensis episcopus die Sancti Magni martiris, vir magne 25  
maturitatis et gravitatis, qui fuit fidelissimus regis et regni consiliarius  
et justicie inflexibilis, cuius corpus apud Dunk' sepelitur et cor eius  
in choro monasterii canonicorum Sancti Columbe de Emonia apud  
parietem versus aquilonem reconditur; cui per electionem successit  
magister Robertus Stutevill' decanus Dunkeldensis, vir dapsilis,  
genere nobilis, vite<sup>c</sup> sanctitate conspicuus, consilio et prudencia 30  
cautus et preclarus.

G ii,116

Willelmus abbas de Cupro deponitur et Andreas de Buchan loco  
eius | preficitur. Ricardus rex sive imperator Alemannie frater regis  
Henrici Anglie mortuus est, et Henricus filius eius die Sancti Ead-  
wardi apud London a patruo suo rege H[enrico] miles effectus est. 35

Hugo electus de Abirdon a domino papa consecratus oculis in  
Scociam evacuatis repedavit.

Henricus dictus pacificus rex Anglorum xii kl' decembris anno  
etatis sue lxiii<sup>o</sup>, coronacionis lvi<sup>o</sup>, regni vero regis Scotorum Alex-  
andri xxiiii<sup>to</sup>, fatis cessit et apud Westmonasterium London' sepultus 40  
est; post cuius sepulturam omnes magnates, cleri et populi gentis  
Anglicane fidelitatem juraverunt filio suo Eadwardo de Langsch-  
ankis, adhuc peregrino in Terram Sanctam existenti, qui videns se in  
Terra Sancta ob militum Christianorum paucitatem contra paganos  
nichil posse proficere, acceptis treugis, cum uxore sua et proceribus 45  
multis transfretavit et usque ad Romam profectus est, ubi a domino  
papa honorifice suscipitur.

Anno sequenti Robertus Wischard confirmatus est mandato apo-  
stolico et<sup>d</sup> a Dunblanensi, Aberdonensi et Moraviensi episcopis con-  
secratus est in episcopatum Glasguensem apud Abirden die dominica 50  
ante Purificacionem Beate Marie, plus, ut prediximus, regis et can-  
cellarii precario quam sciencie et vite merito.

<sup>a</sup> pedites CA  
<sup>b</sup> ecclesie om. CA

<sup>c</sup> + con del. C  
<sup>d</sup> interlin. C

10 of their poverty. Treasure was being transported to the Holy Land  
and to Rome by pilgrims and clerics, and the common people were  
in great danger.

Ingeram de Coucy, the uncle of the king of Scotland, came to have  
talks with his sister and his nephew the king of Scotland. After he  
15 had made his visit touring the royal estates, he returned home with  
well-filled purse.

On the Friday before Easter there was a serious battle between 22 Apr.  
Christians and Saracens in which many Knights Templar and Hos-  
pitaler perished along with a great multitude of Christians.

20 Many of the bishops-elect remained at the Roman court and got  
nothing done that they wanted.

A general summons was issued by Pope Gregory X calling all [31 Mar.]  
archbishops, bishops, metropolitans and other prelates, kings and  
secular persons to meet at Lyons in France in the year of grace [1274]

25 to discuss peace, the state of the church, and aid to the Holy Land.  
But in every province two bishops were to remain behind.

The death occurred of Master Richard de Inverkeithing, chamber- 16 Apr.  
lain of Scotland, bishop of Dunkeld, on the feast-day of St Magnus  
the Martyr. He was a man of great maturity and gravity, who was  
an extremely loyal counsellor to the king and the kingdom, and who  
was unbendable in his justice. His body is buried at Dunkeld and his  
heart is placed in the choir of the monastery of the canons of St  
Columba on Inchcolm by the north wall. Master Robert Stuteville the  
30 dean of Dunkeld was elected to succeed him. He was a generous  
man, nobly born, remarkable for the holiness of his life, cautious  
and excellent in the wisdom of his advice.

William abbot of Coupar [Angus] was deprived of his office and  
Andrew de Buchan was promoted in his place.

Richard king or emperor of Germany died, the brother of King [2 Apr.]  
Henry of England; and Henry [Edmund] his son was made a knight 13 Oct.  
at London on St Edward's day by his paternal uncle King Henry.

Hugh bishop-elect of Aberdeen was consecrated by the lord pope; [Mar. x  
he returned home to Scotland with empty coffers. July]

Henry called The Peaceful, king of the English, yielded to his fate [16 Nov.]  
45 on 20 November in the sixty-third year of his life, and the fifty- sixth  
year of his reign, and the twenty-fourth year of the reign of Alexander  
king of Scots. He was buried at Westminster in London. After his  
burial all the magnates, clergy and people of the English race swore [1273: Jan.]  
loyalty to his son Edward Longshanks, who was still on crusade in  
the Holy Land. Seeing that he could make no headway against the  
pagans in the Holy Land because of the paucity of Christian soldiers, [1272:  
he accepted a truce, crossed the sea with his wife and many nobles, Sept.]  
and went to Rome, where he was honourably received by the lord [1273: Feb.]  
50 pope.

Machabeus electus Rossensis gratiam consecrationis a domino papa impetravit et consecratus repatriavit. Electus Brechinensis et electus Cathenensis in curiam Romanam steterunt gratiam 55 Romanam prestolantes.

## 31

*De periculo plura beneficia retinencium*

Willelmus Wischard cancellarius domini regis, electus Glasguensis et postulatus Sanctiandr', super multis criminibus, precipue de retentione tantorum beneficiorum, ut predictum est, sive compatibilium sive alias non refert, coram domino papa accusatus est. Ac ideo negocia sua aliquamdiu protelata, sed et hec materia anno sequenti in consilio Lugdunensi multipliciter ventilata et, ne quis plura beneficia preter mentem canonis retinere presumat, conclusum extitit sicut et ante in diversis consiliis et famosis disputationibus exaratum est. Super isto multum instat Barbason libro suo De Apibus, ubi sic ait:

Velint quicumque hec legerint scire me anno ab incarnatione domini 10 m<sup>o</sup> cc<sup>o</sup> xxxviii<sup>o</sup> fuisse Parisius, ubi venerabilis Guillelmus Parisiensis episcopus, qui in theologia iam rexerat, convocationem fecerat; et omnium magistrorum proposita questione de pluralitate beneficiorum, solerti et longa valde disputatione probatum est duo beneficia, dummodo unum valeret quindecim librarum Parisiensium, teneri cum salute 15 non posse. Hoc determinavit predictus episcopus; hec frater Hugo Ordinis Predicatorum, postmodum Romane curie cardinalis; hec frater Guiricus et frater Gaufridus eiusdem ordinis et frater Johannes de rupella Ordinis Fratrum Minorum et alii quamplures solemnes in theologia magistri determinaverunt in scholis suis successive. Fuerat etiam 20 disputatio longa valde et multo solemnior ante annos tres, in qua etiam omnes magistri theologie exceptis duobus idem | determinasse probantur per omnia quod et supra. Quorum unus fuit magister Philippus cancellarius Parisiensis, et magister Ernardus postmodum episcopus Ambianensis. Quid autem de dicto Philippo contigerit audiamus: 25 agonizantem in morte dictus Willelmus Parisiensis episcopus paterna solitudine visitavit, | rogans eum ut singulari sue opinioni de plu-

- 55 In the following year Robert Wishart was confirmed in the bishopric of Glasgow by apostolic command and was consecrated by the bishops of Dunblane, Aberdeen and Moray at Aberdeen on the Sunday before the Purification of the Blessed Mary, more, as we have already said, at the request of the king and chancellor than by the merits of his wisdom and his life. 1273: 29 Jan.

Machabeus [Matthew] the bishop-elect of Ross obtained the grace of consecration from the lord pope, and returned home after his consecration. The bishops-elect of Brechin and Caithness remained at the Roman court waiting for papal approval. [1272: 28 Dec.]

## 31

*The danger to those holding many benefices*

- William Wischard the chancellor of the lord king, the bishop-elect of Glasgow who had been postulated to St Andrews, was accused before the lord pope on many charges, the main one being that he held so many benefices, as has been already mentioned; whether these were compatible or not is immaterial. And for this reason his business was delayed for a while; but in the following year at the council of Lyons this matter was aired in various ways, and lest anyone presume to retain many benefices contrary to the spirit of canon law, a conclusion was reached similar to what had been written down before in various councils and famous disputations. 1274: [May-July]

Brabantinus insists strongly on that point in his book *On Bees*, in which he says:

- Whoever might read this may want to know that I was in Paris in the year 1238, where the venerable William bishop of Paris, who had previously taught as a master of theology, had summoned an assembly, and when the question was put concerning the holding of benefices in plurality, it was concluded after a clever and extremely long disputation conducted by all the masters that two benefices cannot be held with spiritual safety if one of them is worth fifteen Parisian pounds. This was the conclusion reached by the said bishop; it was also what Friar Hugh of the Dominican order (who later became a cardinal of the Roman court), Friar Guéric and Friar Geoffrey of the same order, and Friar John de La Rochelle of the Franciscan order, as well as many other eminent masters of theology concluded successively in their own schools. There had also been a very long and much more illustrious disputation three years before, in which it turned out that all the masters of theology except two came to the same conclusion as mentioned 1235

ralitate beneficiorum tenendorum cederet et omnia beneficia sua qui tunc plura retinuit, excepto uno, in manibus ecclesie resignaret, et hac condicione media ut, si convalesceret, ei supplere vellet de suo proprio quod dimisit. Renuit ille pertinaciter, dicens se velle experiri utrum esset dampnabile plura beneficia tenere. Sanctus vero episcopus multum proinde exacerbatus. Et mortuo dicto magistro Philippo cum post paucos dies, dictis matutinis,<sup>a</sup> quietem locum, ut de more consueverat, peteret ut peculiares suas preces Domino effunderet, tandem venit sibi in mentem oracionem pro Philippo effundere. Ubi cum prostratus attente intercederet, ecce vidit inter se et lumen quasi umbram hominis teterimam. Elevata ergo manu consignat se, et si ex parte Dei sit hec visio precipit ut loquatur. Cui respondens spiritus: 'Alienus a Deo sum, sed tamen mirabilis factura eius.' Et presul: 'Tu quis es?' inquit. Cui ille: 'Sum qui fuit cancellarius<sup>b</sup> Parisiensis miserimus.' Rursus episcopus elato alcius gemitu: 'Et quomodo', inquit, 'tibi est sic dolenti?' 'Male,' ait, 'ymmo quam pessime, sicut qui dampnatus sum morte eterna.' Et episcopus: 'Heus', ait, 'karissime, que causa tue dampnacionis?' 'Tres sunt', inquit, 'cause quare morte perpetua sum dampnatus. Una est quod recrescentes fructus annuos contra pauperes timide reservavi. Secunda est quod<sup>c</sup> contra sententiam tuam et plurimorum orthodoxorum de pluralitate beneficiorum quasi licite tenendorum opinionem propriam defensavi, et in hoc me periculo mortalis culpe commisi. Tercia est etiam illa gravissima omnium quod nephando innaturali et abhominabili carnis vicio in scandalum multorum multo tempore laboravi.'

<Repperi etiam alibi quod una causa fuit quia quicquid docuerat vel predicaverat vel dictaverat plus fecerat pro laude hominum et gloria mundi quam Dei.><sup>d</sup>

Et ad episcopum consequenter subjunxit: 'Estne', inquit, 'finitus mundus?' Cui episcopus: 'Miror', ait, 'quondam te literatissimum virum hoc querere, cum me adhuc vivum cernas, et omnes viventes adhuc mori necesse est antequam mundus instante iudicio finiatur.' Et ille: 'Non mireris,<sup>e</sup> quia de tota sciencia quam habui in carne nec prima quidem iam novi elementa, quia nec sciencia, nec opus, nec ratio apud inferos est venienti.' Et hec dicens umbra ab oculis mirantis evanuit. Ipse autem episcopus, suam sanctitatem humilitatis clamide cooperiens, non tamen sub persona sua quasi hoc vidisset, sed de quaquam alia persona in predicacione sua clericis omnibus constanter<sup>f</sup> recitavit.

<sup>a</sup> + cum del.C  
<sup>b</sup> -ri- om.C,R  
<sup>c</sup> quod interlin.faintly C

<sup>d</sup> marginal addition om.CA  
<sup>e</sup> miseres CA  
<sup>f</sup> instantur CA

above in all cases. One of the two was Master Philip chancellor of Paris, the other was Master Arnulf later bishop of Amiens.

But let us hear what happened to the said Philip. When the said William bishop of Paris visited him in his death throes out of fatherly concern, he asked him to give up his individual opinion regarding the holding of benefices in plurality and to resign into the church's hands all his benefices which he held in excess at that time with the exception of one, on the moderate condition that if he recovered from his illness, he [the bishop] would make good to him out of his own pocket what he had lost. The chancellor stubbornly refused, saying that he would want to be sure whether or not it was damnable to hold many benefices. The holy bishop was accordingly very exasperated. A few days after the death of the same Master Philip, when after saying matins he sought out a quiet place, as was his custom, to pour out his private prayers to the Lord, the thought at length entered his mind to pray for Philip. When he was lying prostrate on the ground and attentively interceding, he saw between himself and the light what looked like the most hideous ghost of a man. He therefore raised his hand to cross himself, and bade the apparition to speak if it was from God. The spirit replied to him: 'I am alienated from God, but I am nevertheless his wonderful creation.' 'Who are you?' the bishop said. 'I am he who was the most wretched chancellor of Paris,' he replied. 'And how is it that you are so unhappy?' the bishop asked, groaning deeply. 'It is bad, indeed it could not be worse, as I am damned to eternal death', he said. 'Alas, my dearest friend', said the bishop. 'What is the reason for your damnation?' 'There are three reasons why I am damned to perpetual death', he said. 'One is that I was cowardly enough to keep back from the poor my growing annual income. The second one is that I defended my own opinion that holding benefices in plurality was right against yours and that of very many men of orthodox views, and in this I have exposed myself to the danger of mortal sin. The third and most serious of all the reasons is that I have committed unspeakable unnatural and abominable sins of the flesh over a long period of time to the offence of many.'

I [Bower] have also discovered elsewhere that one reason was that whatever he had taught or preached or enjoined, he had done rather for the praise of men and for worldly glory than for the glory of God.

Still speaking to the bishop he added: 'Has the world come to an end?' 'I am amazed', he replied, 'that you, who were once a most learned man ask this question, since you see that I am still alive, and all those now living must die before the world ends at the coming of the Day of Judgment.' 'Do not be amazed,' he said, 'for I now do not know even the basic elements of all the knowledge that I possessed when I was alive, because the person who comes amongst the dead has neither knowledge nor skill nor reason.' And so saying the ghost disappeared from the sight of the amazed bishop. He, however, covering his holiness with the cloak of his humility, would always tell the story to all his clergy not in the first person, as if he himself had seen this thing, but in one of his sermons, as if it had happened to someone else.

*Adhuc idem Barbason prosequitur ad idem*

G ii,118

Simili modo cum quidam clericus maxime literature agonizans in morte pro me mandasset et consilium quereret quasi in proximo migraturus, reduxi ei in memoriam disputationem illam | solemnem et determinationem de pluralitate beneficiorum Parisius, cui ille interfuerat doctor magnus eximiique consilii cum magna instancia lacrimarum ut unam prebendarum dimitteret qui duas contra animam suam tenuerat, quarum una ad omnem vite copiam clerici sufficere potuisset. Tunc ille facie conversa dissimulans, hoc tantum respondit: 'Orate Dominum ut inspiret.' Nec diu postea cum recessissem et tenuissimo spiritu vix herente, hoc idem quod consuleram ei quidam consobrinus suus, qui consilio meo super hoc sibi intererat et eum multum dilexerat, cum maximis lacrimis inclamaret; cum voce non posset, manu innuens nec hoc suggereret, expiravit. Post cuius obitum, cum quidam clericus nimium stupefactus cogitaret cur tantus clericus, si mortale peccatum esset plura beneficia retinere, in tali statu mortuus extitisset, mox quasi sibi invigilanti defunctus apparens dixit: 'Hec sola prebendarum causa est pro qua infelix ego eternaliter sum dampnatus.'

Super hac eadem questione, cum beate memorie Jacobus de Vitriaco,<sup>a</sup> quondam Achonensis episcopus, postea vero Romane curie cardinalis, magistrum theologie quondam probatissimum Robertum de Corthon', Romani apicis cardinalem, morientem ante primam Damiate obsidionem interrogaret, respondit: 'Dico iam migraturus a vita quod mortale et dampnabile est, dummodo unum competens sit, plura beneficia retinere.'

Hoc idem magister Petrus sancte memorie cantor Parisiensis dixit et scripsit. Hoc idem magister<sup>b</sup> Guiardus Cameracensis episcopus verbo huiusmodi confirmavit: 'Nollem', inquit, 'pro toto auro Arabie una nocte duo beneficia retinere, et certus tamen essem quod de mane unum illorum homini idoneo conferretur. Et hoc propter incerte vite discrimen.' Super hoc narrante fratre Bernardo, quondam domini papae penitenciariorum, cum beatissime memorie papa nonus Gregorius interro- | garetur si posset de plenitudine potestatis cum plurium beneficiorum detentoribus dispensare, respondit: 'Non possum', inquit, 'ubi unum est sufficiens habenti, nisi super vexacione tantum detinendum, dispensare.' Quis ergo sapiens qui fallat se et sibi dispensacione aliqua blandiatur? Esto quod multi magistri dicant hoc, et multi aliqui opinentur contrarium; hoc solum mortali ab Augustino doctore omnium maximo iudicatur, quod quis incertitudinis periculo, et mortalis peccati discrimini se numquam committat.

<sup>a</sup> + canonicus regularis CA<sup>b</sup> Petrus ... magister om. CA

fo.218v

*Brabantinus continuet on the same subject*

In the same way, when a certain cleric of very great learning, who was on his death bed, sent for me and asked my advice since he was soon to pass away, I reminded him of that famous disputation in Paris and of its conclusion regarding the holding of benefices in plurality. He had been present then as a great doctor holding the excellent view with tearful and urgent pleading that a man who held two prebends against the interest of his soul should give up one of them, as one prebend could be enough to supply all that a cleric would need to live on. Then he turned his face away, and pretending not to hear me he replied only: 'Pray to the Lord that he inspire you.' And not long afterwards, when I had withdrawn and he was scarcely clinging to life with a very weak spirit, a certain cousin of his, who had been present at the time of my advice to him on this subject, and who loved him greatly, crying profusely pleaded with him to heed the same advice which I had given him. He was unable to speak but, signalling with his hand that he was not to suggest this, he died. And after his death a certain cleric, very much amazed, was thinking why such a great cleric should die in such a state if it was a mortal sin to hold many benefices, when soon afterwards the dead man appeared to him while he was awake and said: 'It is only because of the prebends that I am eternally damned, unhappy man that I am.'

On the same question, when James de Vitry of blessed memory [a canon regular], formerly bishop of Acre and afterwards a cardinal of the Roman court, asked the most excellent former master of theology Robert de Courson a cardinal-priest of Rome as he was dying before the first siege of Damietta, Robert replied: 'I who am about to leave this life say that it is a mortal and damnable sin to hold many benefices when one is enough.' Master Peter of blessed memory precentor of Paris said and wrote the same. Master Guiard bishop of Cambrai confirmed the same in these words: 'I would not wish to hold two benefices for a single night, not for all the gold of Arabia, and I would make sure that one of them was given to a suitable man the previous morning; and this because of the hazards of this uncertain life.' Friar Bernard who was at one time a penitentiary of the lord pope tells the following story on this subject: when Pope Gregory IX of blessed memory was asked if he could out of the fullness of his power grant dispensation to those holding many benefices, he replied: 'Where one benefice is sufficient, I cannot grant a dispensation except only where there is hardship for the holders.'

Therefore is a man wise who deceives himself and deludes himself with the thought of some dispensation or other? It is true that many

[1219]

Ut autem scias quod non placet Deo detentio plurium, audi quid dictus Barbason testatur dicens:

Ego in quadam civitate episcopali annis undecim adolevi, ubi sexaginta duo canonici sub prebendis pinguiusculis ducentarum fere librarum Parisiensium in matrici ecclesia serviebant. Quorum plures erant beneficiorum pinguium detentores. Michi testis et iudex sit Sancta Trinitas unus Deus quod paucos eorum vidi communi morte defungi, sed subito omnes et reprobe mori, ita quod quidam eorum audito quod unus sociorum in nocte sanus, mane mortuus inventus<sup>c</sup> esset, complosis manibus dixit: 'Et quid vultis? Secundum usum et consuetudinem ecclesie mortuus est, ut videtis.' Vidi ego ipse in eadem ecclesia infra paucos annos <sup>iiii</sup><sup>or</sup> archidiaconos sic defungi. Unde, lector, mirare miraculum! Primus eorum de equo phalerato cecidit et fractis cervicibus expiravit. | Secundus mane in cathedra sedens mortuus subito est repertus. Tercius in choro stans cum ad missam elevatio corporis Christi fieret, cecidit resupinus, et subtracta loquela cum sensu, quasi brutum animal die tertia sine sacramentis ecclesiasticis est defunctus. Quartus confessionem peccatorum et sacramenta recusans mortuus est, et extra cimiterium in sterquilino sepultus.

Et non mirum si beneficiorum pluralitas canonibus inimicetur, cum scribat in epistola Jeronimus dicens: 'Clericus qui de bonis suis sustentari potest, si ulterius accipit quod pauperum est, sacrilegium profecto committit, atque per abusionem talium iudicium sibi manducat et bibit. Si accipis<sup>d</sup> et eges, das potius quam accipis. Si autem non eges et accipis, rapis, quia distribuenda indigentibus usurpas.'

<sup>c</sup> inventus om. CA

<sup>d</sup> + inquit CA

Audivi de quodam notabili theologo in predicationibus suis quamplurimum detestante pluralitatem beneficiorum uni commissorum et, quamquam ipse habebat pingue satis beneficium, collatum fuit

masters say this and many others are of the opposite opinion; but this alone is judged as mortal sin by Augustine, the greatest teacher of all, that the man who never commits himself to the risk of an action of ambiguous legitimacy also never runs the risk of mortal sin.

However, so that you may know that the holding of many benefices is not pleasing to God, hear what the said Brabantinus testifies, saying:

I grew up in a certain episcopal city for eleven years, where sixty-two canons served in the mother church holding very rich prebends worth almost two hundred Parisian pounds. Many of them were holders of [other] rich benefices. May the Holy Trinity one God be my witness and my judge that I have seen few of them die an ordinary death, but all of them died suddenly and ignominiously, so that one of them, when he heard one of his fellows had been in good health during the night but had been found dead in the morning, clapped his hands and said: 'So what do you want? As you see, he died according to usage and custom of the church.' I myself saw in the same church within a few years four archdeacons die in this way, so, reader, be amazed at the miracle! The first of them fell from his ornately harnessed horse and died of a broken neck. The second one was unexpectedly found dead one morning sitting in a chair. The third was standing in the choir at the elevation of the host during mass when he fell on his back and, having lost his speech and his senses, he died like a dumb animal on the third day without the sacraments of the church. The fourth died refusing confession of his sins and the sacraments, and was buried outside the cemetery in a dung-pit.

And it is no wonder if the holding of benefices in plurality is at variance with the canonical laws, since Jerome writes in a letter saying: 'If the cleric who can support himself from his property takes anything more which belongs to the poor, he indeed commits sacrilege, and by abusing such people he eats and drinks his own judgment. If you receive when you are in need, then you give rather than receive. However, if you are not in need and receive, then you are committing robbery, because you are unlawfully taking what should be distributed to those in need.'

I have heard of a certain notable theologian who in his preaching thoroughly deplored the holding in plurality of benefices entrusted to one person, when, although he held an adequately remunerative



eidem aliud; que<sup>a</sup> sine metu retinebat, et tunc plane predicavit quod  
 licet possit aliquis plura beneficia retinere, et addidit quod nullus  
 posset intelligere hoc nisi qui haberet ea. Cuius rei causa est quod  
 dicit propheta: 'Impietas est oculus eorum in universa terra.' Luxuria  
 est oculus luxuriosi, avaricia avari, et sic de ceteris, unde accidit quod  
 alicui luxurioso videtur aliqua mulier fatua quam nimio diligit amore  
 pulchra, cum tamen in veritate sit turpis c'.<sup>b</sup> Ad propositum legimus de  
 Francorum nobili regina Blanca nomine, que fundaverat quandam  
 capellam et electo ad hoc devociore presbytero capellaniam eius  
 eidem perpetuo tradidit ad divina celebranda, videlicet missam coti-  
 die de Spiritu Sancto. Cui presbyter post paucos dies dixit: 'Domina,  
 non possum cum devocione celebrare impeditus sonitu propinqui  
 molendini.' Super hoc consiluit regina Willelmum de Alvernia<sup>c</sup> <Pari-  
 siensis episcopum suum confessorem>. Qui sic respondit regine: 'Si  
 vultis facere consilium meum, sonus molendini videbitur presbytero  
 sonitus vielle.' Domina promisit. 'Detis', inquit, 'ei molendinum, et  
 quanto magis molet, tanto plus sibi placebit.' Quod et factum est.  
 Interrogatus presbyter quid sibi videbatur de sonitu molendini,  
 respondit: 'Quod michi prius erat tedio, usu convalescit.'

G ii,120

Consecratus non fuisset dominus Willelmus Wischard ad epis-  
 copatum Sanctiandr', nisi fuissent multiplicata precamina domini  
 Eadwardi de Langshanksis, qui de Terra Sancta remeando instetit  
 personaliter apud papam Rome pro ipsius expedicione. Papa tandem  
 importunitate precaminum Eadwardi et cardinalium per ipsum prin-  
 cipem rogatorum petitioni annuit. Qui Willelmus die dominica ante  
 festum Sancti Luce apud Sconam presentibus domino rege, vii epis-  
 copis et fere omnibus regni proceribus solemniter consecratur.<sup>d</sup>  
 | Willelmus Fraser decanus Glasguensis factus est regis cancellarius.  
 Robertus abbas de Malros curam pastorem reliquit, cui Patricius  
 successit. Wido abbas de Neubotil loco suo cessit, ad quem Wal-  
 thevus monachus de Malros assumptus est. Nicholaus abbas de  
 Scona et electus Cathanensis ad curiam cassatus est, et Archibaldus  
 Moravie archidiaconus electus est, quia dominus papa dedit canon-  
 icis Cathanensibus licenciam reeligendi.

fo.219

Magna lis mota est apud Eboracum inter Johannem Comyn et  
 Walterum Bullok pro comitatu de Menteth, eo quod Willelmus filius  
 ipsius Johannis desponsaverat filiam comitis prioris, que fuit vere  
 heres. Celebratum est consilium apud Perth, quo per literas domini  
 pape citati sunt omnes prelati Scocie ut conveniant apud Lugdunum  
 in principio maii; ubi decretum est episcopos Dunkeldensem et Mora-  
 viensem in regno debere remanere pro statu ecclesie conservando.  
 Hoc anno factus est prioratus de Abirnethyn in canonicos regulares,

a + simul tunc et amodo CA  
 b c' om. CA

c + episcopum del. C  
 d + Alter del. C

benefice, another was granted to this same man. These two he  
 retained [simultaneously and from this time on] without a qualm,  
 and then preached openly that anyone could rightfully hold more  
 than one benefice, adding that no one could understand this except  
 those who held them, his reason being that the prophet says: 'Wick-  
 edness is their eye in all the land.' Excess is the eye of the licentious  
 person, avarice of the miser, and so on. This is why it happens that  
 to a licentious man a foolish woman with whom he is too much  
 infatuated appears beautiful, although in reality she is ugly, etc.

Regarding this we read of the noble queen of the French, Blanche  
 by name, who founded a certain chapel and, having chosen for this  
 a very devout priest, she gave him her chaplaincy on a permanent  
 basis for the celebration of divine service, that is a daily mass of the  
 Holy Ghost. After a few days the priest said to her: 'Madam, I am  
 unable to celebrate with devotion as I am prevented by the sound of  
 the near-by mill.' The queen consulted her confessor William de  
 Auvergne bishop of Paris on this. He gave this reply to the queen:  
 'If you are willing to take my advice, the mill will sound to the priest  
 like a viol.' The lady promised. 'Give him the mill,' he said, 'and the  
 more it grinds the more he'll like it.' This was done. When the priest  
 was asked how the mill sounded to him he replied: 'What was  
 tiresome to me before has got better as I have got used to it.'

Sir William Wischard would not have been consecrated to the see  
 of St Andrews had not the entreaties of Sir Edward Longshanks  
 been made over and over again. He personally pressed for the settling  
 of this business in the presence of the pope in Rome on his way back  
 from the Holy Land. Following pressing requests from Edward and  
 the cardinals presented by this prince, the pope at length consented  
 to their petition. And William was solemnly consecrated at Scone on  
 the Sunday before the feast of St Luke in the presence of the lord  
 king, seven bishops and almost all the magnates of the realm.

[1273: Feb.]

[15 Mar.]

15 Oct.

William Fraser the dean of Glasgow was appointed the king's  
 chancellor.

Robert abbot of Melrose gave up his pastoral charge and Patrick  
 succeeded him.

Guy abbot of Newbattle retired from his post, to which Waltheof  
 a monk of Melrose was elevated.

Nicholas abbot of Scone and bishop-elect of Caithness had his  
 appointment quashed at the papal court, and Archibald archdeacon  
 of Moray was elected, because the lord pope gave the canons of  
 Caithness permission to hold another election.

[4 June]

A great dispute took place at York between John Comyn and  
 Walter Bailloch for the earldom of Menteith, because William son  
 of this John had married the daughter of the former countess, who  
 was the rightful heir.



qui prius fuerunt Cheldei. Obiit Robertus abbas de Malros, qui prius erat abbas de Dunf<sup>e</sup> et cancellarius<sup>e</sup> regis; cui successit ad Malros Patricius eiusdem monachus. Obiit Thomas vir magne sanctitatis abbas de Londoris, cui successit Johannes prior eiusdem.

<sup>e</sup> D,CA; cancellaus C

## 34

*De consilio generali Lugdunensi et aliis incidentibus*

Anno domini m<sup>o</sup> cc<sup>o</sup> lxxiii<sup>to</sup> natus est Robertus de Broys, rex futurus Scocie. Hoc anno profecti sunt omnes episcopi Scocie versus Lugdunum post Purificacionem preter episcopos Dunkeldensem et Moraviensem. Willelmus electus Brechinensis, postquam diu steterat in curia, ibidem mortuus est et frater<sup>a</sup> Willelmus de Ordine Predicatorum electus est; quam quidem electionem ob tenuitatem reddituum contempsit.

Hoc anno celebratum est kl' maii consilium Lugdunense, in quo presidebat papa Gregorius X, quo interfuerunt duo patriarche, xv cardinales, quingenti episcopi et prelatorum mitratorum preter premissos mille. Hoc consilium quinto anno pontificatus sui fecit precipue pro utilitate Terre Sancte, quam personaliter visitare intendebat, sed morte preventus excusatus est. Hic papa fuit mire experientie in secularibus et non minoris abstinencie et sagacitatis in spiritualibus. Nec inter hec intendebat pecuniarum lucris, sed pauperum elemosinis. In hoc consilio<sup>b</sup> Grecorum et Tartarorum solemnes nuncii interfuerunt. Greci Spiritum Sanctum confessi sunt a Patre Filioque procedere symbolum in consilio solemniter decantando. Nuncii vero Tartarorum infra consilium baptizati ad propria redierunt. In quo consilio Grecorum ecclesia, laus Deo, ad unitatem et fidem Romane ecclesie conversa est. In ipso consilio dominus papa statuit decimam omnium bonorum ecclesiasticorum nullis pri-

<sup>a</sup> + eius E

<sup>b</sup> + gres del.C

A council was held at Perth at which all the prelates of Scotland were summoned by letters of the lord pope to convene at Lyons at the beginning of May. Here it was decided that the bishops of Dunkeld and Moray were to remain in the kingdom to look after the affairs of the church. [1273: 13 Apr.]

In this year the priory of Abernethy became an establishment for 1273  
55 canons regular. They had previously been Culdees.

The death occurred of Robert abbot of Melrose, who had formerly been abbot of Dunfermline and king's chancellor. Patrick, a monk of the same house, succeeded him at Melrose.

The death occurred of Thomas abbot of Lindores, a man of great  
60 holiness, and John prior of the same house succeeded him.

## 34

*The general council of Lyons and other events*

In 1274 Robert de Bruce the future king of Scotland was born. 1274:

In this year all the bishops of Scotland set off for Lyons after the Purification, except for the bishops of Dunkeld and Moray. [11 July] 2 Feb.

William bishop-elect of Brechin died at the papal court after having  
5 been there for a long time, and Friar William of the Order of Preachers was elected. But he spurned this election because of the paltriness of its income.

On 1 May this year the council of Lyons was held, which was  
10 presided over by Pope Gregory X. Present at it were two patriarchs, fifteen cardinals, five hundred bishops, and one thousand mitred prelates in addition to those already mentioned. He called this council in the fifth year of his pontificate mainly for the sake of the Holy Land, which he intended visiting in person; but death intervened and relieved him of this duty. This pope was amazingly experienced in  
15 worldly affairs, and was no less abstemious and wise in spiritual affairs. In these matters he did not concentrate on financial gain, but on alms for the poor. Also present at this council were eminent envoys of the Greeks and the Tartars. The Greeks confessed that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son by solemnly  
20 chanting the creed at the council. Indeed the envoys of the Tartars were baptised at the council before returning to their own country. [29 June] [16 July]  
At this council the church of the Greeks, praise be to God, was converted to the unity and faith of the Roman church. At the said [6 July]

vilegiatis exceptis ad subsidium Terre Sancte contribui per sex annos. Ubi statutum est procuraciones episcoporum et archidiaconorum non deberi solvi nisi ecclesias personaliter visitent. Statutum est 25 insuper quod nullus rector habeat nisi unicam ecclesiam in qua continuam faciat residenciam. Omnes eciam ordines fratrum mendicancium cassati sunt preter Minores et Predicatores. Carmelite quoque et Heremite de Sancto Augustino in suo statu stare sunt 30 permissi donec dominus papa peramplius de eis ordinaverit. Unde cum super hoc statutum edidit dictus dominus G[regorius] X, et Bonifacius octavus illud in corpore canonis,<sup>c</sup> videlicet libro Decretalium vi<sup>to</sup> in capitulo religionum 'De religiosis domibus' inseruerit, ubi expresse approbat<sup>d</sup> Ordines Predicatorum et Minorum: 'Ordines 35 Heremitarum Sancti Augustini et Carmelitarum', dicit papa, 'in solito statu volumus permanere.' Ubi cumque illud capitulum ad manus Carmelitarum vel Augustinencium<sup>e</sup> pervenerit, sicut quidam ferunt, mutant terminum sive<sup>f</sup> dictionem 'solito' in 'solido' facientes de litera 't' literam 'd'. Unde reliquit sic textum: 'Eos in solido statu volumus permanere.' Ac per hoc argumentantur<sup>g</sup> ipsorum<sup>h</sup> ordinem eque cum 40 Predicatoribus et Minoribus approbatum. Propter quod non reperies quasi duos libros *Sexti* in hoc concordare. Quamobrem vere reputandi sunt approbati, cum nullicubi reperientur reprobati. Hoc autem anno in dicto consilio moritur magister Matheus episcopus Rossensis, cuius loco eligitur Thomas de Fifyne. Johannes abbas 45 de Londor' moritur et in Kalco sepelitur, cui successit Nicholaus celerarius de Londor'. Nicholaus abbas de Scona apud Romam detentus est pro multo ere alieno in quo te- | nebatur.

fo.219v

<sup>c</sup> + vii<sup>o</sup> del.C  
<sup>d</sup> + ipse Bonifacius CA  
<sup>e</sup> CA; vel Augustinen' interlin.C

<sup>f</sup> terminum sive om.CA  
<sup>g</sup> argumentantur C,D  
<sup>h</sup> episcoporum for ipsorum CA

*De coronacione regis Eadwardi tiranni et aliis incidentibus*

Hoc<sup>a</sup> anno Alexander rex Scocie cum uxore sua et liberis specialiter invitatur ex parte Eadwardi ut in octavis Pasche intersint personaliter

<sup>a</sup> + small h written after large initial h of hoc  
 C, presumably as a guide to the rubricator

council the lord pope decreed that a tenth of all church property was 25 to be contributed as aid to the Holy Land for six years, and there were to be no privileged exceptions. It was also decreed that the procurations of bishops and archdeacons ought not to be paid unless they visit the churches in person. It was further decreed that each rector should have only one church in which he is to reside per- 30 manently. Also all the mendicant orders were disbanded except for the Minors and Preachers. Also the Carmelites and the Austin friars were allowed to remain as they were until the lord pope issued further orders concerning them. So the said Lord Gregory X issued a statute on this matter which Boniface VIII inserted into the code of canon 35 law, namely in the Sixth Book of the *Decretals*, in the chapter on religious orders entitled 'Concerning the convents of regular clergy'. Here he [Gregory] expressly approves of the Preachers and Minors. 'The Austin friars and the Carmelites', the pope declares, 'we wish to remain in their accustomed [solitus] state.' Wherever that chapter 40 reaches the hands of Carmelites or Austin friars, so certain people say, they change the term or word 'accustomed' [solitus] into the word 'permanent' [solidus], changing the letter *t* into the letter *d*. So they leave the text as follows: 'We wish them to remain permanently'; and by this they argue that their order is as favoured as the Preachers 45 and Minors. On account of this you will not find two copies of the *Sext* agreeing with each other on this point. For this reason they must indeed be thought to be favoured, since nowhere can they be found condemned.

In this year at the said council the death occurred of Master [May-July] 50 Matthew bishop of Ross, in whose place was elected Thomas [Robert] de Fyvin.

John abbot of Lindores died and was buried at Kelso. He was 1274 succeeded by Nicholas cellarer of Lindores.

Nicholas abbot of Scone was detained in Rome because of the 55 large amount of debt he had incurred.

*The coronation of King Edward the tyrant and other events*

In this year Alexander king of Scots along with his wife and children 1274 was specially invited by Edward to be present at his coronation in London on the Sunday after Easter. But because of the general 18 Apr. council held at Lyons, his coronation was delayed until the following

coronacioni sue apud London'; sed dilata est eius coronacio propter consilium generale celebratum apud Lugdunum usque ad sequens festum Assumpcionis Beate Virginis; quo rex Scocie cum magna nobilitate interfuit, una cum regina et multis proceribus et regni nobilibus, sub libertate et protestacione solitis in consimilibus coronacionibus fieri consuetis. Eodem anno obiit dicta regina Scocie Margarita filia regis Henrici et soror eiusdem regis Eadwardi <sup>iiii</sup><sup>o</sup> <sup>kl</sup><sup>o</sup> marcii apud castrum de Cupro, et apud Dunf<sup>r</sup> juxta regem | David tumultatur. Anno domini <sup>m</sup><sup>o</sup> <sup>cc</sup><sup>o</sup> <sup>lxxv</sup><sup>o</sup> obiit Alanus Hostiarius vir dapsilis et strenuissimus in armis ac regi et regno fidelissimus, et apud monasterium de Cupro sepultus; cuius terre tribus filiabus sunt divise. Obit Adam abbas de Aberbr', et Henricus abbas de Kalco. Nicholaus abbas de Scona cassatus de curia rediit.

Magister Bagimondus missus a domino papa venit in Scociam ad colligendum et deponendum decimam ad subsidium Terre Sancte. Omnes beneficiati nullis exceptis sub districtione iuramenti et excommunicationis persolverunt decimam omnium bonorum ecclesiasticorum. Monachi Cistercienses concesserunt domino pape pro toto ordine suo finaliter quinquaginta mille marcas argenti. Consilium ad hoc congregavit apud Perth hoc anno in crastino Sancti Oswaldi Regis, ubi requisitus<sup>b</sup> a prelati et clero (non sine magnis expensis et majoribus promissis si expediret) repedavit ad curiam Romanam dominum papam pro clero Scocie precaturus ut antiquas taxationes omnium bonorum suorum acciperet, septem [annis utique]<sup>c</sup> pro sex computatis; sed rediit in Scociam infecto negotio, multo ere propterea exposito quia, communiter ut dicitur, legati nisi delicate nolunt procurari. Unde legitur quod quidam legatus, visitans abbaciam unam et audiens abbatem habere optimam mulam, questionem cepit movere ad inducendum abbatem quod vellet eam sibi dare; quod abbas cepit totum dissimulare. Crastina die, cum conduceret legatum equitans suam mulam optime amblantem, verbum de mula legatus replicavit et abbas propter etatem et corporis debilitatem de dando excusavit. Indignans sibi legatus: 'Precipio', ait, 'vobis in virtute obediencie ut michi statim tradatis eam.' 'Fateor', ait abbas, 'me vobis teneri ad obedienciam canonicam, sed non ad mulaticam.' Unde plus legatus offensus abbatis responsione quam mule amissione indignabundus recessit.<sup>d</sup> Nolunt<sup>e</sup> equidem nisi placencia audire. Unde legitur quod quidam legatus cardinalis<sup>f</sup> veniens ad locum ubi multum audivit quendam fratrem commendari pro eo quod ubique in promptu habebat facere sermonem cupiditatem et avariciam et superbiam super omnia detestantem, volens ergo legatus

<sup>b</sup> conquisitus CA

<sup>c</sup> S

<sup>d</sup> + Magni et etenim prelati ut [corrected from et] cardinales et legati CA

<sup>e</sup> + libenter CA

<sup>f</sup> interlin.C

5 feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin. The king of Scotland was present at this with many of the nobility, along with his queen and many magnates and nobles of the realm, enjoying the usual liberty and making the usual protestation which are the custom at such coronations. [19 Aug.]

10 In the same year the death occurred of the said Queen Margaret of Scotland, daughter of King Henry and sister of the same King Edward, on 26 February at the castle of Cupar, and she is buried at Dunfermline beside King David. 1274/5: 26 Feb.

In 1275 the death occurred of Alan Durward, a wealthy man, very vigorous in arms, and very loyal to the king and the realm. He was buried at the monastery of Coupar [Angus], and his lands were divided amongst his three daughters. 1275

The deaths occurred of Adam abbot of Arbroath and Henry abbot of Kelso.

20 Nicholas abbot of Scone returned home from the papal court after the quashing [of his election as bishop].

Master Bagimond, sent by the lord pope, arrived in Scotland to levy and deposit for safe-keeping the tenth as aid for the Holy Land. All the beneficed clergy without exception paid a tenth of all their church property under the compulsion of an oath and the threat of excommunication. The Cistercian monks finally paid the lord pope 50,000 marks of silver for their whole order. A council was convened on the subject at Perth this year on the day after the feast of St Oswald the King, after which at the request of the prelates and clergy, not without great expense and greater promises if he was successful, he returned to the Roman court to beg the lord pope on behalf of the clergy of Scotland to accept the old assessment of all their property, but for seven [years] rather than six. But he returned to Scotland having failed in this matter and after spending a great deal of money on it, because, as the common saying goes, legates do not want to be entertained unless it is in a luxurious fashion. 6 Aug.

Concerning this we read that a certain legate was visiting an abbey, and hearing that the abbot had an excellent mule, started to question him with a view to inducing him to give him the mule. The abbot completely ignored this. The following day when he was escorting the legate and riding on his mule, which was trotting along beautifully, the legate brought up the subject of the mule once more; the abbot excused himself from handing it over on account of his age and physical infirmity. Indignantly the legate said to him: 'I order you to give it to me this instant by virtue of the obedience you owe me.' The abbot replied: 'I grant that you can force me to canonical obedience, but you cannot force me to mulish obedience.' Whereupon the legate went off more offended at the abbot's reply than indignant at the loss of the mule. [For indeed great prelates such as

fratrem experiri, precepit sibi ut incontinenti faceret coram eo aliquem succinctum sermonem de cardinalibus, credens eum, ut 45 moris est diversorum, sibi in collatione sua adulari. Qui sibi obtemperans ait: 'Domini enim sunt cardines terre, id est cardinales, qui sunt de condicione cardinis. Nam cardo quando non est inunctus murmurat semper et clamat; unctus autem suaviter claudit et aperit. Sic cardinales nisi inungantur donis et pecuniis,<sup>g</sup> semper inveniuntur 50 rebelles. Cum autem inuncti sunt advenientibus et servientibus dulciter ostium<sup>h</sup> camere claudunt et aperiunt.' Cui legatus: 'Frater, satis est; dimittatis.'

<sup>g</sup> pecunis C,D

<sup>h</sup> officium CA

## 36

*Adhuc de condicionibus cardinalium et legatorum*

Alius legatus visitans abbacias in legacione sua injunxit religiosis presbyteris ut eum in eorum memento<sup>a</sup> haberent recommissum; conversis autem et laicis fratribus injunxit ut pro eo cotidie dicerent certos pater noster. Quidam autem conversus simplex et devotus ac 5 in officio suo diligens et intentus quando serviebat sanis aut infirmis eundo ad coquinam et redeundo tunc pro legato orabat, quia aliis temporibus multum circa alia | erat occupatus. Et quesito ab eo quid diceret, respondit: 'Ego pago legatum.' Inde verum est in proverbium contra minus bene exsolventes et dicentes horas canonicas: 'Il paie le legat.' Alius legatus visitaturus quandam abbaciam 10 multum comminatus est abbati. Abbas timens seviciam eius et studens pacare eum tandem venit sibi in mentem quod egregius erat potator. Fecit igitur sibi claretum vinum scilicet forte et dulcissimum propinari, quousque inebriatus effectus est sine voce et sensu tamquam mortuus; pro quo in feretro composito fecit circa eum de 15

<sup>a</sup> + ad missas CA

50 cardinals and legates] do not want to hear anything except suave words.

In this connection we read that a certain cardinal legate, on coming to a place where he had heard that a certain friar was much commended because wherever he was he would have a sermon up his 55 sleeve which deplored lust, greed and pride above all else, the legate wanted to try the friar out, so he bade him there and then preach some concise sermon in his presence on the subject of cardinals, thinking that he would flatter him in his sermon, as lots of different people are in the habit of doing. The friar obeyed him, saying: 'Lords 60 indeed are the hinges of the earth, that is the cardinals, who are like hinges; for a hinge when it is not oiled always squeaks and makes a noise; but when it is oiled it closes and opens smoothly. So cardinals unless they are well-oiled by gifts and money, are always found to be recalcitrant. But when they have been oiled they softly close and 65 open the door of their chamber to servants and all comers.' Then the legate said to him: 'That's enough, brother; you may go.'

## 36

*More about the ways of cardinals and legates*

Another legate was visiting abbeys within his jurisdiction when he urged the monks who were priests to have him commended in their commemoration prayers [during mass]. Moreover he urged the lay brothers to say a certain number of Paternosters for him every day. 5 But a certain simple and devout lay brother, who was diligent and enthusiastic in his duty when serving both the healthy and the infirm, prayed for the legate as he went to and from the kitchen, because he was very busy at other times with other things. When he was asked what he was saying, he replied: 'I am paying the legate.' Afterwards 10 this saying was turned into a proverb directed against those who carry out the recital of their canonical office less than well, namely: 'Il paie le legat.'

Another legate who was going to hold a visitation of a certain abbey was very threatening towards the abbot. The abbot, fearing 15 his ferocity and eager to pacify him, eventually remembered that the legate was a heavy drinker. So he had him plied with spiced wine, which was strong and very sweet, until he became so drunk that he was speechless and senseless like a dead man. As such he was laid

mane soporatum exequias et placebo decantari. Evigilans ergo et ad se reversus, confusus fugit: et sic abbas manus eius evasit.

Simon abbas de Dunf<sup>r</sup> anno quo supra ob innatam animi pertinaciam et intolerabilem operum proterviam depositus est; cui successit Radulphus de Grenlaw vir mansuetus ac providus ac in monastica disciplina satis exercitatus, qui fuit supprior eiusdem ecclesie. Magister Archibaldus archidiaconus Moravie consecratus est in episcopum Cathanensis; et frater Willelmus de ordine Predicatorum in episcopum Brechinensem. Nicholaus abbas de Jedwod senio fatigatus curam pastorem abdicavit, qui fuit vir sapiens et providus; cui surrogatur Johannes Morell canonicus eius.<sup>b</sup> Crucissignatio per dominum papam singulis provinciis indicitur ad predicandum pro subsidio Terre Sancte. Philippus rex Francie et eius regina ac multi prelati et proceres pluribus in locis cruce signati sunt. Similiter Eadwardus rex Anglie cum tota fere nobilitate magnatum suorum cruce signatus est, et vicesimum denarium totius Anglie impetravit; cum huiusmodi collecta Walliam invasit et optinuit, et per hoc viagium Terre Sancte prepedivit, sicut postea dicitur. Anno domini m<sup>o</sup> cclxxvi obiit Innocencius papa v<sup>us</sup>, cui successit Ottibonus prius legatus in Anglia, qui eodem anno obiit; cui successit Johannes xxii; anno sequenti obiit idem papa. Quo anno rex Alexander apud Sanctum Thomam in Anglia peregre profectus est. Ibidem regi Eadwardo fecit homagium sicut et patri suo fecerat, omnibus suis salvis dignitatibus, pro terris et dominio de Penreth et diversis aliis quas rex Henricus olim cum filia sua Margarita regina Scocie iam defuncta sibi dederat in maritagium, eciam pro terris aliis et honoribus antiquis a suis predecessorebus regibus Scocie prius possessis preter comitatum de Hontyngdon, quod sibi de facto retinuit sicut et pater eius, ut premissum est; cuius honores a priscis temporibus rex Scocie per suos progenitores habebat et tempore pacis integre possidebat. Hoc anno orta est guerra inter dominum Eadwardum regem et Wallenses. Tandem venit princeps Leulinus ad pacem et fecit regi homagium. Hoc anno exoritur grandis contencio inter Alexandrum regem Scocie et Eadwardum Anglie per episcopum Dunelmensem super diversis marchiis utriusque regni. <Anno domini m<sup>o</sup> [cclxx]v<sup>to</sup>c fundata est abbacia de Dulci Cord-[e]<sup>c</sup> per Dervorgillam fi-[liam]<sup>c</sup> Alani de Galweia.>

<sup>b</sup> eiusdem CA

<sup>c</sup> D; lac.C

on a bier, and in the morning the abbot had obsequies and offices for the dead sung around him while he was still asleep. And so on waking up and coming to the legate fled in confusion: thus the abbot escaped his clutches.

In this year Simon abbot of Dunfermline was deposed from office on account of his innate stubbornness of spirit and the unbearable shamelessness of his deeds. He was succeeded by Radulf de Grenlaw, a gentle, prudent man well practised in monastic discipline, who was subprior of the said church.

Master Archibald archdeacon of Moray was consecrated as bishop of Caithness, and Friar William of the order of Preachers as bishop of Brechin.

Nicholas abbot of Jedburgh, worn out by old age, gave up his pastoral charge. He was a wise and prudent man, and he was replaced by John Morel his canon.

In every province of the church the lord pope ordered the preaching of a crusade to aid the Holy Land. Philip the king of France and his queen and many of his prelates and magnates in many places took the cross. At the same time Edward king of England took the cross along with almost all of the noble body of his magnates, and he obtained a twentieth penny from the whole of England. With the money collected in this way he invaded Wales and took possession of it, thus obstructing the expedition to the Holy Land, as will later be told.

In the year 1276 the death occurred of Pope Innocent V, who was succeeded by Ottobono, formerly legate in England, who died in the same year. He was succeeded by John [XXI]. In the following year this same pope died.

In this same year King Alexander went on a pilgrimage to [the shrine of] St Thomas in England. There he did homage to King Edward just as he had done to his father, saving all his dignities, for the lands and the lordship of Penrith and various others which King Henry had long ago given to him as a dowry with his daughter the late Margaret queen of Scotland. He did homage also for other lands and ancient honours which had previously belonged to his predecessors as kings of Scotland, except for the earldom of Huntingdon. This he [King Edward] in fact held back for himself just as his father had done, as is set forth above. From early times his ancestors as king of Scotland held the honours of this earldom, and in peacetime had complete possession of it.

In this year war broke out between the lord king Edward and the Welsh. Eventually Prince Llywelyn came to make peace and did homage to the king.

In the same year a great dispute arose between Alexander king of Scotland and Edward king of England, brought to a head by the

1275

[1278:  
28 Oct.]

1276: [Nov.]

[1277: Dec.]

1276: [Oct.]



*De contencione inter reges Scocie et Anglie  
et de Alexandro filio regis Scocie uxorato*

Anno domini m° cc° lxxviii pro contencione sedanda<sup>a</sup> inter reges convenerunt apud Berwik super Twedam in medio xl° tres episcopi Scocie, videlicet Sanctiandr', Glasguensis et Dunblanensis ex parte regis Scocie cum comitibus et aliis pluribus nobilibus; ex parte vero regis Anglie convenerunt apud Twedemouth episcopi Norwicensis et Dunelmensis, vicecomes de Novo Castro et alii quamplures milites et clerici ut super divisio predictis et marchii tractarent. Sed infecto negocio recesserunt. Leulinus princeps Wallie duxit filiam Simonis de Monteforti in uxorem apud Wigorniam. Et anno sequenti dominus Rogerus de Mortuomari<sup>b</sup> secundus tenuit rotundam tabulam apud Kenlevore, qui cum centum militibus et totidem dominabus comptis armatura sua a civitate Londoniarum, ubi rex fecit milites filios predicti Rogeri, scilicet Rogerum, Willelmum, Galfridum, usque Kenlenore perrexit. Ibi per tres dies tenuit hastiludium, et iiiio die duxit leonem suum apud Warwik et salvum reduxit. Anno domini m° cclxxix Martinus papa iiiius consecratus est; et obiit Willelmus Wischard Sanctiandr' episcopus vto kl' junii. Eodem anno electus est Willelmus Fraiser pridie non' augusti. Anno sequenti obiit David filius regis | Alexandri tercii apud Strivelyne et sepultus est apud Dunf'. Anno sequenti orta est guerra inter dominum regem Anglie et Wallenses per David Griffyne fratrem Leulini principis x kl' aprilis, id est die Palmarum. Quo die dictus David cepit Rogerum de Clifford apud Hawerd. Quo anno Alexander filius regis Alexandri tercii nobilem puellam filiam domini comitis Flandrie duxit in uxorem apud Roxburgh dominica proxima post festum Sancti Martini in Hieme cum ingenti applausu militum et dominarum Flandrensium; ubi quamplures episcopi Scocie et abbates, comites et barones celebriter convenerunt, et per xv dies festum ovanter continuantes nupciis regulariter celebratis tandem ad propria remearunt. Sed proth dolor!

<sup>a</sup> CA; cedanda C,D

<sup>b</sup> CA; Mortuomare C

*The dispute between the kings of Scotland and England;  
and the marriage of Alexander son of the king of Scotland*

bishop of Durham, over various border areas between the two kingdoms.

In the year 1275 Sweetheart abbey was founded by Dervorguilla [1273] daughter of Alan of Galloway.

In the year 1278 in the middle of Lent, three bishops of Scotland, namely the bishops of St Andrews, Glasgow and Dunblane, along with earls and many other nobles, met at Berwick-on-Tweed on behalf of the king of Scotland to settle the dispute between the kings; and on behalf of the king of England the bishops of Norwich and Durham, the sheriff of Newcastle and very many other knights and clerics met at Tweedmouth in order to negotiate over the aforementioned borders and marches. But the negotiations failed and they returned home.

10 Llywelyn prince of Wales married the daughter of Simon de Montfort at Worcester. [1279: Mar.]

And in the following year Sir Roger de Mortimer the Second held a Round Table at Kenilworth. He proceeded to Kenilworth from the city of London with a hundred knights adorned in their armour and as many ladies, and there the king knighted the sons of the said Roger, namely Roger, William and Geoffrey. There he held a joust for three days, and on the fourth day he led out his lion at Warwick and brought it safely back.

10 In the year 1279 Pope Martin IV was consecrated; and the death occurred of William Wischard bishop of St Andrews on 28 May. In the same year William Fraser was elected on 4 August. [1279: 23 Mar.]

In the following year the death occurred of David son of King Alexander III at Stirling; and he was buried at Dunfermline. 4 Aug. 1280: [June]

25 In the following year war broke out between the lord king of England and the Welsh because of David ap Gruffydd brother of Prince Llywelyn on March, that is Palm Sunday. For on this day the said David captured Roger de Clifford at Hawarden. [1281/2: 21/22 Mar.]

Also in this year Alexander the son of King Alexander III married the noble young daughter of the lord count of Flanders at Roxburgh on the Sunday next after the feast of St Martin in the Winter with the full approval of Flemish knights and ladies. Very many bishops 1282: 15 Nov.



post tantum gaudium infra breve tempus secutus est ingens luctus. 30  
 Nam idem Alexander juvenis egregius, regni futurus speratus heres,  
 anno domini m° cc° lxxxiii<sup>c</sup> apud Londoris obiit sepultusque est in  
 Dunf<sup>r</sup> in festo Sancte Agnetis Secundo anno etatis sue xx°. Paulo  
 tamen ante hoc anno scilicet domini m° cc° lxxxii° desponsata est 35  
 Margarita filia regis Alexandri tercii regi Norwegie Hanigow sive  
 Hericio nuncupato; que pridie idus augusti Scociam relinquens nobili  
 transfretavit apparatu cum | Waltero Bullok comite et eius de Men-  
 teth comitissa uno cum abbate de Balmurynach et Bernado de Monte  
 Alto ac aliis multis militibus et nobilibus, ac in vigilia Assumpcionis  
 Nostre Domine Norweiam est ingressa et a rege honorifice suscepta 40  
 ac ab archiepiscopo illius regni, invita matre eiusdem regis, coronata  
 est. Post vero nupcias solemniter celebratas dicti abbas et Bernadus  
 ac alii plures in redeundo sunt submersi. Walterus autem comes et  
 uxor eius cum tota familia de Norweia in Scociam prospere redierunt.  
 Sed et hec eadem domina Margarita Noricorum regina cum per 45  
 unum annum et dimidium cum rege viro suo vixisset in eiusdem anni  
 principio quo et frater eius Alexander obiit v<sup>to</sup> idus aprilis debitum  
 humane condicionis persolvit. De qua rex Noricus unicam filiam  
 tantum genuit nomine eciam Margaritam; que cum ad annos matu-  
 ritatis pervenerat et ipsa similiter ab hac luce migravit. 50

<sup>c</sup> CA; domini m° lxxxiii *underlined as*  
*erroneous C; copied by D and R and then*  
*corrected*

## 38

*De crudelitate regis Eadwardi  
 et de misera servitute Wallensium*

Quorum videlicet Alexandri et David fratrum et Margarite sororis  
 et eius filie Margarite [mors]<sup>a</sup> initium fuit dolorum Scocie futurorum.  
 Heu proth dolor, O Scocia! quoniam si cognovisses et tu tot tibi  
 venturos luctuum et lacrimarum dies, tanta tamque multiplicia mala  
 infallibiliter adesse festinant: 5

Quantaque si scires, numquam te ferre putares.

<sup>a</sup> S

- of Scotland, abbots, earls and barons met here for the ceremony,  
 and joyfully went on with the festivities for fifteen days after the  
 marriage had been royally celebrated, after which they eventually  
 35 returned home. But alas! a short time after such great joy there  
 followed overwhelming grief, for the same young and illustrious  
 Alexander, the future heir of the realm, in whom so much hope had  
 been placed, died at Lindores in 1283, and was buried at Dunfermline  
 on the second feast of St Agnes in his twentieth year. [1283/4:]  
 28 Jan.
- 40 Now a little before this, that is in 1281, Margaret daughter of King  
 Alexander III was married to the king of Norway called Hanigow  
 or Eric. Leaving Scotland on 12 August she crossed the sea in state,  
 along with Walter *Bailloch* earl of Menteith and his countess, the  
 abbot of Balmerino and Bernard de Mowat, as well as many other  
 45 knights and nobles, and on the eve of the Assumption of Our Lady  
 she arrived in Norway and was honourably received by the king. She  
 was crowned by the archbishop of that kingdom, although it was  
 against the wishes of the said king's mother. But after the marriage  
 had been solemnly celebrated the said abbot and Bernard and many  
 50 others were drowned on their return journey. Earl Walter and his  
 wife, however, along with his whole household, returned safely to  
 Scotland from Norway. But this same Lady Margaret queen of the  
 Norwegians, when she had lived with the king her husband for a  
 year and a half, went the way of all flesh on 9 April at the beginning  
 55 of the same year in which her brother Alexander died. By her the  
 Norwegian king had only one daughter, also called Margaret. She  
 likewise passed away when she reached maturity. 1283:  
 9 Apr.

## 38

*The ruthlessness of King Edward and  
 the miserable servitude of the Welsh*

The death of the brothers Alexander and David and of their sister  
 Margaret and of her daughter Margaret was the beginning of the  
 future woes of Scotland. Alas, Scotland! for even if you had known  
 so many days of mourning and tears were in store for you, such great  
 5 and such manifold evils were inexorably hastening upon you:

Even if you had known how great they were, you could never have  
 imagined that you would bear them.

Now after the death of Alexander the first-born son of the said [1284]

Post mortem autem Alexandri predicti regis Alexandri primogeniti venerunt <sup>iiii</sup><sup>or</sup> milites a comite Flandrie missi ad dominum regem Scocie ut filiam predicti comitis relictam Alexandri filii sui nuper defuncti ad patrem suum adducerent. Super quo dominus rex suique consilarii diu tractantes tandem consenserunt<sup>b</sup> ut predicta domina nulla pro dote sua fidelitate domino regi prestanda rediret ad patrem suum. Quod ita factum est; atque remeantes ad propria munifice sunt dimissi. Rex eciam Norwagie post mortem Margarite uxoris sue filie dicti regis Alexandri solemnes nuncios ad dominum regem Scocie misit<sup>c</sup> ad<sup>d</sup> petendum et recipiendum ad opus prefate filie,<sup>e</sup> scilicet neptis sue, redditus septingentarum marcarum in certis terris secundum convenciones inter ipsos reges initas et scriptis roboratas; quos quidem nuncios rex benigne suscepit, et de consilio suorum procerum expediens ipsos<sup>f</sup> nuncios<sup>g</sup> ad Norgvigensium regem honorifice remisit cum immensis muneribus et diversis.<sup>h</sup> Eodem anno scilicet domini m<sup>o</sup> cclxxxi <obiit Alexander Senescallus Scocie avus nobilis Walteri generi Roberti Brois.<sup>i</sup> Et> Eadwardus Anglorum rex cum innumerable exercitu perrexit in Walliam, ubi Leulinum Britannice gentis principem expugnavit, et utriusque partis non modica plebe interfecta. Tandem ipse princeps cru- | deliter ac sediciose peremptus est. Ubi propterea, ut speratur, multi nobiles regis Anglie ulcione divina, quidam aquis | immersi, quidam gladio perempti, quidam in tentoriis subita morte preventi ecclesiastica privati sunt sepultura, in agris velut canes morsibus avium patentes; quos ut dictus rex ab hac luce migrasse cognovit, quasi inhumanus et nequam suorum mortem parvipendens, jactitabat<sup>j</sup> quibusdam se non illos sed eorum matres perdidisse. <De hoc conquestu<sup>k</sup> infra libro xv<sup>o</sup> capitulo xxvii.> Mortuo Leulino Wallenses quamplurimi David Griffin sequentes et sibi tamquam principi<sup>l</sup> obedientes iuramentum fidelitatis prestiterunt. Qui princeps post hoc anno, scilicet domini m<sup>o</sup> cc<sup>o</sup> lxxxiii, in crastino Sancti Mathei captus et apud Londonias per eundem regem Eadwardum tirannum tale iudicium redditum fuit: ut equis tamquam proditor traheretur, tamquam latro suspenderetur et ut predo decapitaretur, et ut corpus suum in quatuor partes divideretur et ad quatuor regni principaliora oppida unaqueque pars suspendio mitteretur. <Caput vero eius super Turrim London' affixum est.> A quo

fo.221

G ii,126

b avisatus consencit for suique ... consenserunt CA

c + post mortem del.C

d CA,D; del.in error C

e + sue del.C

f interlin.C

g + suos del.C

h + Anno sequenti dominus Willelmus Wischard Sanctiandr' episcopus v<sup>io</sup> kl' julii junii. Eodem anno electus Willelmus

Fraser ii non' augusti del.C, with julii del. previously

i + regis CA

j corrected from jactitabat C

k conquestus for de hoc conquestu + enim fuit Valliam quasi ex toto que ante hoc nisi pro parte, et hoc tradicionem unius de primoribus Vallie Penven nomine, de quo vide infra librof ] c [ ] CA

l corrected from principes C

King Alexander, four knights sent by the count of Flanders came to the lord king of Scotland so as to take the daughter of the said count, the widow of his recently deceased son Alexander, to her father. The king and his counsellors deliberated long on this and finally agreed that the said lady could return to her father without taking an oath of allegiance to the lord king for her dower. And so it was done, and returning home they were sent away with gifts.

The king of Norway, after the death of his wife Margaret, daughter of the said King Alexander, also sent a solemn embassy to the lord king of Scotland to seek and receive for the use of his above-mentioned daughter—Alexander's granddaughter, that is—rents of 700 marks on certain lands, according to agreements entered upon by those kings and confirmed in writing. The king certainly welcomed this embassy kindly, and on the advice of his magnates he dispatched them honourably to the Norwegian king with great gifts of different kinds.

In the same year, that is in 1281, the death occurred of Alexander the Steward of Scotland, the grandfather of the noble Walter, son-in-law of [King] Robert de Bruce.

And Edward king of the English with a countless army made his way into Wales, where he overcame Llywelyn prince of the Britons and many people were killed on both sides. Eventually the prince himself was ruthlessly and treacherously killed. And there (because of that as one hopes) many nobles of the king of England [were struck down] by divine retribution: some were drowned, some were killed by the sword, some, overtaken in their tents by sudden death, were deprived of a church burial and lay like dogs in the fields to be pecked at by birds. When the said king learnt that they had perished, he made light of their deaths in an inhuman and worthless manner, asserting to some people that it was not he who had lost them, but their mothers. Regarding this conquest see below Book XV, Chapter 27 [for it was of almost the whole of Wales, whereas before this it had only been of a part, and this happened because of the treachery of one of the Welsh nobles by the name of Penryn]. On the death of Llywelyn of Wales a great many people followed David ap Gruffydd, obeyed him as if he were their prince and swore an oath of allegiance to him. After this, that is in 1283, on the day after the feast of St Matthew, the prince was captured and had this sentence passed on him by the same King Edward the tyrant in London: that he be drawn by horses like a traitor, hanged like a brigand, and beheaded like a robber, and his body be divided into four parts, and that each part be sent to the four principal towns of the realm to be hung there. And his head was stuck on the Tower of London. Also an edict was issued by the king throughout all England and Wales, and was proclaimed by the terrible voices of heralds, to the effect that no one

[1283?]

[1281/2]

[1282: Aug.]

[11 Dec.]

1283: [21 June]

eciam rege exiit edictum per totam Angliam et Walliam et voce  
 horrida preconum proclamatum ut nullus Britannici generis cuius-  
 cumque fuerit condicionis infra muratas urbes, castra, fortalicia,<sup>m</sup> 45  
 oppida seu quascumque municiones sub amissionis vite mem-  
 brorumque pene pernoctaret. Hoc igitur insertum est breviter capi-  
 tulum ne qua gens Anglie collateralis vel confinis premissam legens  
 historiam, exemplo Gualensium incastigata, decidat sub Anglorum  
 incaute dominio miserime servitutis; quia ut communiter de eis dic- 50  
 tum est, videlicet quod Anglicus est prodiciosus socius, bonus servus,  
 sed insufferabilis magister<sup>n</sup> sive dominus; sed et in quemcumque  
 statum eum reposueris, tamquam vulpes versipellis et dolosus reper-  
 ietur; unde quidam de Anglis et aliis nacionibus sic metrificare  
 exorsus est: 55

Sculptor, dum sculpes, Anglos facies quasi vulpes,  
 et Gallos agnos, Normannos fac bene magnos<sup>o</sup>  
 ursos, sed Britones apros, Scotosque leones.

<sup>m</sup> corrected from fortalicia C

<sup>n</sup> magister interlin. over servus del.C

<sup>o</sup> semimagnos for bene magnos CA

## 39

*Quomodo huius tyranni cupiditate rapida passagium  
 Terre Sancte prepeditur*

Dominiū itaque sic totius Wallie et reliquiarum Britonum super-  
 ioritatē hostili feritate conquisitus,<sup>a</sup> in signum triumphalis leticie  
 rotundam tabulam cum suis commilitonibus et satrapis apud Snaw-  
 don pompaticē celebravit rex tyrannus. Idemque rex totam decimam  
 papalem in regno suo per sex annos secundum verum valorem 5  
 omnium proventuum ecclesiasticorum in subsidium Terre Sancte  
 collectam et in diversis monasteriis et ecclesiis cathedralibus regni  
 sui depositam temeritate valida asportavit, proinde Terre Sancte  
 sanctissimo viā omnino prepedito. Quo igitur iure vendicet sibi  
 regna tanta exercens latrocinia? Non igitur legislator sed legislatro 10  
 merito est dicendus, dicente Augustino De Civitate Dei capitulo<sup>b</sup>  
 iiii<sup>to</sup>:

<sup>a</sup> corrected from conquisita C

<sup>b</sup> libro CA

of British birth, of whatever condition, was to spend the night within  
 55 walled towns, castles, fortresses, fortified towns or any fortifications  
 whatsoever, on pain of loss of life and limb.

This short chapter is inserted here lest any people associated with  
 or bordering on England, on reading the above story but unchastened  
 by the example of the Welsh, should unwarily fall under the lordship  
 60 of the English in a most wretched serfdom. Because, as it is commonly  
 said of them, an Englishman is a treacherous associate, a good  
 servant, but an intolerable master or lord; whatever position you put  
 him in, he will be found to be like a crafty and deceitful fox. Thus  
 someone began a poem on the English and other nations in this way:

65 Sculptor, when you carve, make the English like foxes  
 and the French like lambs, make well the Normans like great bears,  
 the Britons like boars and the Scots like lions.

## 39

*How the expedition to the Holy Land is obstructed  
 by the consuming greed of the tyrant*

Having thus won lordship over the whole of Wales and suzerainty [1284: July]  
 over the remnants of the Britons by hostile ferocity, the tyrannical  
 king held a splendid Round Table with his fellow-knights and officers  
 in Snowdonia to show his joy at this triumph. And this same king  
 5 with great temerity carried off the whole of the papal tenth collected  
 in his kingdom over six years, according to the true value of all  
 ecclesiastical income, as aid for the Holy Land, and deposited in  
 various monasteries and cathedral churches of his kingdom. In this  
 way he completely thwarted the most sacred expedition to the Holy  
 10 Land.

Therefore by what right may he lay claim to so many kingdoms  
 for himself when he commits acts of robbery? He must deservedly  
 be called not a law-giver but a law-taker, for as Augustine says in  
 his *City of God* [Book] IV:

G ii,127

Remota iusticia quid sunt regna nisi magna latrocinia? Et latrocinia, quid sunt nisi parva regna? Hoc malum tantum crescit ut et loca teneat, | sedes constituat, civitates occupet, populos subjuget et evidencius regni 15  
nomen assumit; quod ei iam in manifesto confert non dempta cupiditas, sed addita impunitas. Ideo eleganter et veraciter Alexandro Magno quidam pirata comprehensus respondit; cum ab eo interrogaret quid sibi ut mare haberet infestum daret, ille libera voce: 'Quod tibi', inquit, 'ut orbem terrarum. Sed quia ego exiguo navigio facio, latro vocor; 20  
quia tu magna classe, imperator.'

fo.221v

Hec ille. Anno sequenti obiit Maria mater Alexandri tercii regis Scocie in partibus transmarinis. Eodem anno <sup>iiii</sup><sup>to</sup> idus januarii rex Alexander apud Sanctumandr' existens ante magnum altare coram suis satrapis et magnatibus dedit et concessit Deo et beato Andree 25  
percussuram monete adeo libere et quiete, sicut aliquis episcopus Sanctiandr' tempore patris sui Alexandri secundi vel alicuius predecessorum suorum liberius et quocius habere consuevit,<sup>c</sup> salva sibi declaracione | inquisitionis eiusdem super infeodacione habenda. Eodem anno natus est Eadwardus filius regis Eadwardi apud Carnarvane. Obiit etiam Karolus rex Cecilie, Kalabrie et Apulie et Affrice illustrissimus. In cuius baltheo nomina dictarum regionum in stipatis aureis umbonibus artificiose et consparsim sic erant insculpta: 30

Siculus et Kaliber, Apulus michi servit et Affer.<sup>d</sup> 35

Eodem anno Duncanus filius Colbani comitis de Fife suscepit regimen et dominium comitatus eiusdem ad ipsum jure hereditario spectantem. Hoc etiam anno, videlicet decimo a morte regine, rex Alexander de suorum prelatorum et procerum consilio nuncios misit solemnes, videlicet Thomam Charteris cancellarium, Patricium de Graham, Willelmum de Sancto Claro et Johannem de Sowlis milites, 40  
ad providendum sibi de sponsa nobiliori prosapia exorta. Qui post festum Purificacionis Beate Virginis in Franciam sunt profecti, ubi Joletam sive Jolandam dominarum speciosissimam filiam nobilis viri comitis de Droco sive Droys communiter nuncupatur, cum magno 45  
apparatu et veneranda Francorum comitiva ad Scociam prospere perduxerunt.

<sup>c</sup> corrected from consueverunt C  
<sup>d</sup> inscription written in larger hand by same scribe C

15 If you take away justice, what are kingdoms but great bands of robbers? And what are bands of robbers but small kingdoms? This evil grows to such an extent that it can hold territory, establish habitations, occupy cities, subdue nations, and it clearly assumes the name of kingdom. And this name is now openly given to it, not because it has lost any of its greed, but because it has gained impunity. Thus a certain pirate, when taken prisoner, gave a neat and true reply to Alexander the Great. When asked by him what he would give to infest the sea, he said freely: 'What you gave to infest the whole world. Just because I do it in a little ship, I am called a robber. Because you do it in a great fleet, you are called an emperor.'

In the following year Mary the mother of Alexander III king of Scotland died abroad. 1284

On 10 January of the same year King Alexander, in the presence of his officers and magnates at the high altar at St Andrews, gave 1284/5:  
and granted to God and the blessed Andrew the right to mint money 10 Jan.  
freely and without hindrance, just as any bishop of St Andrews in the time of his father Alexander II or of any of his predecessors used to have this right freely and without hindrance, reserving for himself a definition [of this grant] following an enquiry into the terms of the 35  
enfeoffment.

In the same year Edward, the son of King Edward, was born at Caernarfon. 1284:  
[25 Apr.]

Also the death occurred of Charles the very famous king of Sicily, Calabria, Apulia and Africa. On his sword-belt the names of the said 1284/5:  
regions were artistically inscribed in well-spaced-out gold studs thus: 7 Jan.]

The Sicilian, the Calabrian, the Apulian and also the African serve me.

In the same year Duncan, son of Colban earl of Fife, received authority and lordship over the said earldom, which belonged to him by hereditary right. 1284

45 Also in this year, that is ten years after the death of the queen, King Alexander, on the advice of his prelates and lords, sent a solemn embassy consisting of Thomas Charteris the chancellor, Patrick de Graham, William de Sinclair and John de Soules, knights, to seek out for him a spouse born of noble stock. After the feast of the 1284/5:  
Purification of Blessed Virgin they went off to France, whence they 2 Feb.  
successfully brought home to Scotland Joleta or Yolanda, the most beautiful of ladies, a daughter of that noble man the count of Droco (or Dreux as it is commonly called), with great pomp and with an impressive escort of Frenchmen.

*De desponsacione regis Alexandri tercii cum Joleta  
filia comitis de Droco*

Anno domini m<sup>o</sup> cc<sup>o</sup> lxxxv<sup>toa</sup> dominus Alexander rex Scocie die Sancti Kalixti pape et martiris desponsavit Joletam filiam comitis de Droco, ad cuius nupcias regaliter celebrandas quamplures nobiles de Francia et Scocia cum innumera multitudine utriusque sexus solemniter convenerunt. Quibus peractis Francigene variis muneribus letificati 5 exceptis paucis cum regina remanentibus leti remearunt. De tam celebri festo a<sup>b</sup> retroactis temporibus non recolitur in Scocia lectum esse. Sed proth dolor! huiusmodi inconsuetum festum paulo post infestum sive fastidii signum insaciabilem famem Scotis parturivit. Nam ut locus festum decoraret et festum loco conveniret, regales ille 10 nupcie per industriam apud Jedwod electe sunt celebrari. Nam | et locus ipse dictus est ab illa aqua que et Jed et silva quod est in lingua materna 'wod' compositus. Unde quidam:

Unda<sup>c</sup> nemus vere duo sunt bona nata placere,  
compositum de re dic singula laudis habere.

15

Ubi in nupciis regalibus, dum omnia rite fierent, factum est tale ludi simulacrum per modum processionis inter catervas discumbencium, precedentibus in arte illa doctis cum multimodis<sup>d</sup> organis<sup>e</sup> musicis et tragicis instrumentis organicis, aliisque post eos vicissim et interpolatim choream militarem pompaticè agentibus, insecutus est unus 20 de quo pene dubitari potuit utrum homo esset an fantasma; qui ut umbra magis labi videbatur quam pedetentim transire; quo quasi oculis omnium evanescente, quievit tota illa processio fannatica, melos tepuit, musicum dissolutum est, et chorealis phalanx dirigit cicius insperato. Risus dolori miscetur et extrema gaudii luctus occupat; et post tantam gloriam regnum inglorie ululabat, dum postmodum in brevi se ipsum perdidit et consequenter regem. Nam eodem anno xiiii kl' aprilis rex apud Portum Regine passagio pre- 25 peditus usque noctis atre crepusculum, a suis consultus ne Inverkeithin hac nocte preteriret, spreto eorum consilio, septus agmine 30 militari<sup>g</sup> versus Kingorn Regis gradu precipiti festinavit; ad cuius

a CA,P; lxxxvi C,E; lxxxvii D

b + ti del.C

c -da interlin.C

d + instrumentis del.C

e interlin.C

f + postmodum del.C

g + festinus del.C

*The wedding of King Alexander III and Yolanda  
the daughter of the count of Dreux*

In 1285 Lord Alexander king of Scotland married Yolanda the daughter of the count of Dreux on the feast of St Callixtus pope and martyr. Very many nobles of France and Scotland along with an innumerable multitude of both sexes met for the ceremonial celebration of their wedding in royal fashion. After the wedding was over the French, gladdened by all sorts of gifts, returned home in good spirits, although a few remained behind with the queen. 1285: 14 Oct.

I cannot recall having read of such a famous feast ever before in Scotland. But alas! an unusual feast of this kind a short time later brought forth for the Scots a fast, or that herald of sickness, an insatiable hunger. In order that the place might grace the feast and the feast might harmonise with the place, they deliberately chose to celebrate the royal wedding at Jedwood. The said place is called after the river, which is the Jed, and the forest, which is 'wood' in our native language. 15

[Since] river and wood are truly two things which exist to give pleasure, you must call it praiseworthy to have a compound made up from each of them.

While everything was going on at the royal wedding according to due custom, a kind of show was put on in the form of a procession amongst the company who were reclining at table. At the head of this procession were skilled musicians with many sorts of pipe music including the wailing music of bagpipes, and behind them others splendidly performing a war-dance with intricate weaving in and out. 20 Bringing up the rear was a figure regarding whom it was difficult to decide whether it was a man or an apparition. It seemed to glide like a ghost rather than walk on feet. When it looked as if he was disappearing from everyone's sight, the whole frenzied procession halted, the song died away, the music faded, and the dancing contingent froze suddenly and unexpectedly. Laughter is [always] mixed with grief, and mourning takes over from extremes of joy: after such splendour the kingdom lamented ingloriously, when a short time afterwards it lost itself and as a consequence its king.

For in the same year on 19 March the king was delayed by the ferry at [South] Queensferry until dusk on a dark night. When advised by his companions not to go beyond Inverkeithing that night, he 1285/6: 19 Mar.

occidentalem plagam juxta maritimalem ripam sonipes in sabulo  
cespitavit et, heu, nobilis rex, a suis negligencius | observatus, fractis  
cervicibus expiravit,<sup>h</sup> et in monasterio de Dunf, ut regem decuit,  
tumulus. Cuius mors quam lacrimosa fuerat regno Scocie et nociva, 35  
dampna temporum subsequencium patenter declarant. Nemo<sup>i</sup> pro-  
pter subitaneam insperate mortis hesitet de transitu tanti regis ad  
gloriam, quia, ut dicitur, non potest male mori qui bene vixit; unde  
quidam:

Mors iusti subita quam precessit bona vita 40  
non minuit merita si moriatur ita.

De quo habentur huiusmodi metra:

<sup>j</sup>L semel x ter et v bis centum mille volutis  
annis, aprilis quarto decimoque kalendas 45  
tercius Alexander in Kingorn mortuus, infra  
Dumfermelinam jacet ecclesiam tumulatus  
inter avos reges. Regnavit<sup>k</sup> ter deca septem,  
vixit et octo plus non completis tamen annis.  
Cuius nobile cor in pace quiescit apud Perth.  
Et sic de regno post hec Deus ordinet isto. 50

<sup>h</sup> + ubi ad monumentum facti crux lapidea    <sup>i</sup> + obsecro CA  
erigitur et in margine orbite adhuc trans-    <sup>j</sup> large, heavy capital L C,D  
iuntibus conspicitur CA    <sup>k</sup> + terca del.C

De commendacione boni<sup>a</sup> regiminis regis Alexandri tercii  
et circumcicione regni  
et iusticia ubique exhibita

Omnibus diebus vite huius regis Christi floruit ecclesia, sacerdotes  
eius debita honorabantur reverencia, aruit viciu, abfuit dolus, ces-  
savit injuria, viruit virtus, viguit veritas, regnavit iusticia. Erat enim  
forma precipuus, corpore compositus, statura largus et procerus, 5  
non tamen grossicie notatus, vultu jocundus, corde solidus, mente  
devotus, affabilis colloquio, amabilis aspectu, prudencia peditus,  
temperancia clarus, interna fortitudine firmus et externa probatus,  
censura iusticie stabilis, longanimitate assiduus, paciencia robustus,

<sup>a</sup> E; bone C,D,R

spurned their counsel, and with an escort of knights hurried by a  
precipitous track towards Kinghorn Regis. To the west of that place  
beside the shore his horse stumbled in the sand, and alas! the noble  
40 king, too negligently attended by his followers, broke his neck and  
expired. [There a stone cross stands as a monument to the occurrence,  
and can still be seen by passers-by at the side of the track.] And he  
was buried in the monastery of Dunfermline, as befits a king. The  
losses of the times which followed clearly show how sad and harmful  
45 his death was for the the kingdom of Scotland. Let no one [I beg  
you] be uncertain about the passage of such a great king to glory on  
account of the suddenness of his untimely death, because, as it is  
said, the person who lives well cannot die badly; hence the lines:

50 The sudden death of a just man, when preceded by a good life,  
does not lessen his merits if he dies thus.

In connection with this there is the following verse:

After the passing of once fifty, three times ten and five, twice one  
hundred plus a thousand years,  
on 19 March Alexander III died at Kinghorn.  
55 He lies buried beneath the church at Dunfermline  
amidst his kingly forbears; he reigned three times ten plus seven years,  
and was not quite eight years older.  
His noble heart rests in peace at Perth.  
And thus after those events may God ordain regarding this kingdom.

Praise of the good government of King Alexander III;  
his progress through the kingdom  
and justice shown everywhere

Every day in the life of this king the church of Christ flourished, its  
priests were honoured with due respect, vice withered away, deceit  
disappeared, injustice ceased, virtue thrived, truth grew strong, jus-  
tice reigned. He was exceptional in appearance, physically well-built,  
5 thick-set and tall in stature, though he could not be called fat. He  
had a jovial face, a steadfast heart, a devout spirit. He was affable  
in his speech, likeable in appearance, gifted with wisdom, famed for  
his moderation, unshakeable in his inner strength and well-tried  
in his outward strength, unwavering in the severity of his justice,  
10 unremitting in his forbearance, strong in patience, gentle in humility,



humilitate mansuetus, caritate sollicitus, et omnibus equis. Juste igitur  
ob sue probitatis merita et equitatis libramina potuit dici rex, eo  
quod recte se rexit et suos, jus suum unicuique tribuens. Unde reges  
secundum Isidorum a recte agendo vocati sunt. Ideoque recte faci-  
endo regis nomen tenetur, peccando amittitur. Recte ergo illi reges  
vocantur qui tam semetipsos quam subjectos bene regendo modi-  
ficare noverunt.

Fit rex ut sit lex. Ubi non lex est, ibi nec rex.

Et si quos aliquando rex Alexander de suis habuit rebelles, tanto  
rigore discipline eorum repressit insanias ut, misso fune in collo ad  
suspendium parati si sue placitum esset voluntati, suo subderentur  
imperio. Propter quod prope et procul non solum amicis sed etiam  
adversariis, precipue Anglicis, timori habebatur pariter et amor.  
Omni itaque tempore postquam rex annos discrecionis attigerat,  
regnicole vixerunt firma tranquillitate et pace jocundaque et secunda  
libertate, ita quod poterat eis applicari quod scriptum est: 'Sedebat  
populus meus in pulcritudine pacis, in tabernaculis fiducie et in requie  
opulenta.'<sup>b</sup> Et ut omnem sedicionem et insolenciam ubique<sup>c</sup> infra  
regnum cedaret,<sup>d</sup> hoc semper quasi omni anno de more habuit cum  
electa videlicet manu valida militum et nobilium regnum peragraré,  
et in qualibet quaternali ipsius plaga pro rata anni perhendinare,  
justiciarium suum secum habens justiciam cuilibet administrandum  
ut nichil de contingentibus omitteretur de justitia unicuique prompte  
exhibenda. Quocienscumque etiam contingeret regem de longe equi-  
tare, vicecomes illius schire premunitus ad fines sui comitatus cum  
tota electa milicia schire regi<sup>e</sup> de more convenit obviare; quo exeunte  
confines comitatus milicia regi valedicens recessit ad propria, alia  
interea milicia apud fines schire regem accuracius prestolante et  
similiter a fine usque ad finem propriis expensis concomitante. Unde  
ubique rex securo agmine constipatus gavisus est de populo, et  
populus multipliciter exultaverunt de rege suo. Rex etiam de facili  
non passus est aliquos non habentes possessiones vel artes esse  
ociosos, sed statuto actum est et sub penis quod unusquisque talis  
septem pedes in quadro foderet omni die, attendens quod ociositas  
mater est nugarum, noverca virtutum, que virum fortem precipitat  
in rapinam, suffocat policiam, nutrit superbiam, inducit con-  
spiracionem, et viam constituit ad perdendum regnum. Statuit etiam  
| in curia cuiuscumque prelati vel magnatis certum et paucum  
numerus fieri eveccionum, quia multitudo equorum non neces-  
sarium destruxit<sup>f</sup> sustentacionem pauperum.

<sup>b</sup> + hec Isaias CA

<sup>c</sup> -que interlin.C

<sup>d</sup> corrected from sedaret C; sedaret CA

<sup>e</sup> interlin.C

<sup>f</sup> + annonem et CA

unstinting in his charity and fair in all things. Thus he could rightly  
be called a king on the merits of his integrity and his even-handed  
justice, because he ruled himself and his people rightly, granting each  
person his rights. So it is that according to Isidore 'kings' [*reges*] are  
15 so-called because they 'act rightly' [*recte agendo*]; thus the name of  
king is retained by doing right, and it is lost by sinning. Therefore  
those who know how to restrain both themselves and their subjects  
by ruling well are rightly called kings:

The king exists so that there may be law. Where there is no law, there  
is no king either.

20

And if Alexander sometimes had rebels amongst his people, he repre-  
ssed their madness with such harsh discipline that with a rope round  
their necks and ready to be hanged if that was his will they were  
subjected to his authority. For this reason he was held equally in fear  
25 and love both near and far, not only by friends but also by enemies,  
especially the English. Thus at all times after the king had reached  
the age of discretion his subjects lived in constant tranquillity and  
peace, and in agreeable and secure freedom, in such a way that there  
could be applied to them what was written [in Isaiah]: 'Then my  
30 people lived in beautiful peace, at ease in their houses, and richly at  
rest.'

And so that he might put down all civil discord and insub-  
ordination everywhere within his realm, he had this habit of travelling  
all over his kingdom almost every year with a strong company of  
35 picked knights and nobles, and of staying in a quarter of its districts  
for a fixed proportion of the year. He had his justiciar with him to  
administer justice to anyone at all, so that all the circumstances might  
be taken into account and justice promptly meted out to everyone.  
Also whenever it happened that the king approached on horse-back  
40 from afar, it was customary for the sheriff of that shire, when warned  
of the king's approach, to go to meet him at the boundary of his  
sheriffdom with all the chosen knights of the shire. And this band of  
knights would bid farewell to the king as he left the sheriffdom, and  
then would return home. Meanwhile at the boundary of the [next]  
45 shire another band of knights would be ready and waiting for the  
king, to escort him likewise from one end of their district to the other  
at their own expense. So everywhere the king, attended by a stout  
troop, rejoiced in his people, and the people exulted in their king  
many times over.

50 Also the king did not easily allow any persons without possessions  
or skills to be idle; but it was enacted by statute that under threat of  
punishment every such person was to dig seven feet square every  
day, as he believed that idleness is the mother of foolishness and the  
[wicked] step-mother of the virtues. It plunges a strong man headlong

## 42

fo.222v

*Quomodo providit rex ne marchandie  
extra regnum periculis supponerentur*

De consilio regis diffinitum est attento quod marchandia regni defecit, et ex hoc regnum nimium depauperetur amissione videlicet navium pereuncium tam per piratas quam per rupturas ad scopulos, tempestates inopinatas et arrestaciones levi occasione apud diversas partes et portus intentatas,<sup>a</sup> quod marchandie ad tempus in regno remanerent. Quod et non sine difficultate factum est; propter quod passim nondum anno revoluto venerunt ad partes naves diversarum regionum onuste mercaturis multimodis commutatis pro rebus in regno constantibus. Et sic provisum fuit ut nulli de huiusmodi negociatione intromitterent,<sup>b</sup> burgensibus dumtaxat exceptis. Propter 10 quod infra paucos annos regnum<sup>c</sup> habundabat omnibus bonis<sup>d</sup> tam in victualibus quam pecuniis, bestiis et pecudibus, marchandiis et artibus,<sup>e</sup> ita ut multi ab oriente et occidente et a finibus terre venirent audire justiciam, videre policiam, considerare regni potenciam et regis sapienciam.<sup>f</sup> Qui cum de premissis experti fuissent et super 15 gloriam regni mirarentur, dicere sane poterant cum regina Saba dicente ad Salamonem: 'Verus est sermo quem audivimus in terra nostra, et non credibamus narrantibus nobis donec ipsi veniremus et vidimus oculis nostris, et probavimus quod media pars non fuerat nobis nunciata, quia majora opera vidimus quam rumor quem audi- 20 vimus. Sit Dominus tuus et Rex benedictus cui complacuisti et posuit te super tronum et constituit te regem ut faceres iudicium et justiciam.' In tantum vixit diebus eius justicia ubique in regno ut et ditissimi Lombardi in magna confluentia venirent et regi offerrent

<sup>a</sup> + statutum FF,P; statutam CA

<sup>b</sup> R,G; intromitteret C,D,CA

<sup>c</sup> + opulenciis CA

<sup>d</sup> omnibus bonis om.CA

<sup>e</sup> + ac honestatibus politicis CA

<sup>f</sup> + admirari CA

## 42

*How the king ensured that merchandise  
would not be jeopardised abroad*

55 into robbery, it destroys orderly government, it nurtures pride, it encourages conspiracy, and it paves the way to the loss of the kingdom. He also decreed that in the household of any prelate or magnate whatsoever there was to be a defined small number of mounts, because a large number of unnecessary horses destroyed the 60 [food and] sustenance of the poor.

The king's attention was drawn to the fact that the kingdom had a shortage of merchandise [on offer], and that for this reason the kingdom would be too greatly impoverished by the loss of ships, whether at the hands of pirates, or as a result of break-up on rocks, 5 or unexpected storms, or threats of unwarranted seizure in various parts and ports. Therefore it was decided that for the time being merchandise was to remain in the kingdom. This was done, though not without some difficulty. On account of this, before a year was out, there came to various parts of the country ships from various 10 regions laden with many sorts of goods which were exchanged for things confined to the kingdom. And it was laid down that no-one except burgesses alone might be involved in this sort of business. As a result of this, within a few years the kingdom was enjoying an abundance of all goods – food-stuffs as well as money, farm animals 15 and cattle, merchandise and manufactures [with political integrity] – so that many came from east and west and the ends of the earth to hear the justice, to view the orderly government, to size up the potential of the kingdom and [to admire] the wisdom of the king. And when they had experienced these things and wondered at the 20 glory of the kingdom, they could safely agree with the queen of Sheba when she said to Solomon: 'The report which I heard in my own country [about you] is true, but I did not believe what they told me until I came and saw for myself. And I have proved that not a half of [your wisdom] was told to me, for I have seen greater deeds than 25 I learned about from common talk. Blessed be your Lord and King, who has delighted in you, and who has set you on a throne and made you a king to maintain law and justice.'

Justice so flourished in his days everywhere in the kingdom that

ad edificandas per se in diversis locis ad hoc previsis, sicut in monte 25  
 Portus Regine vel apud insulam Levery prope<sup>g</sup> Crawmond regales  
 civitates infra certos annos, concessis sibi propterea specialibus qui-  
 busdam<sup>h</sup> privilegiis. Que quidem<sup>i</sup> quibusdam de statibus regni non  
 placuit et sic petita non sunt in effectu consecuti. Sed alias<sup>k</sup> sufficienter  
 fuisset Lumbardis satisfactum, nisi sors humana, mors inopinata, 30  
 casus fatalis regem nostrum sub pedibus suis subjecisset, et illius  
 mortis morsus tenuis solucionis anticipans extorsisset debitum ante  
 diem. | O vere infelix Scocia! cum tali et tanto caruisti duce et  
 auriga, et quod infelicius est nulla ab eo prole relictā ad succedendum  
 legitima. Eius ergo mors tibi extat jugis causa luctus et meroris, cuius 35  
 vita laudabilis tot et tanta tibi precipue contulit incrementa salutis.

g coram CA

h CA; quibusdem D,R; quibusd' C

i + petitiones CA

j + qualitercumque CA

## 43

*De complanctu mortis regis  
 et propheta Thome Rymour*

O Scocia, quam dulcia dum rex tuus viveret rememoranda sunt  
 preconia, sed et nunc:

Innumerabile, debile, labile stat<sup>a</sup> genus Eve.

Dic, mea tibia, tolle, tragedia, flebile Ve ve!

<sup>g</sup> Gens male libera tendit ad infima calle sinistro.

Nil nisi flebile, nil nisi debile sole sub isto.

5

Nam versa est in lamentum lira tua et organum in voce flencium  
 audita tui amantissimi regis morte subitanea, acerba pariter et invisa.  
 Sed et si cognovisses et tu quot mala undique circumplectere te  
 festinant, cor tuum futuri rumoris prescium vehementer expaves- 10  
 ceret, et eis que sequenda sunt plenius intellectis, dolor repentinus  
 taliter te invaderet adeo quod animi vigore deperdito oculi pre  
 lacrimis caligarent et lingua luctuosis occupata singultibus, quasi  
 officium locucionis non abs re amitteres. | Diceres equidem si ex  
 intimis precordiis saperes et intelligeres ac futuras calamitates pre- 15  
 videres: 'Utinam si non divine<sup>b</sup> repugnaret voluntati, me subitus

a dic CA,G; dat P

b diem CA,R

even some very rich Lombards arrived in great numbers and made  
 30 an offer to the king that within a certain number of years they  
 themselves would build cities for the king in various places provided  
 for this purpose, such as the hill at Queensferry or Cramond Island,  
 if they were granted certain special privileges on this account. But  
 this offer did not please certain people amongst the estates of the  
 35 realm, and so the requests were not put into effect. But the Lombards  
 would have been amply satisfied in another way, had not the destiny  
 that governs human life, unexpected death, fatal chance, trampled  
 our king under foot, and had not the subtle pain of that death by  
 taking payment in advance exacted its due ahead of time. How truly  
 40 unhappy you were, Scotland, when bereft of such a great leader and  
 pilot! And what is sadder, when he left no lawful offspring to succeed  
 him. Thus you have a perpetual reason for mourning and sorrow in  
 the death of one whose praiseworthy life conferred on you above all  
 so many and such great improvements in your well-being.

## 43

*Lament on the death of the king  
 and the prophecy of Thomas the Rhymer*

Scotland, how sweet it is to remember your glory while your king  
 was alive! But now:

The countless race of Eve is frail and fleeting.

Speak, my flute, raise, tragedy, a woeful lament.

5 The servile nation is making for the depths by the left-hand path.

All is woeful and frail beneath this sun.

For your lyre changed to playing a lament and your pipes became  
 the voice of the mourners, when you learnt of the sudden death of  
 your dearly beloved king, as bitter as it was unwelcome. But if you  
 10 too had recognised how many evils were hurrying to surround you  
 on all sides, your heart, foreseeing the news to come, would have  
 trembled violently from fear, and once you had more fully under-  
 stood what was to follow, grief would suddenly have overcome you  
 to such an extent that you would have been drained of strength of  
 15 mind, your eyes obscured by tears, and your tongue seized by mourn-  
 ful sobs as if you had appropriately lost your power of speech. Indeed  
 if in the depths of your heart you knew, understood and foresaw the  
 calamities that were to come, you would have said: 'If it was not

vorasset hiatus, antequam illa dies miserabilis, illa hora rabidissima, illa feria<sup>c</sup> pessima oculis meis illusisset! An non recordaris quid ille vates ruralis Thomas, videlicet de Ersildon', nocte precedenti mortem regis Alexandri in castro de Dunbar obscure prophetando de occasu eius dixerat comiti Marchiarum interroganti ab<sup>d</sup> eo ut solitus quasi jocando quid altra dies futura novi esset paritura? Qui Thomas attrahens de imo cordis singultuosum suspirium, sic fertur comiti coram aulicis plane protulisse: 'Heu diei crastine, diei calamitatis et miserie, quia ante horam explicite duodecimam audietur tam vehemens ventus in Scocia quod a magnis retroactis temporibus consimilis minime inveniebatur; cuius quidem flatus obstupescere faciet gentes, stupidos reddet audientes, excelsa humiliabit et rigida solo complanabit.' Propter cuius seria affamina comes cum aulicis crastinum observantes et horas diei usque nonam considerantes, et nullum vestigium in nubibus vel signis ventosis celi auspicantes, Thomam tamquam insensatum reputantes, ad prandium properarunt; ubi dum comite vix mensa collocato et signo horologii ad meridianam horam fere approximato, affuit quidam ad portam importunis pulsibus aures comitis concuciens aditum sibi ocius fieri flagitavit. Intromissus igitur advena et de novis impetitus: 'Nova', inquit, 'habeo, sed nociva toti regno Scocie deflenda, quia inclitus, heu! rex eius finem presentis vite hesternae nocte apud Kingorn sortitus est, et hec veni nunciare tibi.' Ad hanc narrationem quasi de gravi sompno excitatus comes una cum familiaribus<sup>e</sup> tutiderunt pectora, et dicti Thome experti sunt credibilia nimis facta fore vaticinia.

<sup>c</sup> fera C,D  
<sup>d</sup> interlin. above de del.C

<sup>e</sup> + pervisit del.C

## 44

G ii,132

*Qualiter vita humana transitoriis et caducis rebus comparatur  
 et nichil stabile sub celo reperitur*

Nec mirandum est quod ille vates Thomas mystice locutus est de methaforico vento cum et sacra scriptura comparat vitam humanam instabilibus rebus. Unde Job vii: 'Memento quoniam ventus est vita mea;' et idem xxx capitulo: 'Abstulisti quasi ventus desiderium meum et velut nubes pertransiit salus mea.' De qua nube et de aliis Sapientie

5

contrary to divine will, would that the abyss had suddenly swallowed me up, before my eyes had been mocked by the dawn of that wretched day, that most frenzied of hours, that worst of days!

Do you not remember what the country prophet Thomas de Earlston had said to the earl of March at Dunbar Castle when he obscurely prophesied concerning the king's end the night before the death of King Alexander? The earl had asked him, half-jesting as usual, what news the next day would bring. Thomas gave a sobbing sigh from the depths of his heart, and is said to have made this clear pronouncement to the earl in front of his retainers: 'Alas for tomorrow, a day of calamity and misery! because before the stroke of twelve a strong wind will be heard in Scotland the like of which has not been known since times long ago. Indeed its blast will dumbfound the nations and render senseless those who hear it; it will humble what is lofty and raze what is unbending to the ground.' Because of his grave words the earl and his retainers kept watch over the next day carefully observing the passing of the hours until noon. Seeing no clouds or signs of wind in the sky, they decided that Thomas was out of his mind and hurried off to dinner. The earl had scarcely sat down at the table and the hand of the clock was almost at midday when the earl's ears were smitten with the importunate knocking of someone who had arrived at the gate demanding to be admitted into his presence immediately. So the stranger was let in and asked for his news. 'News I have,' he said, 'but it is bad news which will reduce for the whole realm of Scotland to tears – because alas! its noble king met the end of his life on earth at Kinghorn last night. And this is what I have come to tell you.' At this news the earl and all his household, as if awakened from a deep sleep, beat their breasts. They discovered by experience that the prophecies of the said Thomas were to become all too credible.

## 44

*How human life is compared to transitory and fleeting things  
 and nothing lasting is found beneath the heavens*

It is not to be wondered at that the prophet Thomas spoke mysteriously of a metaphorical wind, since the Holy Scriptures too compare human life to things that do not last: thus in Job 7: 'Remember that my life is but a breath of wind'; and likewise in Chapter 30: 'You have taken away my desire like the wind, and my security has

ii° scriptum est: 'Et transiet vita nostra tamquam vestigium [nubis],  
et sicut nebula dissolvetur que fugata est a radiis solis.' Numquam  
vel raro comparat sacra scriptura vitam humanam alicui rei per-  
manenti vel stabili, sed semper rebus transitoriis et caducis. 10  
Aliquando enim comparatur vento, aliquando umbre, aliquando  
herbe vel flori, quandoque nubi vel rori, hospiti vel cursori. Omnia  
enim ista sunt transitoria et caduca. Isto modo loquitur Psalmista  
dicens: 'Mane sicut herba transeat; mane floreat et transeat; vespere  
decidat, induret et arescat.' Hic dividit vitam humanam in tria 15  
tempora, scilicet in puericiam, adolescenciam et senectutem. Tem-  
pore puericie comparatur homo herbe nondum florenti, ibi *mane  
sicut herba transeat*. In adolescencia herbe florenti, unde *mane floreat  
et transiat*, unde tunc de homine vulgariter dicitur quod est in floribus  
suis. Sed vespere, hoc est in senectute, *decidat* per infirmitatem,  
*induret* per mortem, et *arescat* per resolutionem in pulverem. Propter 20  
quod quidam,<sup>a</sup> considerans nullam subsistenciam sive solidam sub-  
stanciam in mundo diu permanere posse, carmen suum trenosum  
exorsus est in hunc modum:

<sup>b</sup>Res mundi variabiles diesque sic labiles  
considerans gemisco; 25  
mortis penas terribiles, planctus inevitabiles  
imaginans tremisco.

Quam vana mundi gaudia quibus succedunt tristia  
eternum permansura;  
quam vana quoque gloria cuius mors solvit premia 30  
| condicione dura.

Etati sive sexui mors non parcit alicui,  
personas non discernit;  
non ime parcit domui, non defert potentatui  
mors omnes eque sternit. 35

En senes cum puerulis, en dites cum pauperculis  
a seculo discedunt;  
en domini cum servulis, en femine cum masculis  
sub una lege cedunt.

Rex Alexander valuit quondam, nec tamen valuit  
extrema preterire; 40  
Cesar mundum edomuit<sup>c</sup> et tamen hunc oportuit  
finalia subire.

<sup>a</sup> + devotus CA

<sup>b</sup> initial R is three lines high and extends into  
the margin, as if to start another chapter  
C.

<sup>c</sup> D; edomut C

vanished like a cloud.' Regarding this cloud and other things it is  
written in Wisdom 2: 'Our life will pass away like the last vestige of  
a cloud and will be dispersed like a mist which is chased away by the  
rays of the sun.' Never or rarely does Holy Scripture compare human  
life to anything permanent or lasting, but always to transitory and  
fleeting things. For sometimes it is compared to a wind, sometimes  
to a shadow, sometimes to grass or a flower, and sometimes to a  
cloud or dew, or to a guest or a messenger. For these are all transitory  
and fleeting things. The Psalmist speaks thus, saying: 'In the morning  
man may grow like grass; in the morning he may flourish and grow;  
in the evening he may decline, parched and withered.' Here he divides  
human life up into three periods, namely childhood, youth and old  
age. In the period of childhood man is compared to grass which has  
not yet flowered, that is 'in the morning man may grow like grass'.  
In youth he is likened to flowering grass, thus 'in the morning he  
may flourish and grow', so then it is commonly said of a man that  
he is in the bloom of youth. But in the evening, that is in old age, he  
may 'decline' because of infirmity, become 'parched' by death and  
'withered' by dissolving into dust. On account of this a certain  
[devout] person, considering that no substance or solid material in  
the world could last long, composed his own dirge as follows:

When I consider how mutable worldly things are and how fleeting are  
our days,  
I start to sigh;  
when I imagine the terrible pangs of death, the unavoidable lamenta-  
tions,  
I start to tremble.

How vain are the joys of the world which are followed  
by everlasting woes;  
how vain also is glory, whose rewards death destroys  
with its harsh terms.

Death does not spare any age or either sex,  
it is no discernor of persons;  
it does not spare the humblest home, it does not defer to power,  
death lays all equally low.

Lo, old men and boys, rich and poor  
leave this world;  
lo, masters and servants, women and men  
succumb to one law.

King Alexander was powerful at one time, and yet did not have the  
power to escape death;  
Cesar conquered the world, yet he too had to  
succumb to mortality.

G ii, 133

Quid moror? Omnes abeunt; es aurum gemme periunt,<sup>d</sup>  
 cum quibus et obimus; 45  
 que dantur et que veniunt ut in momento periunt,<sup>d</sup>  
 nec minus insanimus.

Putret vestis purpurea, subtili cesa tineae  
 vel usu crebro lesa; 50  
 perit lorica ferrea, perit cassis calibea  
 rubigine peresa.

En menia Romelea<sup>e</sup> palacia marmorea  
 nonne iam corruiere?  
 Imago solis aurea, forma phebes argentea  
 ex toto periire. 55

Quod brevi duret spacio possessor et possessio  
 premissis declaratur;  
 quod autem desolacio frequencior sit gaudio  
 persequens addiscatur.

In sorde quivis gignitur, in fletu miser oritur 60  
 in turbine victurus;  
 laborat, languet, moritur, et vermibus conteritur  
 commissa luiturus.

Quero inter tot aspera que possunt esse prospera  
 vel gaudia secura; 65  
 Evam seduxit vipera, sub cuius sorte misera  
 sectamur nocitura.

Ergo circa mortalia cur ludimus? Ingenia  
 caduca deseramus,  
 et ad perpetua scincere<sup>f</sup> mentis studia 70  
 perfecte convertamus.

<sup>d</sup> corrected from pereunt C  
<sup>e</sup> corrected from Romulea C

<sup>f</sup> secure CA

50 Why do I delay? Everything passes away; money, gold, jewels perish,  
 and we die with them;  
 Those things that are given and those that come to us perish as in a  
 moment  
 and we are no less out of our minds.

55 The purple robe decays, ruined by the subtle grub  
 or damaged by frequent use;  
 the iron breast-plate perishes, and the iron helmet perishes,  
 eaten away by rust.

60 Lo, have not the city walls of the Romans, the marble palaces  
 already crumbled?  
 The golden image of the sun, the silver shape of the moon  
 have completely perished.

65 All this proclaims how short may be the span  
 of owner and possession;  
 and now what follows teaches us  
 that sadness is more common than joy.

70 Each of us is born in filth, each is born as a miserable creature amidst  
 weeping  
 to live in turmoil;  
 each toils, languishes, dies and is consumed by worms  
 to answer for his actions.

I ask you, what success or secure joys can there be  
 amidst such hardships.  
 The serpent seduced Eve, and we constantly follow  
 her miserable, harmful fate.

75 So why do we trifle with things doomed to perish?  
 Let us give up transitory desires,  
 and with sincere mind let us turn our complete attention  
 to the study of things eternal.



## Notes

### Chapter 1 pp.291-3

This chapter is introduced in MS C with an illustration (see above after p.288) of the ceremony at the inauguration of the young king Alexander III. Half a page has been left blank by the scribe and the drawing inserted afterwards, covering a small part of the text at one place. For its interpretation see the notes which follow here for cc.1-2

ll.6-40 are based on *Fordun* (293, annal 47), with insertions and omissions and a major change in the story at the end of this chapter; clearly Bower had available a different account of the inauguration of Alexander III which he regarded as superior to that followed by Fordun, and he works at his version by adding details in the margin of MS C and in MS CA; his source is now unknown, but since Bishop Bernham is given a central place in the story, it is likely to have been a record kept at St Andrews which Fordun had not seen; this divergence between the two writers (both of whom were writing when coronations were conducted differently following the papal bull of 1329 authorising the clerical ceremony of anointing [see above IX c.63, l.17]) was first pointed out by W.F.Skene in his article on the Coronation Stone in *PSAS*, viii (1869), 68-99 (and reprinted), and has been a central point of discussion since then; Fordun's version has tended to be favoured, on the unverified basis that Bower is supposed to have added anachronistic details unjustifiably; see especially M.D.Legge, 'The inauguration of Alexander III', *PSAS*, lxxx (1948), 73-82; and the general discussions in Duncan, *Kingdom*, 552-8; and R.J.Lyall, 'The medieval Scottish coronation service: some seventeenth-century evidence', *Innes Review*, xxviii (1977), 3-21; and J.Bannerman, 'The king's poet and the inauguration of Alexander III', *SHR*, lxxviii (1989), 120-49 [Dr Bannerman was kind enough to let us see this paper in advance of its publication].

*Pluscarden* (77, 80-81) deals with cc.1-2 here twice (with a copy of the Coronation Charter of Henry I of England in between), first briefly, then at developed length, adding material about the Coronation Stone and some reflections on the origins of the Scottish nation that are more elaborate than those in Bower; *Extracta* (100-1) has a simple summary of Bower cc.1-2, including the genealogy, which is given in a Gaelic rather than a Latin form as here.

1-6. ... *friends*: Ecclesiasticus 30:4-6.

8. *bishops, prelates*: Bower adds these clerics to the lay groups listed by Fordun.

*Scone*: the abbey near Perth which was sited at the traditional place for the inauguration of Pictish and then Scottish kings; cf. above IX, c.1.

10. *Bernham*: bishop of St Andrews 1240-53 (see above IX c.53, l.12).

*Geoffrey*: bishop of Dunkeld since 1236; he was to die on 22 Nov. 1249 (see above IX c.63, ll.61-68). Bower has cut short Fordun's praise of him, and omits also Fordun's mention of the abbot of Scone.

13. *dissension*: there was no mention of this in the brief near-contemporary entry in *Melrose* (108): '[Alexander] patrio more ... a magnatibus rex consitutus, in paterno solio collocatur, et ut legitimus heres ab omnibus honoratur.'

15-16. *unlucky day*: by an ancient superstition two days in each month were called Egyptian Days, when it was unlucky to engage in certain activities (*Ducange*, s.v. 'Dies Aegyptici' for rules on how to calculate when these days fell; cf. *DML*, s.v. 'Aegyptiacus', and *OED*, s.v. 'Egyptian Days'); see below 1.59.

17. *Durward ... kingdom*: see above IX c.61, l.66; in 1244 Durward had been styled 'justiciar of Scotia' (i.e. of just the part of the kingdom north of the Forth); now Fordun has 'totius Scocie justiciarius' and Bower has 'regni justiciarius' (text ll.15-16), which implies that his authority had at some date been extended over all Scotland (cf. Barrow, *Kingdom*, 128-9). Durward's action now was probably connected with a desire to be recognized as regent, which did not come about. When the young Henry III of England had succeeded to the throne in 1216, he had been knighted before his coronation (Powicke, *Henry III*, i, 3).

17-18. *who ... order*: a phrase added by Bower.

21-22. *Walter Comyn*: earl of Menteith by right of his wife 1233 x 1234-1258 (*SP*, vi, 127-9; *DNB*, xi, 463-4), at this time the leading figure in the Comyn family and party; Bower at ll.24-48 has considerably elaborated Fordun's account of Comyn's words and actions, presumably from his different source.

25-29. *learned ... knighthood*: it is not easy to find any cases in Comyn's lifetime, though he goes on to claim to have seen one; cf. Legge, art.cit. (77-78), for evidence that Louis IX (like Henry III) had been knighted as a minor before being crowned; in contemporary France at any rate there was a move to associate the two ceremonies into one *ordo* (P.E.Schramm, *A History of the English Coronation* [Oxford, 1937], 83).

30. *crowned*: here Bower introduces a verb ('coronari' [text ll.25-26]) not used by Fordun; there is no doubt that Alexander III wore a crown sometimes, and probably did so now at his inauguration, as in the drawing at the start of this chapter in MS C (cf. Duncan, *Kingdom*, 557); but the ceremony at the time was not normally called a 'coronation' – though there is a St Andrews record of the 1250s (*ES*, ii, 562; cf. *KKES*, 54, 277) which apparently states that Alexander had been 'crowned' by Bishop Bernham; coronation was a procedure under clerical supervision, which popes as recently as 1221 and 1233 had refused to authorize in Scotland (Robertson, *Concilia*, i, xlv-xlvi; cf. above IX c.37, ll.1-4 note); these refusals were the result of pressure from the English king in terms of his unwillingness to recognize the king of Scotland as equal to himself; clearly there had been no such ceremonial in 1214, even though the bishop of St Andrews had been

present then too (see above IX c.1); nor was there in 1249, for the Scots in 1251 were to be lobbying the pope again for his authority for their king to be 'anointed and/or crowned' (Stones, *Documents*, 29, no.9); from this evidence it is reasonable to interpret the word 'coronation' in 13c terms as normally implying an ecclesiastical ceremony with anointing; without this procedure (as here), there was no coronation, which is why Scottish historians prefer to favour the word 'inauguration' for what happened in 1249; but by the 15c the term 'coronation' was the familiar one, and Wyntoun (v, 108-9) uses it in his brief account of the ceremony in 1249, and now here Bower follows suit.

31. *crown and sceptre*: Comyn's reported argument is not clear, for these symbols surely signify kingly authority rather than knightly status; cf. Duncan, *Kingdom*, 556-7, where the sword also is discussed – it too was a symbol of authority rather than of knighthood (see below c.4, ll.34-36; cf. Legge, art.cit., 80-81, and Schramm, *Coronation*, 83); at English coronations it was usually carried for the king by some noble (ibid., 67-68), and the drawing in MS C (above after p.288) suggests that this was the practice in Scotland also; though this is only 15c evidence, it is in effect confirmed by the evidence of the design of the late medieval seal used by Scone Abbey (W. de Gray Birch, *History of Scottish Seals*, ii [Strling, 1907], 255, no.122), which shows a seated crowned king holding only a sceptre (cf. Duncan, *Kingdom*, 555-6); cf. the suggestion in Bannerman, 'King's poet' (132-3) on the strength of Scoto-Irish parallels that the ceremony in 1249 probably ended with the earl of Fife presenting the sword to the enthroned king.

32-33. *the son ... kingdom*: this apparent reference to the *Decretum* of Gratian has not been traced.

34. *illustration*: this Bower adopts from Fordun.

42. *... prepared*: Bower makes more specific an allusion to Lucan, *The Civil War*, i, l.281 (Loeb edn, 22, adapted), which Fordun had put into the mouth of Comyn.

44. *... to-morrow*: Ovid, *The Remedies of Love*, 1.94 (Loeb edn, 184); this quotation is added by Bower; cf. above IX c.52, l.13.

45-59. *He wisely ... bishop*: this passage replaces a sentence in Fordun which states simply that everyone accepted Comyn's advice and agreed to proceed with the inauguration. Here the bishop of St Andrews is portrayed as an acceptable figure who helped the Comyn leader to frustrate the ambitions of Durward – and he probably suffered Durward hostility as a result (cf. Watt, *Graduates*, 42).

45-48. *He wisely ... parricides*: Bower's picture here of Comyn as a conciliatory influence is not convincing; cf. Young, art.cit. in Stringer, *Essays*, 133-5, where Comyn is seen as 'the dominant political figure' at this time.

47. *convert ... beam*: cf. Matthew 7:3-5 and Luke 6:41-42 for motes and beams.

48. *parricides*: perhaps in the sense of those who act treasonably against their country (*OED*).

50. *who filled the office of king*: a reference to the traditional right of the bishop of St Andrews to perform a central function in some undefined way at royal inaugurations, as presumably exercised in 1165 and 1214 (see above VIII c.12 and IX c.1); the nature of this function in 1249 is described below at ll.56-59. By introducing in MS CA a definition of 'officium' (text l.42) as pertaining to anointing, Bower introduced an anachronism which could not have been in his source.

51. *Rufus*: this parallel with events in England in 1087 is supplied by Bower in a marginal addition in MS C, to strengthen the case for the suitability of Bernham's actions in 1249; it is based on a misunderstanding of a passage in *Malmesbury* (ii, 360) – which Bower had already inserted above VII c.31 – where the chronicler's report that Archbishop Lanfranc had both brought up Rufus and made him a knight is juxtaposed to a statement about the coronation of Rufus in 1087; it has been accepted that Lanfranc may well have been responsible for the knighting of this young prince (not least because King William I is not reported to have performed this ceremony, as he probably did for his two other sons); but the likely date of this knighting is some ten years before 1087, when Rufus was aged about seventeen (F.Barlow, *William Rufus* [London, 1983], 22, 28, 57). The cross-reference at l.54 to c.4, ll.29-37 below shows that Bower was aware that this kind of knighting had ecclesiastical rather than military or social significance to the extent that another ceremony of knighting was to be conducted in 1251 by King Henry III, again at a time of predominant Comyn influence.

54-59. *For ... bishop*: this sentence probably summarizes correctly from Bower's source the part of the inauguration procedure in 1249 which Fordun at the start of c.2 below calls 'consecration' and describes as coming after the enthronement rather than before it as here. If this procedure was in fact uncontroversial, then Bower is not contradicting the main thrust of the Fordun story that on Comyn's advice they proceeded at once with the inauguration ceremonies. There is no hint, however, on whether the ceremonies described here took place inside the abbey church or in the open; at the next similar ceremony for King John in 1292 this part of the proceedings is clearly reported to have taken place inside the church (*Chron.Guisborough*, 239).

55. *girded ... knighthood*: the analysis of the implications of this procedure made in 1251 (see below c.4, ll.32-35) probably had not been thought out at the time in 1249.

56-57. *and set ... French*: a reference to the inauguration oath. Bower knew about one version at least of this traditional ceremony in detail (see above IV c.6, ll.22-30); it is quite likely that both Latin and French were used at this date as they were at coronations in England (cf. Legge, art.cit., 81-82); this would not have been the practice in Bower's own time (when Scots would have been used rather than French), and so this detail is important confirmation that he was following a record from the period.

59. *blessing and ordination*: these seem to be the technical words for the church's part in a Scottish inauguration before coronation with anointing was permitted. It has been argued (Duncan, *Kingdom*, 558) that the ceremonies in 1249 'were still essentially secular'; but oath-taking at least was

certainly a matter of clerical concern, and normally under ecclesiastical jurisdiction by this date. Besides, it has been argued that a leading church man had 'ordained' Scottish kings ever since 574 when St Columba 'ordained' King Aedan (see above III c.27) – whether in succession an abbot of Iona, a bishop of Dunkeld, or a bishop of St Andrews (Bannerman, 'King's poet', 127-31). Bower's source here adds significantly to the brief report included in *Fordun*. The papal bull of 1329 (see above IX c.63, l.17) summarized the position by stating that that kings of Scotland had hitherto been accustomed 'ab episcopis Sancti Andree ... ab antiquis retroactis temporibus insignia recipere regie dignitatis' (Theiner, *Monumenta*, 244, no.480).

*bishop*: at the end of this chapter MS CA continues as follows:

non obstante Egipciaca die, que numquam est observanda in actis dependentibus in arbitrio hominis, quia sic esset idolatria. Secus si observetur in actis dependentibus a naturalibus et influentiis celestibus, et in seminibus jaciendis, pocionibus recipiendis, arboribus cedendis, vel in fleobotomis exercendis, huiusmodi non est supersticionis sed sagacitatis et providencie.

a ut P

See above ll.15-16; Bower takes the chance of Fordun's mention of Egyptian Days to offer guidance on when it is suitable to take note of days when some activities should be avoided.

## Chapter 2 pp.293-7

ll.3-42 are similar to *Fordun* (294, annal 48), but appear to have been altered to include details from a different account of the ceremonies at Scone (cf. above c.1); then at ll.43-54 Bower adds his own reflections.

1-3. *... coronation*: Fordun mentions the enthronement right away, and states that the bishop of St Andrews consecrated the king only after he was on the throne; Bower's account follows a different and more likely order, though he here describes as a 'coronation' what he had previously called a 'blessing and ordination' (see above c.1); he is again using anachronistic language (see above c.1, l.30); the *Guisborough* chronicler was to describe the ceremonial enthronement of King John in 1292 as a substitute coronation ('loco quasi coronacionis' [*Chron.Guisborough*, 239]), which demonstrates with a more careful choice of words the pre-1329 situation.

3. *bishops with the earls*: Bower chooses not to include the names of three specific earls whom Fordun's sources had mentioned as present – Walter Comyn earl of Menteith (as above c.1, ll.21-22), Malcolm earl of Fife (see above IX c.47, ll.26-28), and Malise earl of Strathearn (*SP*, viii, 245-7; see below c.29, ll.10-12). It is the latter two earls who appear to be portrayed in the drawing in MS C (above after p.288), and who are certainly included in the coronation scene on the Scone Abbey seal (see above c.1, l.31); for

their functions see Bannerman, 'King's poet', 125-6. Bower had similarly dropped Fordun's mention of the earl of Fife at the royal inauguration of 1214 (see above IX c.1, 1.9); this approach is apparently deliberate, and should be judged in the light of the emphasis which was to be laid in 1292 and 1306 on the custom of the realm of Scotland whereby the earl of Fife had a hereditary duty 'in nova creatione regis Scotie de ponendo ipsum in regiam sedem suam apud Scone' (*Rotuli Scotiae* [London, 1814-19], i, 12; *Chron.Guisborough*, 239).

4. *cross*: this no longer exists; it is here said by both Fordun and Bower to have stood in the cemetery to the east of the abbey church; though the drawing in MS C shows it on the top of a mound (which would be an improbable cemetery), it is not likely that this was the mound which still exists to the north of the probable site of the abbey church called the Moot Hill, on which presumably Pictish and Scottish kings had been inaugurated for centuries before the abbey church was founded in the early 12c (cf. Bannerman, 'King's poet', 130); but perhaps we should just note a certain lack of harmony between Bower's text (copied from *Fordun*) and the drawing in MS C on this point.

7. *royal seat of stone*: Fordun has 'scilicet lapidem' for 'lapideam' (text 1.6); it is usually supposed that this refers to the Coronation Stone or Stone of Destiny removed by Edward I in 1296 and incorporated since then in the Coronation Chair in Westminster Abbey (cf. W.F.Skene and J.Stuart in *PSAS*, viii [1869], 68-105; M.D.Legge, 'La Piere d'Escoce', *SHR*, xxxviii [1959], 109-13; Barrow, *Bruce*, 73); but there are difficulties in this supposition, for the stone taken to England was apparently found by Edward's men in 1296 in Edinburgh Castle, not at Scone (*CDS*, iv, p.487), and the seat used at inaugurations was described by a contemporary as a 'round chair' (*Chron.Guisborough*, 239); cf. Duncan, *Kingdom*, 555 for an open verdict.

7-9. *with ... purple*: this description comes from Bower's source and is not in *Fordun*; it has been thought accurate when compared with the evidence of the designs of the official seals which were cast for the young king within the next eighteen months, and also with a seal of Scone Abbey (*ibid.*, 555-8);

9-10. *and at his feet ... sermon*: Fordun has a quite different statement here - the earls and other nobles at the king's feet 'sua vestimenta coram lapide curvatis genibus sternebant', which suggests some kind of fealty ceremony or 'honouring' (as in *Melrose* - see above c.1, 1.13). Fordun then has a passage on the historic background of enthronement on the Stone of Destiny, which Bower omits.

10-13. *venerable ... robe*: Bower includes more details about this man than are found in *Fordun*; both agree that he was a 'montanus' (text 1.10), which may mean simply that he was a Gaelic speaker (Bannerman, 'King's poet', 122); it has been noted that in the drawing in MS C (above after p.288) he is given a sword, which indicates that in the 15c he was thought to have been a man of rank; probably he was the king's hereditary master-poet, whose task at inauguration ceremonies was to recall and recite information about the new king's actual and mythical pedigree, and as such his family

and office had age-old parallels in Irish and Scottish society (*ibid.*, 120-4. 141-2; some of the arguments from analogy in this article go unconvincingly beyond the evidence).

15. *God bless the king of Albany*: see *ibid.* (121) for alternative translations of these opening words; the language here is early Gaelic; the names are in Gaelic form with 'mac' for 'son of'. 'Alba' was the Gaelic word for the kingdom of the Scots and Picts after its unification under Kenneth son of Alpin in the mid-9c; this came to be Latinised as 'Albania', which is the term used here by Fordun and then by Bower (see above III and IV ad indices, and below c.17, 1.70), and familiar to the latter as the basis of the title of the early 15c dukedom of Albany (see below XV c.4).

17. *kept on to the end*: Fordun has 'in finem legebat' here; Bower's change of verb and illustration suggest an oral recital; but see 'perlegit' below (text 1.34), which also suggests reading.

18-33. ... *Albany*: in the translation here the names of the kings back to Eochaid Munremor are given in the forms used in Books III and IV above; the 'prehistoric' names before then (cf. *KKES*, 293) have not been altered from the forms in the Latin text. Dr M.O.Anderson considers that Fordun is likely to have copied this particular genealogy from (or from the same source as used by) Radulf de Diceto, *Ymagines Historiarum* (*Opera Historica* [RS, 68], ii, 35; cf. *KKES*, 214, 238), where the context is Irish rather than Scots; for a similar genealogy with variant name-forms see *KKES*, 256-7.

20. *Kenneth*: Bower here omits four names given in *Fordun* which are necessary in the genealogy; this error occurs at a place where it is said by Skene (*Fordun*, i, 294, n.12) that in one of the MSS of Fordun (MS FC) the same four names were then repeated; here Skene has blindly followed an error in Hearne (iii, 759) derived from a mis-transcription from MS FC, where in fact there is no repetition; neither does such repetition occur in any of the other Fordun MSS; Bower's erroneous omission of the four names in MS C is followed also in MSS D,CA,P,R,B,H,E., and also in *Extracta*.

22. *Eochaid*: son of Domangart, son of Domnall Brecc (see above IV c.9, 11.29-30; and see *KKES*, 256); Fordun also has this omission, which is found in the Diceto version as well.

40. *Neolus*: the genealogy in the Diceto version now goes back to Noah; the version in *KKES* then goes back to Adam.

43-54. ... *nation*: Bower adds this passage on the virtues of ancient Greece which had supposedly been inherited by the Scots through Gaythelos (cf. above I c.20); no specific source can be suggested.

### Chapter 3 pp.297-9

Bower starts with 11.1-7 taken from *Fordun* (295, first part of annal 49), but corrects Fordun's error over the regnal year; then he continues at 11.7-41 with a much fuller description of the ceremony at Dunfermline Abbey FIF

(which was close to Inchcolm), presumably drawn from a Dunfermline source; ll.42-45 are based on Dunkeld tradition as it would have been known at Inchcolm, and ll.49-51 are drawn from monastic archives (see above IX c.62, introduction); ll.46-48 cannot be traced back before Bower. *Pluscarden* (82-83), with its Dunfermline connection (*ibid.*, xvi), has a full account based on ll.1-41 with some variants; *Extracta* (101) is brief with the wrong date 1252. *Wyntoun* (v, 108-11) has additional information (probably available in St Andrews) not included by Bower.

2. *bishops ... magnates*: seven bishops and seven earls were present (*Dunfermline Registrum*, 235, no.348); Bishop Bernham of St Andrews presided, after having been active in the process for the canonization of Queen Margaret along with the bishops of Glasgow, Dunkeld and Dunblane in terms of papal mandates dated 27 July 1245 and 13 Aug. 1246 (Watt, *Graduates*, 42).

4. *glorious Queen Margaret*: queen of Scots ca 1069-93 (see above V cc. 16-26), had been recognized by the pope as a saint on or before 21 Sept. 1249 (*ODS*, 283-4; cf. *Dunfermline Registrum*, 185-6, no.291).

12. *outer church*: i.e. the nave.

*beyond the high altar*: the shrine was taken to a chapel at the east end of the choir, now outside the present parish church (*RCAHM [FIF]*, 107, 110).

41. *queen*: at the Reformation the relics of Margaret and Malcolm were translated again to a chapel in the royal palace at Escorial near Madrid, Spain (*ODS*, 284).

42. *Inverkeithing*: elected bishop of Dunkeld before 3 Dec. 1250; apparently not consecrated until 3 Aug. x 20 Oct. 1251; died 1272 (Watt, *Graduates*, 280-2; see below c.30, l.27).

46-48. ... *edge*: see I.H.Stewart, *The Scottish Coinage with Supplement* (London, 1967), 16-24, c.3, 'The development of the penny', and plate II; and more generally N.J.Mayhew, 'Money in Scotland in the thirteenth century', in *Coinage in Medieval Scotland* (1100-1600), ed. D.M.Metcalf (British Archaeological Reports, 45, 1977), 85-102.

49. *appeal*: the pope responded to this appeal on 20 Apr. 1250 (see above IX c.62, ll.36-44).

#### Chapter 4 pp.299-303

Most of this chapter is taken from *Fordun* (295-6, rest of annal 49 and most of annal 50), with insertions by Bower; ll.56-64 appear to come from a Dunfermline or Inchcolm source. *Pluscarden* (83-84) has a full account of the proceedings at York based on this chapter, but considerably re-written and extended; *Extracta* (101-2) summarizes the whole chapter. See also *Wyntoun*, v, 112-15, which has some additional information as noted below.

1. *the magnates*: the country was being run during the childhood of the king by an informally constituted 'concilium' or 'curia' of magnates, with

Alan Durward still in office as justiciar (probably for the whole country – see above c.1, l.17); see Watt, 'Minority', 7-8.

5. *clergy*: the leading clergy (perhaps at the time of the translation of St Margaret in June 1250 [see above c.3]) were complaining to the government of lack of observance of the liberties of the church in Scotland (Robertson, *Concilia*, ii, 241-2), and by 31 May 1251 were receiving papal backing against 'ministri regni et locorum domini' who were acting 'in derogationem ecclesiastice potestatis in partibus illis' (*ibid.*, 242-6, especially 243); apparently the magnate council was not strong enough to maintain order.

6. *treaty*: the agreement made at Newcastle in Aug. 1244, when the royal marriage was agreed in principle (cf. above IX c.61, l.39).

11. *sent his own envoys*: presumably 18 Oct. 1251, when a safe-conduct was issued for Alexander and his party to come to York (*CDS*, i, 337, no.1812).

24. *adviser and neighbour*: Matthew Paris suggests that the young Alexander looked on Henry as his adoptive father (*SAEC*, 368); cf. *Wyntoun* (v, 82-83) for Alexander and Henry as two 'kings of peace'.

27-28. *who ... death*: added by Bower to *Fordun*: see above VIII c.55 for the friendship of Richard and William likened to that of David and Jonathan in the Old Testament.

30. *nine*: Alexander was in fact then ten years old; Bower does not correct Fordun's error.

32-37. *For ... evildoers*: Bower adds this explanation to *Fordun*, referring to c.1, ll.49-54 above; apparently there had been further discussion on the implications of the kind of knighthood which Bishop Bernham had conferred in 1249. Bower is here offering a commentary on the source which he had chosen to follow in preference to *Fordun* in c.1 above.

39. *Margaret*: born 29 Sept. 1240, and so now aged 11; lived until 26 Feb. 1275 (see below c.35, l.10; *HBC*, 38; *DNB*, xxxvi, 134-6).

40. *Accusations of treason*: those accused included Alan Durward, as is explained in *Melrose* (109-10), the source behind the story in *Fordun* which Bower copies here with only minor changes of wording; Durward was said to have approached the pope for the legitimization of his daughter by his wife Margery, an illegitimate older sister of the young king, so that they might be regarded as Alexander's heirs presumptive; but see below ll.48-51.

41. *Menteith*: see above c.1, ll.21-22.

42. *Mar*: held earldom 1242 x 44-1276 x 81, married to a sister of Alexander Comyn earl of Buchan, and soon to be challenged in his right to his earldom by Durward (*SP*, v, 574-7; *DNB*, xxxvi, 118); see above IX c.60, l.21.  
*some*: see below l.51.

43-47. *But ... kind*: a near-contemporary source suggests that the chancellor (see below) and justiciar (Durward) were accused and deprived at York (*ES*, ii, 562); *Wyntoun* (v, 114-15) adds the chamberlain to this list, i.e. Robert de Meyners (*HBC*, 185); and there do appear to have been other resignations of officers of the Scottish crown at York at that time (*CDS*, i, 346, no.1848);



Henry's influence was clearly dominant, but it seems likely that the young king was brought back to Scotland (presumably now under Comyn guidance) before the new appointments were made (cf. Duncan, *Kingdom*, 560-1; Watt, 'Minority', 9-10); *Pluscarden* (84-85) is anachronistic in stating that the changes of royal officials were agreed at a meeting of a council general of the three estates once the king had returned home (see below c.5, 1.1).

47. *Dunfermline*: Robert de Keldeth had been abbot since 1240, and had been a central figure behind and at the translation of St Margaret in June 1250 (see above IX c.56, 1.8; X c.3); is not known to have become chancellor before the death of Alexander II (cf. *HBC*, 181); it has been suggested that as chancellor he acted as agent of the Durward government at the papal court from autumn 1250 (Duncan, *Kingdom*, 559, 561).

49. *great seal*: see discussion of the young king's seals (ibid., 556); the great seal would have by implication been intended to authenticate acts that were permanently binding; hence the suspicion about its possible use and the desire of Durward's opponents to have its matrix destroyed.

*king's illegitimate sister*: presumably the Margery who is found as wife of Alan Durward by 4 July 1251 (*Lindores Chartulary*, 85, no.80; cf. *SP*, i, 6).

52. *gave up*: presumably 'was made to give up' is meant.

*king's magnates*: *Fordun* has 'regi et suis magnatibus'.

53. *smaller seal*: i.e. the seal used 1250-60 to authenticate acts issued during the royal minority, presumably to indicate that they could be challenged when the king came of age (Duncan, *Kingdom*, 556).

54. *Gamelin*: see Watt, *Graduates*, 209-14 and *The Scottish Genealogist*, xxv (1978), 105-7; he probably took charge of the seal early in 1252 (see next note), but is only doubtfully styled chancellor in the surviving evidence (see below c.8, 11.42-48).

54-55. *third year*: elected bishop of St Andrews on 24 Feb. 1255 (see above VI c.43), and so if *Fordun* is right here with 'third year', he must have taken over the royal seal after 24 Feb. 1252.

56. 1252: in a *Dunfermline*-related source this date might rather be 1252/3; but he had resigned as abbot long enough before 13 Feb. 1252/3 for it to be known at the papal court in Italy (*CPL*, i, 283), and so 1251/2 is probably the correct date here.

62-63. *Newbattle MLO*: *Dunfermline* was a Benedictine house; Keldeth was to end his life as abbot of Melrose O.Cist. 1269-73 (*Melrose*, 144; see below c.33, 1.37).

63. *John*: abbot until 1256 (see below c.10, 1.5).

## Chapter 5 pp.303-5

11.1-9 come from *Fordun* (296-7, continuation of annal 50); the rest is Bower's composition. *Pluscarden* (84-86) describes the change of counsellors diff-

erently, and continues with quite different reflections on the need for good counsellors; nothing in *Extracta*.

2-3. *Walter ... Mar*: for Menteith and Mar see above c.4, 11.41-42); for Buchan see above IX c.60, 1.2.

3. *Robert de Ros*: his mother was Isabella, a natural daughter of King William I (*SP*, i, 5); Robert (a first cousin of the young king) had succeeded his father as lord of Wark-on-Tweed NTB in 1226, and lived until 1270 (W.P.Hadley, *Northumberland Families*, i [Newcastle, 1968], 228; cf. *DNB*, xlix, 218-19); as an experienced Anglo-Scottish magnate he had now been appointed by Henry III as one of the guardians of the young king and queen (Watt, 'Minority', 10).

7-8. *pillage ... teinds*: added by Bower to *Fordun*'s list of miseries.

8. *violations of churches*: see above c.4, 1.5 note.

9. ... *boy*: cf. Ecclesiastes 10:16; see Walther, *Proverbia*, no. 32,852c.

18-22. *For Cicero ... others*: summarized from M.Tullius Cicero, *De Senectute*, vi, c.17 (Loeb edn, 26).

22-31. *And Avicenna ... wisdom*: not traced; for Avicenna, the Arabian philosopher (980-1037), see *NCE*, i, 1131-2; *DHGE*, v, cols. 1107-19.

32-44. ... *them*: it is not clear whether all this paragraph is attributed to Plutarch. See *Plutarch's Lives*, s.v. 'Romulus', c.13 (Loeb edn, i, 123-5) for a rather different discussion of the supposed setting up of 100 (not 30) 'fathers' from among the people as 'patricians' to form a 'Senate' by Romulus, the mythical founder of Rome; cf. *OCD*, 973.

43. *the Greeks*: it is not clear why they are mentioned in this discussion of the Senators of Rome.

56-57. ... *Lord*: Acts 13:10.

58-61. ... *cruelty*: see Esther 3-7. Haman as counsellor of King Ahasuerus of Persia to satisfy his own vanity persuaded the king to order a massacre of Jews throughout the Persian Empire.

62-64. *for ... confinement*: Dr R.B.Salters advises that the etymology here is not accurate by the standards of modern scholarship. 'Haman' may perhaps be taken from a root meaning 'to be turbulent'; more certainly the name came to be used in Judaism as a synonym for an evil person.

## Chapter 6 pp.307-9

The long quotation in this chapter is taken directly from the *Liber Celestis Imperatoris ad reges revelatus divinitus* of St Bridget of Sweden (*Memoriale ... B.Brigidae*, c.2 A-F). In addition to minor omissions Bower has dropped the second of the ten precepts (in which the king of Sweden was adjured to provide funds for the building of Bridget's own monastery - founded at



Vadstena in central Sweden in 1346) and renumbered precepts 3-8 as 2-7 in consequence. *Pluscarden* (86-88) offers a quite different set of twelve characteristics of good counsellors; nothing in *Extracta*.

3. *Lady Bridget*: St Bridget of Sweden ca 1303-73 (*ODCC*, 200; *ODS*, 61-62).

3-4. *king of Sweden*: King Magnus II Ericsson (1319-74) was the Swedish king to whom Bridget offered this advice.

10. *and any king*: added by Bower to Bridget's text as printed.

17. *and clergy*: added by Bower.

20. *Copenhagen*: the more usual Latin names for this city are Hafnia and Havn; this incident has not been identified.

22-23. *Hours of the Blessed Virgin*: this devotional book, much used by the pious laity in the later Middle Ages, included the Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary, some psalms, hymns, prayers and readings, all arranged according to the canonical hours of the Divine Office (*NCE*, xi, 680-2).

28-29. *vigils ... mother*: the days preceding major saint's days and the festivals of the Virgin Mary.

54. *When*: the printed Bridget text has 'si' here for 'sic' (text 1.44).

## Chapter 7

pp.309-13

Bower here continues his quotations from St Bridget; ll.1-18 come from the *Liber Celestis* (*Memoriale ... B.Brigidae*, c.2 F-H), ll.1-4 being the end of the seventh precept in c.6 above; the tenth precept here (ll.19-35) comes (after an omission) from c.3 A-B; ll.39-70 come from c.4 C-F. *Pluscarden* (88-90) copies ll.26-31 from here, and then offers ten pieces of advice for kings which are modelled on the Bridget series, but are largely different; nothing in *Extracta*.

2. *providing that*: the printed Bridget text has 'sic' here for 'si' (text 1.2).

19. *tenth precept*: it is Bower who numbers the following extract from Bridget in this way so as to make up his series of ten precepts.

27. *Nativity*: 25 Dec.

*Epiphany*: 6 Jan.; the next three feasts are movable ones.

28-29. *Assumption ... Mary*: 15 Aug.

29. *Exaltation ... Cross*: 14 Sept.

*All Saints*: 1 Nov.

## Chapter 8

pp.313-15

ll.1-34 continue the quotation from St Bridget (*Memoriale ... B.Brigidae*, c.4 F-A); ll.35-49 and 60-65 offer a different account of the disputed episcopal

election at St Andrews in 1253 from that given above VI c.43, but it is still based on a source hostile to the Comyn government; the source of Bower's knowledge of Robert Grosseteste (ll.50-59) is unknown, though his death and the marriage of Edward (ll.66-68) are mentioned in *Melrose* (111); there are several errors of chronology in this chapter. *Pluscarden* (90-92) has yet another individual chapter on the characteristics of a good king, and takes nothing from the rest of this chapter; *Extracta* (102) summarizes the passages about the St Andrews election and Grosseteste.

4. *David*: King David of the Old Testament.

5. *prophet*: see 3 Kings 13:11-32 (*Vulgate*); 1 Kings 13:11-32 (*NEB*).

17. *and toadies*: added by Bower to the printed Bridget text.

37. *St Andrews*: David de Bernham in fact died at Nenthorn BWK on 26 Apr. 1253, and was buried in nearby Kelso Abbey ROX (see above VI c.42); *Wyntoun* (v, 118-19) also gives the 1252 date; but see *Melrose* (110) for 1253.

38-49. *As his ... respect*: cf. this account of the disputed election with that given above VI c.43.

38-39. *having summoned ... St Andrews*: the exact degree of involvement of the archdeacon with the Augustinian canons of the cathedral in electing the new bishop became a matter of controversy at the Roman court, where Abel was successful in having the proceedings quashed (Theiner, *Monumenta*, 59-60, no.162); Bower is reporting a tradition that he had been 'summoned'; but *Lanercost* (58) is probably correct in stating that he was not in fact present at the election, which was carried through 'per viam compromissi' (i.e. by a small committee acting on behalf of the whole chapter [see next note]). Abel de Golin, archdeacon of St Andrews since sometime June 1248 x May 1250, was a royal clerk of long standing, who was favoured by the current Comyn-dominated government (see Watt, *Graduates*, 225-7).

39-40. *chose ... Dunkeld*: Robert de Stuteville was elected on 28 June 1253 by a committee of the chapter (see above VI c.43); he had become dean of Dunkeld Apr. 1245 x July 1250, and had recently been associated with the affairs of St Andrews cathedral priory in a way which made him unwelcome to the Comyn government, which now refused to accept him as bishop (ibid.; cf. Watt, *Graduates*, 527-8).

41. *Abel appealed*: this was partly in defence of his interpretation of the kind of share which the archdeacon of St Andrews should have in episcopal elections (cf. Barrow, *Kingdom*, 227-8), and partly as an envoy of the Comyn government, who had failed to get their nominee elected (see below) and wished to have the election quashed (cf. *Melrose*, 110; *Lanercost*, 58).

42-49. *The king ... respect*: since Alexander was still a boy, it is a question here of the actions of the Comyn government, of which Gamelin (who probably had Comyn family connections - see above c.4, 1.54) was a part; for Gamelin's ultimate election see below ll.64-65.

50-59. *... err*: Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln 1235-53, died on an undetermined day early in October 1253 (Emden, *BRUO*, ii, 830-3; cf. Le Neve, *Fasti 1066-1300*, iii, *Lincoln*, 3-4). Bower offers a sympathetic com-

ment on his rightful resistance to papal authority. He had certainly been suspended by papal authority in 1251, but is unlikely to have been excommunicated (cf. R.W.Southern, *Robert Grosseteste* (Oxford, 1986), 290, n.32).

53. *Innocent IV*: pope 1243-54.

55. *judgment was being given*: meaning is not clear; cf. Higden, *Polychronicon*, viii, 242 for statement that Grosseteste appealed from the pope 'ad tribunal Christi'.

57-58. ... *earth*: Matthew 16:19, the Petrine text on which the unique claims of the papacy have been based.

59. *the key*: a reference to the first part of the same verse in Matthew: 'I will give you [i.e. Peter] the keys of the kingdom of Heaven.'

60-64. ... *next year*: the election of Stuteville was quashed by the pope on 20 Feb. 1254, and Abel (rather than Gamelin) was appointed to the see of St Andrews instead (Theiner, *Monumenta*, 59-61, no.162; cf. no.164): he was consecrated by the pope himself on 1 Mar. 1254 (*Lanercost*, 58); *Melrose* (111) reported that this was not in fact welcome to the Comyn government, though accepted by them later; *Wyntoun* (v, 118-19) reports the tradition that Abel had 'purchased' his elevation from the pope, and Bower elsewhere (VI c.43) records what was probably the chapter's view that he had won the appointment dishonestly; Bower gives his date of death as 1 Dec. 1254 (*ibid.*), but perhaps the earlier date 31 Aug. 1254 found in *Lanercost* (60) is to be preferred (see Watt, *Graduates*, 227).

64. *Gamelin*: elected 14 Feb. 1255 (see above VI c.43); cf. above II.47-49; it is uncertain whether he was ever formally appointed chancellor, though he may well have performed the duties of this office since early 1252 (cf. Watt, 'Minority', 11). The point would have been that the Comyn government did not want any repeat of the behaviour of Robert de Keldeth during the previous Durward administration (see above c.4, II.47-53).

66-68. ... *Castile*: Prince Edward married Eleanor of Castile 13 x 31 Oct. 1254 (*HBC*, 38).

## Chapter 9 pp.315-19

Bower includes here all of annal 51 in *Fordun* (297), but broken into four sections and re-arranged (II.1-8, 31-34, 41-46, 35-40); he offers also two additional accounts of events in 1255 which he has found in different books—II.8-12 follow a source similar to some English chronicles (*SAEC*, 371-2), and II.13-31 appear to summarize the long account in *Melrose* (111-13), though without the pro-Comyn sentiment of that chronicle; but in neither case have textual parallels been noted; the addition about Richard of Cornwall in the margin of MS C at II.47-48 may have been taken from the same source which *Lanercost* (61) followed, for both accounts have the wrong date; II.49-56 may have come from a St Andrews source (as above VI c.43), but not from *Melrose* (113), which is more sympathetic to Bishop

Gamelin. *Pluscarden* (92-93) concentrates on the version of events at II.13-31 here, but with minor alterations indicating an attitude more sympathetic to the Comyn faction than that of Fordun or Bower; *Extracta* (102) omits all mention of the political events of 1255, and includes only the wrongly-dated entry on Richard of Cornwall. *Wyntoun* (v, 114-17) follows the lines of II.13-31 here, but again is more pro-Comyn in sympathies, and is anachronistic in stating that the three estates were unhappy about the events of 1255.

1. *justice slept*: Bower retains here Fordun's critical comment on the Comyn government.

4. *Wark NTB*: on the south bank of the river Tweed, not far from Roxburgh in Scotland.

*answering their request*: Queen Margaret had been complaining to her father about her treatment by the guardians he had appointed in 1252 to look after the young royal couple (see above c.5, I.3); but otherwise Henry's visit was master-minded by Alan Durward in England and his allies in Scotland who opposed the Comyn government set up in 1251-2 (cf. Watt, 'Minority', 11-13).

7-8. *removed from office*: twenty-six counsellors belonging to the Comyn faction were replaced in King Alexander's name by fifteen members of the Durward faction (with the earl of Dunbar as its most prestigious member) with effect from 4 Sept. 1255 (the king's fourteenth birthday), as specified in letters issued by both kings on 20 Sept. 1255 at the end of Henry's visit to the Scottish border (Stones, *Documents*, 30-34, no.10; see *ES*, ii, 582, n.2 for Henry's itinerary).

9. *Mansel*: Gloucester and Mansel were among the advance party sent by Henry from Yorkshire on 10 Aug. 1255 to establish contact with the earl of Dunbar and others of the Durward faction (*ES*, ii, 581, n.3; *SAEC*, 371-3). For Richard earl of Gloucester 1243-62 see *DNB*, x, 393-6; *CP*, v, 696-702; for John Mansel, provost of Beverley (d.1265) see *DNB*, xxxvi, 84-86, and Powicke, *Henry III*, ad indicem.

10. *Dunbar*: Patrick earl of Dunbar 1248-89 (*SP*, iii, 257-9).

11. *took ... Edinburgh*: this happened by or on 4 Sept. 1255, when Gloucester, Mansel and others certified that they had the king and queen in their care, and would bring them safely to see King Henry at Wark (*CDS*, i, 384, no.2002; cf. no.2004, which shows that Henry was at Chillingham NTB not far from Wark on 5 Sept.).

11-12. *united .. time*: Alexander was now 14 and Margaret nearly 15; Matthew Paris reports that the queen had been pressing for conjugal relationships (*SAEC*, 372), but in fact their first child was not to be born until Feb. 1261 (see below c.14, II.20-21).

15. *Durward*: had presumably come from England with Gloucester and Mansel.

15-16. *fired ... realm*: Bower attributes this respectable motive for an act which *Melrose* describes as treasonable; cf. below c.10, II.15-17 for his disapproval of the parallel abduction of the king in 1257.

16. *Walter Comyn*: the earl of Menteith and his faction had formed the government since early 1252 (see above c.5, ll.1-4).

19. *with ... king*: King Henry had certainly authorised the forcible bringing of Alexander and Margaret to see him (*CDS*, i, 383, no. 1997).

28. *lengthy conference*: Henry was at or near Wark for the middle fortnight of September (*ES*; ii, 582, n.2); *Melrose* states that Alexander was based at Roxburgh while meeting his father-in-law.

29-31. *unwelcome ... future*: a balanced view of what were decisions taken against the interests of the Comyn faction and probably welcome to 'the broad base of moderate opinion' (Duncan, *Kingdom*, 566-8; cf. Young, art.cit.above IX c.59, l.18, p.140).

31. *Dunkeld*: Bishop Richard de Inverkeithing (see above c.3, l.42) had served as chamberlain to Alexander II before his appointment as bishop; was to remain as chancellor until Oct. 1257 (see below c.10, ll.18-21).

32. *Lindsay*: David de Lindsay, lord of Barnweill AYR and the Byres ELO, may be the same as the justiciar of Lothian from ca 1242 at least until the death of Alexander II in 1249 (while Durward was his colleague as justiciar of Scotia), or may be that man's son of the same name who could have succeeded by this date (cf. *SP*, iii, 8-9; Barrow, *Kingdom*, 123, 137); in May 1255 he had been with Durward at the court of Henry III (*CDS*, i, 380, nos. 1981-2, 1984-5); he presumably demitted office as chamberlain in Oct. 1257 also (cf. *HBC*, 185).

34. *chief justiciar*: the phrase 'summus justiciarius' (text ll.27-28) suggests authority over the whole kingdom, though a justiciar of Lothian was also appointed (Walter de Moravia – see Watt, 'Minority', 15); cf. above c.1, l.17; Durward was to flee to England with Lindsay again in Oct. 1257 (*ibid.*, 17).

*seven years*: *Fordun* is correct that these appointments were by the settlement of Sept. 1255 intended to run for exactly seven years from 4 Sept. 1255 until the king would reach his 21st birthday (*Stones, Documents*, 32).

35-40. *... cross*: 'Little St Hugh' was a boy of nine, who was found murdered at Lincoln in Aug. 1255, and local Jews were convicted of his ritual killing (*ODS*, 214). See G.Longmuir, 'The Knight's Tale of Young Hugh of Lincoln', *Speculum*, xlvii (1972), 459-82, especially 477.

43-46. *For ... responsibilities*: Gamelin, the bishop-elect of St Andrews, was pursued at the Roman court with accusations of misappropriation of funds while in the Comyn government, but these charges did not stick (cf. Watt, *Graduates*, 210).

47-48. *1255 ... emperor*: the date here is Bower's at the end of his extracts from *Fordun*, and is correct for the preceding information; but his marginal note on Richard of Cornwall (see above IX c.46, l.22) is misplaced here; Richard was elected emperor in Jan. 1257 (*DNB*, xlviii, 170).

49-56. *... Day*: the story here is chronologically confused; Gamelin did not go to Rome in person for confirmation of his election as bishop of St Andrews on 14 Feb. 1255 (see above c.8, l.64-65); instead four proctors sent by the chapter secured papal approval and a mandate for his consecration

on 1 July 1255; this ceremony had not yet taken place when the Comyn government was dismissed in Sept.; immediately afterwards the new Durward government tried to have this appointment of a Comyn supporter to the see of St Andrews revoked by raising objections with the pope in the name of the king, and litigation was to continue at Rome until July 1257; but meanwhile they were unable to prevent Gamelin's consecration on 26 Dec. 1255 by another of the ousted Comyn counsellors, William de Bondington bishop of Glasgow (cf. *Stones, Documents*, 31), though *Melrose* (113) reports that they sent messengers to prohibit it in the name of the king (cf. Watt, *Graduates*, 210).

## Chapter 10 pp.319-21

ll.10-23 and 41-55 are taken from *Fordun* (297-8 annal 52); ll.1-9 are presumably derived from a source at Dunfermline Abbey; at ll.23-40 Bower inserts reflections of his own on the puzzling behaviour of Walter Comyn as he saw it; the grammatical structure in MS C breaks down as Bower at ll.22-23 leaves the *Fordun* text ('fuerunt principales Walter Comyn comes de Menteth' [text ll.18-19]), and remains uncorrected in the later MSS; then the original *Fordun* sentence is picked up again at l.41 ('Principales igitur actores...' [text l.33]). *Pluscarden* (93) has a re-written version of the story of the king's capture, with even stronger criticisms of the Comyn faction; *Extracta* (102-3) has a brief factual summary, omitting Bower's comments. The approach in *Wyntoun* (v, 118-19) is similar.

1-5. *... Rome*: Gamelin was at the Roman court defending himself against attacks by the Durward government over his promotion to the see of St Andrews (see above c.9, ll.49-56), probably during most of 1256; he must have arranged with papal authority in the customary way for a financial levy on at least some of the monasteries in his diocese to help with his expenses over an extensive period abroad, and the see was suffering from the accident of having to pay fees at the papal court for the confirmation of two bishops within a short time of each other. The levy appears to have been arranged with the co-operation of the monasteries concerned, since they had allowed their seals to be attached to the relevant instruments. But as a political exile Gamelin no doubt had difficulty in collecting the money he needed, so that legal pressure had been necessary (cf. Watt, *Graduates*, 210, 213).

5. *John*: abbot since early 1252 (see above c.4, l.63).

8. *Pontigny*: a Cistercian house in dép. Yonne, France.

*Matthew*: was to demit office before 1 June 1267 (cf. *Kelso Liber*, ii, 311, no.398). The 'terror' was one of the monks who held an obedience or office with responsibility for the management of the monastery's estates (*OED*).

12. *complaints*: see above c.9, ll.43-46.

12-13. *because ... kingdom*: see *Melrose* (114) for a different analysis of their motivation; cf. Duncan, *Kingdom*, 570.

**15-17.** *ill-conceived ... Lord; shamefully*: Bower adds these critical words to the *Fordun* text; cf. above c.9, ll.15-16 for his approval of the parallel abduction of the king in Sept. 1255.

**16.** *the king*: Alexander was now aged 16.

**17.** *Kinross KNR*.

**19-21.** *great seal ... Richard*: in fact only a small seal was in use at this time (see above c.4, ll.53-54); Richard de Inverkeithing bishop of Dunkeld had been chancellor since Sept. 1255 (see above c.9, ll.31-32); Stuteville had been abortively elected bishop of St Andrews in 1253 against the wishes of the Comyn government of that time (see above c.8, ll.38-40); presumably he had care of the seal-matrix in the temporary absence of the chancellor.

**23-30.** *In his case ... equity*: Bower has at ll.10-18 reproduced Fordun's critical account of Walter Comyn's actions; but now he reflects himself in a more balanced manner, trying to puzzle out Walter's motivation. His thoughts introduced by 'no doubt' probably reflect his observations of the conduct of counsellors during the minority of James II in his own day, and this leads to reflections on avarice in general.

**30-37.** *... evils*: St Augustine, *De Libero Arbitrio*, bk.III, xvii, 48, 166-7 (Corpus Christianorum edn, 303-4).

**37-38.** *And ... insistent*: this sentence is not found in the modern edition of St Augustine's book, and appears to have been added by Bower.

**40.** *Bridget*: see above cc.6-8.

**41-42.** *Walter Comyn ... Mar*: cf. above c.5, ll.2-3. The comments here on the characters of Mar and John Comyn are by Fordun.

**43.** *John Comyn*: see above IX c.60, ll.2-3; he had probably succeeded to his father's estates (including Dalswinton DMF [*Melrose Liber*, i, 280-1, no.319]) in the late 1240s; *Pluscarden* wrongly calls him a brother of the earl of Buchan, when he was a nephew.

**44.** *Hugh de Abernethy*: held estates centred on Carpow near Abernethy PER and in ANG from ca 1244 to ca 1291 (*SP*, vii, 399-401); not listed among the Comyn counsellors dismissed in Sept. 1255 (Stones, *Documents*, 31).

**44-45.** *David de Lochore*: lord of Lochore FIF; see notes on his activities in *Inchcolm Chrs.*, 143-4; had served as sheriff of Perth under the Comyn government (*Dunfermline Registrum*, 51, no.85), and had been dismissed as a counsellor in Sept. 1255 (Stones, *Documents*, 31).

**45.** *Hugh de Berkeley*: son of Roger de Berkeley lord of Forgandenny PER (*Lindores Chartulary*, 74-75, nos.68-69), and himself a knight in the company of Alexander Comyn earl of Buchan by 1248 (*ibid.*, 42-43, no.41); by Oct. 1258 he was to be serving as justiciar of Lothian (*Scone Liber*, 72-73, no.108).

All these seven 'prime movers' in the seizure of power are found among the magnates of the Comyn faction who agreed to an alliance with Llywelyn prince of Wales against Henry III in Mar. 1258 (*Littere Wallie*, ed J.G.Edwards [Cardiff, 1940], 184-6).

**46-55.** *This group ... times*: no evidence is adduced for these exaggerated statements; during the year of confusion which followed the Comyn seizure of power, the king gradually asserted himself, until in Sept. 1258 (with the help of advisers from the baronial council who were then in power in England) he could appoint a council including members from each of the Comyn and Durward factions, and start making headway against the state of affairs reflected in Fordun's description here (cf. Watt, 'Minority', 16-20; Duncan, *Kingdom*, 570-4).

## Chapter 11 pp.321-5

Only ll.29-31 and 40-50 are taken from *Fordun* (298 annal 53); the sources used for the rest of this chapter are unknown; ll.1-10, 11-14, 15-24 and 51-57 concerning episcopal appointments at Dunblane, Aberdeen and Glasgow presumably come from records at these sees; these notes are not the same as parallel entries in *Melrose* (113-17); ll.25-28 concern Inchcolm abbey; the comments on the weather at ll.58-65 are ambiguously dated, and are not confirmed by any entry in the near-contemporary *Melrose. Pluscarden* (93-94) touches only on the Comyns and the earldom of Menteith, developing a line of criticism of them which is different from the text here; *Extracta* (103-4) summarizes most of the items in this chapter, adding a little about the Comyn family.

**1.** *Clement*: bishop of Dunblane since 1233 (see above IX c.48, l.34); the comments here are confirmed by other evidence (cf. Watt, *Graduates*, 99-103); Bower is wrong about the year of his death, which *Melrose* (115) places in the spring of 1258; since he was later commemorated on 19 Mar., this was probably his date of death (Watt, *Graduates*, 103).

**3-4.** *... men*: Luke 24:19.

**8.** *built it up*: the present Dunblane Cathedral may have been begun soon after Clement's installation, but was probably not completed until the late 13c (J.B.Stevenson, *Exploring Scotland's Heritage. The Clyde Estuary and Central Region* [Edinburgh, 1985], 88-89, no.51).

**11.** *Ramsay*: bishop of Aberdeen since 1247 (see above IX c.62, ll.35); died late 1256 or early 1257 (Watt, *Graduates*, 462-3).

**12.** [*Richard de Pottun*]: an unnamed bishop-elect was known at the Roman court by 4 Oct. 1257 (Theiner, *Monumenta*, 78, no.203), and as Bishop Richard [sic] he was consecrated before 25 Aug. 1258 (Watt, *Fasti*, 2); Bower has false information here about his Christian name, but gets it right when recording his death below (c.28, l.6); the many forms of his surname which are found (*Melrose* (113) has 'Pottun'; cf. Dowden, *Bishops*, 105) are probably variants of 'Potton'; his English origin is confirmed in Aberdeen tradition (*Aberdeen Registrum*, ii, 126, 247; Boece, *Vitae*, 14), but his earlier history is unknown (cf. Hugh de Pottun above IX c.53, ll.14-17). MS C here

has a marginal note apparently in the main hand: 'Nota quod Anglicus non fuit admissus ad beneficium nisi prius Scotificatur'; cf. above IX c.46, ll.13-16, and below XI c.21.

**16.** *Bondington*: bishop of Glasgow since 1233 (see above IX c.48, ll.17-18), royal chancellor 1230 x 1231-1247 x 1249 (*HBC*, 181); died 10 Nov. 1258 (*Melrose*, 116). The building of the eastern part of the existing cathedral at Glasgow is attributed to his episcopate (R.Fawcett, *Glasgow Cathedral*, official guidebook [Edinburgh, 1985], 5, 27; note that it is here [rather than in *Melrose*] that special mention is made of his architectural activity).

**21.** *Moffat*: archdeacon of Teviotdale in Glasgow diocese since 1245 (Watt, *Fasti*, 174); elected to this see by the chapter on or soon after 2 Jan. 1259, but said in *Melrose* (116-17) to have been challenged when he went to the Roman court for confirmation by the man who had presided in chapter at his election, Robert de Prebenda, an Englishman; the election was quashed on or before 13 June 1259 (Watt, *Graduates*, 399-400, 456); see below ll.51-55; it is not clear why the chapter would have corporately changed its mind as Bower suggests.

**25.** *Thomas*: abbot of Inchcolm since 1244 (see above IX c.62, l.25).

*William*: this is the last abbot of Inchcolm mentioned by Bower until the late 14c (cf. *Inchcolm Chrs.*, 236).

**28.** *Dunkeld*: Bishop Richard de Inverkeithing.

*Cramond MLO*: a manor belonging to the bishops of Dunkeld on the south shore of the Firth of Forth within sight of Inchcolm.

**30.** *died suddenly*: Walter is last found on 16 Oct. 1258 (*Scone Liber*, 73, no.108); as late as 6 Nov. the English government thought that he was still alive and expected him to be a member of the new Scottish council which had been agreed in Sept. (Watt, 'Minority', 18-20); he may have already died before then or very soon afterwards; *Melrose* (116) suggests no cause of death; Matthew Paris (*SAEC*, 376) heard that it came after a fall from a horse; the suggestion of poison which Fordun mentioned here was a rumour (later denounced as false) spread subsequently by Walter's nephew John Comyn as part of the dispute which followed (see below ll.40-50) over the succession to the earldom of Menteith (Theiner, *Monumenta*, 93, no 237).

**31.** *kidnapped the king*: see above c.10, ll.10-18.

**31-39.** *As I said ... king*: Bower offers here his own royalist reflections on the Comyns as opponents of royal authority; they have in his view suffered the fate they deserved. It is not known where he found the figure of thirty-two knights.

**39.** *... king*: 1 Peter 2:17.

**40-50.** *... husband*: for the Menteith succession see *SP*, vi, 129-30, *CP*, viii, 660-2, and Theiner, *Monumenta*, 93-94, no.237; cf. Duncan, *Kingdom*, 583-4. Walter Comyn had held this earldom by right of his marriage to the Countess Isabella; in her widowhood she married an English knight (whom modern scholars have not been able to identify), apparently with the king's permission; but John Comyn (who succeeded to his uncle's Badenoch lordship [*SP*, i, 506]) organised a challenge to the Countess Isabella and her

second husband in the hope of securing the earldom also; he obtained a title of a kind from them by force, but failed to hold on to it, for the earldom was by royal authority awarded to Walter Steward (a younger son of Walter son of Alan [see above IX c.56, l.11], whose Gaelic nickname *Bailloch* means 'Freckled') by right of his marriage to Isabella's presumed near-relative Mary; see below c.14, ll.1-19 for Isabella's continuing struggle for justice. Fordun's summary of this case here (which Bower adopts) is factually accurate so far as it goes, but is weak in its assessment of the motivation of the various parties involved at a time when the king was still not old enough to impose his own decisions about the disposal of one the greatest inheritances in the country.

**47.** *obtained it*: Walter was in possession by 17 Apr. 1261 (*SP*, vi, 130).

**50.** *left Scotland*: probably in 1260 (see below c.14, l.1); certainly before 20 Sept. 1261 when King Henry's chancery certified two documents which had been produced in the Menteith case (*CDS*, i, 447, nos. 2275-6).

**51-53.** *... king*: election of Nicholas de Moffat (see above l.21) was quashed when the pope appointed Cheam on 13 June 1259 and commended him to both Kings Alexander and Henry (*CDS*, i, 423, no.2158); consecrated at the Roman court before 28 Oct. 1259 (Watt, *Graduates*, 96).

**54.** *king's favour*: the king had before 21 May 1260 sent envoys to the pope complaining about this appointment (*CDS*, i, 431, no.2194); but Cheam was accepted in Scotland and enthroned at Glasgow later in 1260 (*Melrose*, 117). On Cheam see *SHR*, xxvii (1948), 176-86; Emden, *BRUO*, i, 400-1; and below c.24, ll.1-6; c.25, ll.10-14.

**58-65.** *... year*: the dating of this information on the effects of bad weather is ambiguous in relation to the preceding and succeeding paragraphs; probably 1260 is meant.

**66.** *died*: Pope Alexander IV died on 25 May, and his successor was elected on 29 Aug. 1261.

## Chapter 12 pp.325-9

In this chapter Bower takes the chance of a mention of Pope Urban IV at the end of c.11 to introduce material on the indulgences available to the faithful at the church festival of Corpus Christi, first as introduced by that pope and then as developed by Pope Martin V in Bower's own day, quoting in detail from a papal bull as his main source; he omits this material in *MS CA*. *Pluscarden* (94) has a brief mention of this topic under the wrong year 1260; nothing in *Extracta*.

**1.** *instituted ... Corpus Christi*: for this festival see *NCE*, iv, 345-7, and *DDC*, v, cols.832-3. Urban's bull *Transiturus* of 11 Aug. 1264 came to be included in the Canon Law (*Clementines*, bk.III. title xvi, c.1 [Friedberg, ii, cols.1174-7]).



**2-3.** *octave of Pentecost*: the period of eight days after Pentecost (including Pentecost Sunday itself), or the eighth day of that period.

**3-15.** *Wishing ... them*: an all-but verbatim quotation of the summary of Pope Urban's bull which forms the preamble to the bull of Pope Martin cited below.

**7.** *indulgence*: a grant by the church of remission of temporal punishment after the guilt of sin has been pardoned (*NCE*, vii, 482; *DDC*, v, cols.1331-2); for the various services of the daily divine office at set hours, see *ODCC*, 994.

**16.** *Martin V*: pope 1417-31; most of this chapter is taken directly from a copy of his bull (known as *Ineffabile* [*DDC*, v, cols.832-3]) of 26 May 1429, partly in full summary with grammatical changes, and partly (ll.3-15, 56-67) direct quotation; a printed text is available in Baronius-Raynaldus, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, ed. A.Theiner, xxviii (Paris and Bar-le-Duc, 1874), 77-78.

**26-27.** *the Feast of the Sacrament*: an alternative name for the feast of Corpus Christi.

**57.** *even*: Goodall's reading 'eciam' for the nonsensical 'ecclesia' (text l.42) is confirmed by the text in *Annales Ecclesiastici*; the same goes for the necessary insertion of 'institutæ sunt' (text l.49), and the reading 'ecclesias' (text l.55).

**58.** *interdict*: an ecclesiastical censure whereby the faithful, while remaining in communion, are forbidden the use of certain sacred things. It admits of degrees according to the case (*NCE*, vii, 567).

**66.** *by ... law*: for 'iuxta canonicas sanctiones' (text l.49) the text in *Annales Ecclesiastici* has 'a nostris predecessoribus'.

**69.** *prelates*: ecclesiastical dignitaries, whether secular or religious, with jurisdiction (*NCE*, xi, 734).

**77.** *mystery*: the *Annales Ecclesiastici* text has 'ministerium' here for 'ministerium' (text l.59).

### Chapter 13 pp.329-33

Bower continues here his excursus on indulgences in general, and adds two *exempla*. Nothing in *Pluscarden* or *Extracta*.

**1-5.** ... *perused*: Pope Eugenius IV (1431-47) confirmed the Corpus Christi indulgence by his bull *Excellentissimum* of 26 May 1433 (*DDC*, v, col.832-3); but since he was not then working along with the council of Basel, it seems that Bower must be referring to a later pronouncement of the council during the period (Dec. 1433-Jan. 1438) when Eugenius was co-operating with it; since there does not appear to have been a formal decree of the council on this topic, Bower is probably referring to an administrative bull

sent out by the council to some addressee in Scotland conferring a local privilege.

**8-9.** *De ... ex eo*: *Decretals of Gregory IX*, bk.V, title 38, c.14, *Cum ex eo* (Friedberg, ii, cols.888-9).

**9.** *John XXII*: pope 1316-34.

**10-16.** *wishing ... Salutation*: some writers in the 15c believed that Urban IV (see above c.12) had been responsible for adding the word 'Jesus' at the end of the traditional prayer 'Ave Maria', known as the Angelic Salutation (*NCE*, vi, 898, s.v. 'Hail Mary'; cf. *DTC*, I, i, col.1276); but no general grant by Pope Urban of indulgence in this context has been traced; nor has this modification by Pope John been found.

**13.** *treasury of the church*: a concept derived from the early ideas of the church as the mystical body of Christ and the communion of saints; the church was thought to have built up a treasury of merits and good works in excess of the personal requirements for salvation of Christ, the Virgin Mary and the saints (both living and dead), which was available to pay the debts due by individual Christians for temporal punishment (*DTC*, VII, ii, col.1610; *DDC*, v, cols.1332-3; *NCE*, vii, 483-4; cf. J.Bossy, *Christianity in the West 1400-1700* [Oxford, 1985], 54-56).

**17-18.** *preaching ... 1317*: this was the day when he formally circulated the decretal letters of his predecessor Clement V (the 'Clementines') to the universities as part of the canon law (*Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, ed. H.Denifle and E.Chatelain (Paris, 1889-97), ii, 211, no.754); this sermon has not been traced; see account of his sermons in *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, xxxiv (1914), 536-51, s.v. 'Jacques Duèse', where three sermons for All Saints are cited from a MS, but with no dates.

**18-53.** *He also ... indulgence*: various reasons have been suggested for the multiplication of indulgences in the 14c (e.g. *DTC*, VII, ii, cols.1611-13), but the apparently automatic reward for a number of pious exercises which are listed here is not among them; such indulgences seem to have been granted locally rather than universally, though John was thought to have made an 'ordinance' at least on the matter of the Angelus prayers, which he encouraged by the grant of indulgences (*DTC*, VIII, i, col.640; I, i, cols.1278-9); he is reported to have encouraged many other prayers by grants of indulgence, though the specific ones listed here have not been found elsewhere (cf. *Hist. Litt. France*, ut cit., 531-3).

**20.** *name of Jesus*: for the late medieval devotion to the Holy Name with indulgences for prayers in its honour, and the decree of the Second Council of Lyons in 1274 (canon 25) requiring the faithful to incline the head when it is mentioned, see *NCE*, vii, 76.

**24-27.** ... *end*: these lines are listed only from this source in Walther, *Initia*, no.13,186; cf. Philipians 2:10 (for ll.25-26).

**29-31.** *Psalter ... Langton*: see above IX c.26, ll.37-39.

**33.** *Passion ... John*: this abbreviated version of part of St John's Gospel (in fact drawn from Matthew 27 as well as John 19) was supposedly compiled by Pope John at Avignon three days before his death in 1334, when the 300-



day indulgence was attached to it; it came to be attached to missals like the Salisbury one (*The Sarum Missal done into English*, by A. Harford Pearson [London, 1884], 590); presumably Bower knew of it from a similar source; cf. a different tradition that it was a Passion according to Mark that this pope composed just before his death, to which a similar generous indulgence was attached (*Hist. Litt. France*, ut cit., 535).

**36-39.** *Likewise ... compline*: cf. the triple recitation of the Ave Maria prayer at the ringing of the evening Angelus bell, which is known to have been made the subject of an indulgence by John XXII in various localities one by one (e.g. in 1318 and 1327), earning an indulgence of 10 days (*ODCC*, 54; *NCE*, i, 521; *DTC*, I, i, cols. 1278-9); presumably something similar, but more elaborate, was granted in Scotland too.

**40.** *Magnificat*: the song of praise from the Bible (Luke 1: 46-55) sung at Vespers from a very early date (*ODCC*, 858).

**53.** *... bless you*: cited from other sources in Walther, *Proverbia*, no. 18, 779.

**54.** *... annals*: in fact Bower does not here offer annals, but rather two *exempla*.

**56-74.** *... terror*: this story comes from Cantimpré, *De Apibus*, I, xx, para. 9 (with minor omissions), where it is dated 1248; Bower's introductory phrase 'In the second year prior to this' (l. 54) makes no sense here, and suggests that in an earlier draft this *exemplum* was inserted at the end of c. 3 above.

**75-88.** *... spoils*: this story was not included by Cantimpré in his collection of *exempla*; no work entitled *Policraticon* by a Cistercian monk has been identified.

## Chapter 14 pp. 333-5

Most of this chapter is taken from *Fordun*; ll. 1-19 continue the story of the dispute over the earldom of Menteith from c. 11 above (298-9, rest of annal 53); ll. 20-41 follow *Fordun* (299 annal 54), but with the sentence about the birth of Princess Margaret moved from the end of the annal to the beginning of this section at ll. 20-21; source of ll. 42-46 is unknown; ll. 47-50 presumably come from a Dunkeld source. *Pluscarden* (94) mentions only the cross and church at Peebles very briefly; *Extracta* (104) summarizes most of the topics in the chapter. The heading for this chapter mentions its two principal topics in reverse order.

**1.** 1260: Countess Isabella was presumably in England by this date, which Bower has added to *Fordun*.

*agents ... court*: see the recital of the substance of and the proceedings in this case in Theiner, *Monumenta* (93-94, no. 237), and discussion in Ferguson, *Papal Representatives* (121-7).

**3.** *came to York*: this nuncio was appointed by Pope Urban IV (Aug. 1261 x) and came to the north of England in July 1263 (*ibid.*, 126); for his powers

as a 'nuncio from the side of the pope', see *ibid.*, 125-6; he did not have the status of legate as suggested in l. 7.

**7.** *according to her*: Bower adds 'ut dicebat' (text l. 6) to *Fordun*, suggesting scepticism on his part.

**10-19.** *It was ... discussion*: Fordun here repeats the substance of an appeal made by King Alexander against this attempt to exercise papal authority in a Scottish case at a place outside the kingdom; he must have had access to a copy of this appeal made before the papal response of 2 Jan. 1264 was known in Scotland. Pope Urban on that date cancelled the proceedings by Pontius and appointed three Scottish clergy as judges-delegate to deal with the case within Scotland insofar as it did not pertain to royal jurisdiction (Ferguson, *Papal Representatives*, 122, n. 250; 127). No further proceedings are known, so that the Countess Isabella in practice failed in her plea for restoration; see below c. 33, ll. 45-48 for developments in 1273 after her death.

**20-21.** *... England*: Bower adds the fact that Margaret was born in England, but omits the date 28 Feb. which is found in *Fordun*, and also the statement that she was to become queen of Norway. The date 1261 is confirmed by known arrangements for the queen to stay with her mother in England for the delivery of her baby (*CDS*, i, 438, no. 2229); cf. *Melrose* (117) and *Wyntoun* (v, 118-19) which place the birth at the end of 1260, and *Fordun*, which appears to date it Feb. 1261/2.

**22.** *In the same year*: Fordun's date 1261 in the thirteenth year of Alexander is repeated in the Bower MSS without regard to the fact that 9 May in 1261 fell in the twelfth year; it remains uncertain where the error lies and which year is meant. In *Extracta* the ambiguity is corrected to a consistent date in 1260 on no obvious authority. Fordun appears to be following some earlier source, but adding his own comments on the 14c situation at Peebles; Bower does not up-date his account. For a general discussion see *PSAS*, lxxx (1948), 50-61; cf. *ibid.*, ci (1971), 127-8.

**23-24.** *cross ... Peebles* PEB: this cross no longer exists; cf. *RCAHM (PEB)*, i, 176-7, no. 377.

**25-28.** *But ... 296 A.D.*: it is Fordun who claims ignorance; the suggested link with the persecution of Maximian would make sense to him (see above II c. 42); in the 13c and 14c the persecution would have been known through such works as Bede (*Ecclesiastical History*, ed. B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors [Oxford, 1969], 29); the authority behind the suggested year 296 is unknown.

**30-32.** *stone urn ... limb*: modern writers assume that these remains were a pre-historic short-cist burial of the Bronze Age (e.g. *PSAS*, lxxx, 62).

**36.** *bishop Nicholas*: this name is now assumed to have been mis-read by medieval observers; but the inscription is taken seriously as evidence for some kind of post-Roman diocesan organisation based on Peebles in the era before the Irish missions of the 7c arrived in that region (*PSAS*, ci, 127-9).

**40.** *Glasgow*: Bishop John de Cheam (see above c. 11, l. 52).

*church*: for the Cross Kirk at Peebles see *PSAS*, lxxx, 61-66; *RCAHM (PEB)*, ii, 203-9, no. 480; cf. *MRHS*, 109-10).

**42-43.** *That year ... ruined:* the year for the remaining items in this chapter could be 1261 or 1262.

**43-46.** *Also ... queen:* the presence in England of some relatives of Queen Eleanor of Provence was one of the sources of strain which led to the period of troubles between King Henry and his magnates 1258-65; 1261-2 were not a time of new dissent.

**47-50.** *... offices:* for the Carmelite (or White) Friars see *MRHS*, 134-9; cf. *Three Scottish Carmelite Friaries: Excavations at Aberdeen, Linlithgow and Perth* 1980-1983, ed. J. Stones (Edinburgh, 1989), cc.2, 3, 6, where this 13c date for the Carmelites at Tullilum (rather than Perth itself) is doubted (pp.95-97); the bishop was Richard de Inverkeithing (1251-72); Tullilum then lay in Tibbermore parish, Dunkeld diocese, where the bishop had a residence (see above IX c.63, l.62); the site is now within the modern city of Perth between Long Causeway and Whitefriars Street.

**50.** *offices:* after the end of this chapter MS FE (fo.136v) adds:

Postea autem a nonnullis episcopis Dunkelden' eadem capella constructa et meliorata fuit. Maxime tamen a reverendo patre Georgio Broun' episcopo Dunkelden' constructa et reparata in domibus et edificiis fuit manente eodem episcopo ibidem propter devocionem. Quiquidem episcopus quamplurima bona opera tempore suo anno domini m° cccc° nonagesimo vii° apud ecclesiam episcopatus sui cathedralalem fecit. Unum altare in eadem ecclesia fundavit; vestimentis et ornamentis multipliciter eandem ecclesiam ditavit; prebendis et canonicis exaltavit; unam turrem<sup>a</sup> in loco Dunkeld' construxit et totum locum interius reparavit. Quamplures libros scribi fecit, inter quos istum librum ego Ricardus Striveling notarius publicus ex mandato eius scripsi. Terram illam montanam videlicet Dunkeld' tempore suo a latronibus quietam reddidit, quod raro ante hoc factum est. Omnem artificem dilexit et secum nutrit, nec ante ipsum in eadem ecclesia a temporibus Sanctorum Columbi et Adamnani melior surrexit. Ipse enim erat toto tempore vite sue inter omnes episcopos Scocie lucerna ardens et lucens.

<sup>a</sup> a turrem MS FE

This passage confirms the account of the activities of George Brown, bishop of Dunkeld 1484-1515 which is found in Myln, *Vitae*, 27-70 (translation in *Dunkeld Rentale*, 302-31). It also proves that MS FE was copied for Bishop Brown by the notary Richard Stirling in 1497 or later.

## Chapter 15 pp.337-9

Bower follows *Fordun* (299-300, first part of annal 55) for ll.1-8 with minor embellishments; then he supplies a date for the descent of the Norwegians at Largs that is different from that in *Melrose* (123); there follows the story

of the vision of St Margaret to John Wemyss (ll.12-58) which presumably came from a Dunfermline Abbey source. *Pluscarden* (94) slightly elaborates ll.1-11, and copies separately (97-98) the vision of St Margaret story at similar length, but with some different details; *Extracta* (104-5) summarizes the whole chapter.

**1-8.** *... wrath:* Fordun here has detailed information not found elsewhere.

**2.** *Haakon:* Haakon IV, king of Norway since 1217; for accounts of his expedition to Scotland in 1263 in Norwegian sources see *ES* (ii, 605-42), where the king's aim is said to have been to avenge Scottish attacks on the Norwegian Southern (i.e. Scottish Western) Isles; see Duncan, *Kingdom*, 577-80 for a modern account. Haakon was still in Orkney on 5 Aug. when there was an eclipse of the sun (*ES*, ii, 616); it is clear that Fordun's date here is too early.

*Ayr:* this castle had been new in 1197 (see above VIII c.59), but was certainly garrisoned about this time (Duncan, *Kingdom*, 387). Haakon probably sent envoys there, rather than go in person, when the Scottish king tried to negotiate over the islands in the Firth of Clyde (*ES*, ii, 622-4); these islands had passed from the Norwegians into Scottish hands 'a generation or two earlier' (Duncan, *Kingdom*, 578-9).

**3.** *160:* the saga account says that Haakon had between 100 and 200 ships.

**6.** *Arran:* some of the Fordun MSS mention the Isle of Man here rather than the Isle of Arran (*Fordun*, i, 299n). Haakon himself landed on Arran (*ES*, ii, 622); the castle may have stood on the site of the later Brodick Castle (cf. J.B. Stevenson, *Exploring Scotland's Heritage: The Clyde Estuary and Central Region* [Edinburgh, 1985], 51-52, no.23).

*Bute:* for the capture of the castle of Rothesay on this island see *ES*, ii, 620-1; this castle certainly existed at this date (G. Ritchie and M. Horman, *Exploring Scotland's Heritage: Argyll and the Western Isles* [Edinburgh, 1985], 85-86, no.32).

**7.** *coast:* presumably around the Firth of Clyde.

**8-9.** *As ... duration:* part of Bower's addition to *Fordun*.

**9.** *feast ... Virgin:* 8 Sept.; but the saga account gives 2 Oct. as the day of the battle of Largs (*ES*, ii, 628), which is the date in *Melrose*; it is Bower (not Fordun) who has found a wrong date here—perhaps the date associated at Inchcolm with the Dunfermline story that follows.

**10.** *Cunninghame:* the district in Ayrshire north of the river Irvine.

**11.** *Largs AYR.*

**12.** *John Wemyss:* a knight and lord of Methil and Wemyss in East Fife; apparently still alive as late as 1261 at any rate, when he would have been an old man (*SP*, viii, 476).

**17.** *Dunfermline:* the Benedictine abbey in West Fife; see above c.3 for the relics of St Margaret and her husband King Malcolm III (1058-93) there.

**30-31.** *sons ... kings:* Kings Edgar (1097-1107), Alexander I (1107-24), and David I (1124-53).

Chapter 16  
pp.339-43

Bower makes use of *Fordun* (300, last part of annal 55) within ll.8-33, including the verses at ll.29-30 and 33, but adds a long descriptive passage of his own; he adds information in the margin of MS C (ll.2-8) from a source that was probably known also to *Wyntoun* (v, 120-5), for both authors mention Peter Curry; but they differ over who was in command of the Scots at the battle of Largs; both then refer to the letter which Bower describes at ll.35-39, but while *Wyntoun* accepts it as genuine, Bower has read of a different explanation for it and is sceptical (ll.39-47); he then looks back in time (ll.48-60) to the battle of Luncarty some centuries earlier. *Pluscarden* (95-96, 97) has a parallel account of the battle of Largs and the death of Haakon, which is largely re-written; it then introduces the battle of Luncarty, again in different words; *Extracta* (105) has a brief summary of this chapter, including the lines of verse.

2. *day*: see above c.15, l.9.

3. *Dundonald*: Alexander had succeeded his father Walter son of Alan in 1241 (see above IX c.56, l.11), and held the family estates until his death in 1281 (see below c.38, l.25; cf. *SP*, i, 13); he was the older brother of Walter *Bailloch* (see above c.11, ll.40-50); *Dundonald* AYR in the district of Kyle was part of the family's landholdings there, and it has been suggested that Alexander took his name from it as his birthplace (Barrow, *Kingdom*, 347). *first Steward*: Walter son of Alan, d.1177 (see above VIII c.25).

3-4. *in command*: it is not known where Bower found this information for an addition to MS C regarding the leadership at Largs; Alexander was probably the local magnate who was on hand to deal at once with an unexpected landing by the Norwegians, in what seems to have been a minor skirmish (cf. Duncan, *Kingdom*, 579-80); *Melrose* (123) implies that only a local force was involved; cf. *Wyntoun* (v, 120-1), where King Alexander is said to have been present; the Norwegians did not know whether he was there or not (*ES*, ii, 629).

5. *Peter Curry*: not only do Bower and *Wyntoun* on the Scottish side mention him, but also the Norse saga reports the death of one Scottish knight called there Ferus (*ES*, ii, 632); his family held land in Kyle AYR from the Stewards (Barrow, *Kingdom*, 349).

6. *Walter Steward*: see *SP*, i, 14-15; he married Marjorie daughter of King Robert I in 1315 (cf. Barrow, *Bruce*, 282).

7. *sixteenth year*: here in MS C and in the parallel passage in MS CA Bower is in error; Sept.- Oct. 1263 was in the fifteenth year of Alexander's reign; cf. above c.15, l.9 note.

9-10. *through ... Scotland*: a passage added by Bower to the *Fordun* text, taking into account the story he has related above c.15, ll.12-58.

11-21. *It smashed ... drowned*: Bower uses his imagination to develop graphically *Fordun*'s much simpler story of the storm.

13. *every joint in turn*: Dr Colin Martin advises that 'compage seriali'

(text l.11) probably refers to the top strake (nowadays usually called the gunwhale) of the vessels, a strake being 'each of the several continuous lines of planking or planks, of uniform breadth, in the side of a vessel, extending from stem to stern' (*OED*).

21. *thousands of slain*: again Bower's addition to *Fordun*; it is probably a gross exaggeration.

23. *nephew of King Haakon*: no such man is identified among the few dead listed in the Norwegian sagas (cf. *ES*, ii, 633-4).

28. *died*: 16 Dec. 1263 (*ibid.*, 641).

31. *Magnus*: King Magnus IV (1263-80), known to posterity as 'The Lawmender', though not as particularly learned.

34. *This motto ... sword-belt*: a detail added by Bower in MS CA.

35-47. *They say ... wished*: it is likely enough that some Scottish nobles in the north and west kept in touch with the Norwegian king (see below c.18, ll.30-32); a letter capable of more than one interpretation was probably sent to the Scottish king as part of the diplomatic activity of this decade; *Wyntoun* and Bower must have known of it only at second hand (see introduction above).

48-60. *... with him*: here and in c.17 below Bower breaks off on the excuse of the Scottish victory over the Norwegians to introduce legendary material (with learned parallels about other such victories), which had not been mentioned in its chronological place in Books III and IV above; Dr M.O.Anderson concurs with the view that if there ever was a real battle of Luncarty, it is most likely to have been fought during the reign of Constantine son of Kenneth 862-ca 877 (see above IV cc.15-16), when Norwegians rather than Danes could have been in Pictland, at a time when the Scots and Picts were still separable peoples who had only recently come under a single king; but Bower appears to have got hold of a complex and inconsistent legend here rather than a valid tradition, so that trying to place it in time is meaningless. It is all the more confusing that in the early 16c Hector Boece was to give a radically different account of a battle at Luncarty, dating it to the reign of Kenneth II 971-95 (see above IV cc.30-36) for no identifiable reason (H.Boethius, *Scotorum Historiae* [Paris, 1526], bk.XI, fos.235v-6v; [RS, 6], ii, 547-53).

Though he uses the word 'Norici' here as *Fordun* had used it before him for the forces from Norway ('Norwagia') in 1263, it is appropriate to translate this word as 'Norsemen' rather than 'Norwegians' in this earlier context, to emphasise that it is a story from the period of Viking expansion from Scandinavia as a whole.

52. *Luncarty*: PER, on the right bank of the river Tay, five miles north of the modern city of Perth; this Gaelic place-name means 'at encampments' (W.J.Watson, *The History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland* [Edinburgh, 1926], 494); but whether the name by itself confirms that a battle was once fought there is unknowable.

58. *town of Bertha*: wherever Bower found this name, he clearly thought that it was an old name for the town of Perth (see above VIII c.72, and

below c.17, ll.1-5), which may well have been an urban settlement long before it is first found in surviving sources as a burgh beside a royal castle in the 1120s (cf. A.A.M.Duncan, 'Perth: the first century of the burgh', *Transactions of the Perthshire Society of Natural Science* [Perth, 1974], 30-50); but it is not recorded as such in the period of Viking attacks, when Scone three miles away on the other bank of the river was recorded as a centre of Pictish (and later Scottish) royal activities.

From its appearance in this chronicle in the 1440s the name 'Bertha' has come to be attached to the site of a minor fort built during the Roman occupation at Inveralmond i.e. the confluence of the rivers Almond and Tay midway between the centre of modern Perth and Luncarty (cf. *PSAS*, liii [1919], 137-52; L.Keppie, *Scotland's Roman Remains* [Edinburgh, 1986], 158); but this is a matter of modern convention, since the name of this fort does not appear in any ancient record (O.G.S.Crawford, *Topography of Roman Scotland north of the Antonine Wall* [Cambridge, 1949], 60).

## Chapter 17 pp.343-7

The whole chapter is Bower's work, containing the story of the Norsemen at 'Bertha' and Drumlay, with literary parallels. *Pluscarden* (96, 98-99) deals with the two parts of the story separately, omitting the literary parallel from Frontinus; it alters Bower's text considerably, trying to make more sense of two separate military and naval actions at places twenty-five miles apart; *Extracta* (105-6) summarizes the whole story, also omitting the Frontinus parallel.

**1-5.** ... *conquered*: Bower confirms here his identification of Bertha with Perth (see above c.16, l.58); the alternative name St John's Town or St Johnstone is derived from the dedication of the parish church of Perth, and has been traced back to the 13c (M.Gelling, W.F.H.Nicolaisen and M.Richards, *The Names of Towns and Cities in Britain* [London, 1970], 150); Bower in l.5 offers a false derivation for the name 'Perth' from the Latin word 'perditur' (text l.4) meaning 'it is ruined'.

**10.** *black hellebore*: Profesor R.M.M.Crawford advises that this is an interesting early reference to the Christmas Rose, which is not a native plant in Britain.

**12-13.** *hard ... goad*: cf. Acts 9:5 (*Vulgate*).

**23.** *rattling of basins*: cf. below XV c.1, l.27.

**27-33, 38-45.** *We have ... plant; So ... desired*: Bower relates in his own words a story about Maharbal, a Carthaginian officer under Hannibal, included in Sextus Julius Frontinus *The Stratagems*, bk.ii, c.5, para.12 (Loeb edn, 138-9). This parallel suggests that the Bertha story here with its biblical allusions was a variant of a literary topos rather than an account of an historical event; but since the reference to Frontinus comes only in a marginal addition to MS C, Bower presumably came to know of the classical version of this tale only after he had come across the Bertha version.

**35.** *Aristotle*: Aristotle mentions the soporific qualities of mandragora or mandrake briefly in *Parva Naturalia: On Sleep and Waking*, c.3, para.456b (Loeb edn, 331); Bower supplies this reference, which is not in Frontinus.

**36-38.** *Hence ... pain*: a comment by Bower on the practice of his own day.

**53.** *like Gideon*: see Judges 7:16 for flagons and lamps.

**67-86.** ... *drownit lay*: while the story of the attack on the ships of the Norsemen (ll.47-66) appears to be part of the battle near Perth which was given the name of Luncarty some miles up river (where *Pluscarden* suggests the Norsemen had their camp), the folk-tale offered here to explain natural features of the landscape has a different implication; the treacherous shifting sands (rather than whirlpool) of Drumlay (l.85) are at the mouth of the Tay estuary, now known as the Abertay Sands off Tayport FIF (*RRS*, i, 94-95); by Bower's time they were a landmark in legal documents defining the outer limits of the sea-trading privileges of the burgh of Perth (*ibid.*, v, 390-1; vi, 383).

**70.** *Albany*: Bower presumably takes this name for the kingdom of the Picts and Scots from his source; cf. above c.2, l.15.

**83.** *durco*: an unusual word for a large vessel (*Niermeyer*, s.v.), again presumably from Bower's source.

**85.** *Charybdis*: a legendary whirlpool controlled by a monster on the Sicilian side of the Straits of Messina, Italy, mentioned in the exploits of Odysseus.

**88-91.** *subsequently ... forbears*: perhaps genuine information about a social practice in 13c Norway, whatever its historic origin.

**91-94.** *But ... follows*: this passage contradicts Bower's earlier scepticism (above c.16, ll.39-40); see below c.18, ll.30-32.

## Chapter 18 pp.347-9

ll.1-34 follow *Fordun* (300-1, annal 56); the source behind the miscellany of information which follows in ll.35-50 is unknown; some of the facts are wrong (see below). *Pluscarden* (99-100) summarizes the whole chapter, with some variants; *Extracta* (106) does the same more briefly.

**1-2.** ... *Virgin*: Fordun (followed by Bower) is correct regarding the saint's day (21 January) of the prince's birth (as in *Melrose*, 123), but errs in the date according to Roman form. The birth was clearly at the beginning of 1264, not in December of that year.

*son*: young Alexander was to marry in 1282 and die in 1284 (see below c.37, ll.28-39); Fordun omits the information in *Melrose* that he was baptised by Gamelin bishop of St Andrews; probably his source was copied from royal proclamations about the two bits of good news which were sent round the country (see below), and which would not have mentioned the baptism; *Wyntoun* (v, 124-5) knew of the baptism, perhaps from a St Andrews source

which Bower could also have known; but Bower simply follows the error in *Fordun*.

5. *death ... Norwegians*: see above c.16, l.28.

11. *under-king of Man*: Man had been ruled by Magnus Olafsson since 1252 (*ES*, ii, 567-9, 573; cf. *HBC*, 64); his title was 'king', but he was subordinate to the king of Norway who had appointed him; Scottish sources (accustomed to just one king in a kingdom) use the diminutive forms 'regulus' (text l.9) and 'regniculum' (l.16) to express his status as they saw it; Magnus was married to Mary of Argyll, daughter of Ewen (John) lord of Lorn and under-king in the Hebrides (see below c.24, ll.45-47), who had refused to help King Haakon in his 1263 expedition, though Magnus had done so (*ES*, ii, 548-9, 616-17, 625, 635; *SP*, vii, 400-1; cf. *PSAS*, xc [1957], 211-13).

11-12. *more ... imagined*: Bower has here strengthened Fordun's language.

20-26. *under the condition ... twelve*: Fordun has here had access to details of the formal agreement between Alexander and Magnus that are not otherwise known; Magnus was to die on 24 Nov. 1265 (*ES*, ii, 653; see below c.24, l.45).

25. *pirate-type ships*: cf. above c.15 (text l.2); Magnus was to produce the same kind of ship as King Haakon had used in 1263.

Bower has altered Fordun's syntax here ('de decem galeis piraticis' [text ll.20-21] for 'decem galeas piratas') without amending the case of the following 'reliquas' (text l.22).

28. *Alexander ... Durward*: for Buchan and Mar see above c.10, l.42; it is noteworthy that Alan Durward (their rival for power in the 1250s) is now acting along with them – for further examples see Duncan, *Kingdom*, 581.

Bower's scribe erroneously copies 'William comes de Mar' in *Fordun* as 'Willelmus Comyn de Mar' (text l.24); this mistake is copied not only in the Bower MSS, but also in *Pluscarden* and *Extracta*. That Mar's expedition to the Isles was in the summer of 1264 is confirmed in his accounts as royal chamberlain (*ER*, i, 11).

31-32. *traitors ... Scotland*: see above c.17, ll.91-94; by the Treaty of Perth of 1266 (see below c.19) the Scottish king was to agree not to punish or disinherit inhabitants of the Islands for any misdeeds committed while they had been adherents of the king of Norway up to that date (*APS*, i, 420).

35-37. *... sister*: a piece of misinformation inserted by Bower; Edward had married Eleanor of Castile in 1254 (as noted above c.8, ll.66-68); Henry III in fact went to Amiens, dép. Somme, France to meet King Louis IX, Jan.-Feb. 1264 (Powicke, *Henry III*, ii, 453-5).

38-40. *... share*: for Roger earl of Winchester see above IX c.48, l.45; he died on 25 Apr. 1264 (*CP*, xii, pt.2, 753); his three daughters were: 1. Margaret, married to William de Ferrers earl of Derby (1247-54); 2. Elizabeth or Isabel, married to Alexander Comyn earl of Buchan (ca 1243-90); and 3. Helen, married to Alan de la Zouche (1238-70).

41-43. *... William*: for Nicholas de Soules (lord of Liddesdale x 1243-1264), who had served as sheriff of Roxburgh and as a counsellor with the Comyns

until 1255, and for his heir William de Soules (see below c.29, l.1), who became justiciar of Lothian from ca 1279 until his death in 1292 or 1293, see T. McMichael, 'The feudal family of de Soules', *TDGAS*, 3rd series, xxvi (1949), 166-9 and 169-74.

*Rouen*: dép. Seine-Inferieure, France.

43. *William*: cf. the deleted passage in the MS C text here (text l.35, note f) with the entry on the same topic below c.21, ll.51-54; this is not just a copyist's error, but an author's alteration.

45. *Atholl*: this is the first dated evidence for David de Strathbogie as earl of Atholl; he was to die in 1270 (*SP*, i, 425; cf. A.A.M. Duncan, 'The earldom of Atholl in the thirteenth century', *The Scottish Genealogist*, vii, pt.2 [1960], 2-10; see below cc.24, 26, 27).

45-46. *Colban ... Fife*: Colban's father Malcolm earl of Fife was still alive and was to die in 1266 (see below c.21, l.1); Colban himself died in 1270 (*SP*, iv, 10-11; see below c.28, ll.7-8).

47. *... England*: an erroneous statement; several Carmelite houses had in fact been founded in England from the early 1240s onwards (D. Knowles and R.N. Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales* [London, 1953], 196-9); cf. above c.14, ll.47-50 for their arrival in Scotland 1261-2.

48-50. *... Oxford*: the Provisions agreed by king and barons at the parliament at Oxford in June 1258 had been condemned by King Louis of France as arbitrator in the Mise of Amiens in Jan. 1264 (see above ll.35-37); armed rebellion in England followed (see below c.19, l.31ff.).

## Chapter 19 pp.351-3

The whole of this chapter is taken from *Fordun* – ll.1-30 from 301-2, annal 57, and ll.31-43 from 302, first part of annal 58; Fordun has information on different aspects of the negotiations leading to the treaty of Perth from the story in *Melrose* (128-9), but for the most part inspires confidence in his sources. *Pluscarden* (100-2) has an unusually full account derived from all of this chapter, which is slightly elaborated in places; *Extracta* (106-7) touches only on the treaty with Norway.

1-21. *... Scots side*: for a critical account of the negotiations between Norway and Scotland leading to the treaty of Perth in 1266 see R.I. Lustig, 'The Treaty of Perth: a re-examination', *SHR*, lviii (1979), 35-57.

1-2. *his chancellor*: an experienced diplomat called Askatin, possibly of English origin, probably a priest in the royal chapel or king's retinue, later bishop of Bergen 1270-7 (Lustig, 'Perth', 37, 55-56; see *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, xviiB [Christiania, 1913], 221). By omitting 'et' (text l.2) from Fordun's text Bower wrongly makes one person out of two (cf. *ES*, ii, 649).

2. *Gilbert*: a chaplain of King Haakon, who had been archdeacon of Shetland before 1260 when he was Haakon's candidate for the see of Hamar

in Norway; consecrated bishop there on 4 Mar. 1263 (*ES*, ii, 599, n.2; see *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, ut cit., 252-3)

3. *Perth*: possibly these envoys in fact met King Alexander first at Wigtown castle WIG (*ER*, i, 31); they had travelled to Scotland through England via King's Lynn and York, having left Bergen sometime after Easter (*ES*, ii, 648-9; cf. Lustig, 'Perth', 38-39).

*Arran*: some MSS of *Fordun* mention Man here rather than Arran.

11. *other magnates*: the baron Andrew Nikolasson is specifically mentioned along with Askatin the chancellor in the final treaty (*APS*, i, 420).

12. *authorization*: following the phrase 'per literas de rato' (text l.10) Bower omits the words which immediately follow in *Fordun*: 'ex parte domini sui regis Norgwagie'; the envoys were acting as *procuratores* with full powers to conclude an agreement (cf. Lustig, 'Perth', 40-44), so that a 'compositio et finalis concordia' could be agreed at Perth on 2 July 1266 (*APS*, i, 420-1), which was confirmed by King Magnus at Bergen, Norway on 10 Aug. 1266 (Lustig, 'Perth', 57).

17-18. *4000 marks*: it was intended that this sum be paid over four years (not two), and in the event payments were made in 1267, 1269, 1270 and 1282 (*ibid.*, 36-37).

19. *100 marks*: this 'annual of Norway' was paid only sporadically until it was dropped in 1468 in the pledging of Orkney to the Scottish crown as part of the royal marriage agreement of that year (*ibid.*, 57; cf. 53 for a discussion of its significance).

22-30. *The reason ... force*: *Fordun*'s explanation here probably reflects his own thinking rather than that of people in 1266.

23. *Britain*: i.e. what is now mainland Scotland.

24. *Eochaid Rothay*: see above I c.29.

25. *undisturbed*: in fact the Norsemen had been active as fighters and settlers in the western isles since the late 8c.

26-30. *strife ... force*: see above V c.29; King Magnus III Barelegs Olafsson reigned 1093-1103 (Isenberg, *Stammtafeln*, ii, table 75).

31. *preceding year*: in most MSS of *Fordun* the opening phrase is: 'Anno precedente secundo' i.e. 1264 (cf. text l.27).

*arose a great quarrel*: see above c.18, ll.48-50.

33. *Leicester*: for Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester 1239-65 see above IX c.58, l.20, and *DNB*, xxxviii, 284-95.

34. *drove out*: Queen Eleanor had remained in France when King Henry returned from Amiens in mid-February 1264 (cf. above c.18, ll.35-37); her purpose was to organize aid for her husband (Powicke, *Henry III*, ii, 461, 474, 476). In contrast to the extensive account of the civil war in England in *Melrose* which is staunchly favourable to the baronial side, *Fordun* takes a more royalist line.

37. *Lewes SSX*: for this battle and its aftermath see Powicke, *Henry III*, ii, 466-72.

40-43. *Likewise ... London*: John Comyn (see above c.10, l.43), Robert

Bruce (*DNB*, vii, 115-16) and John Balliol (*DNB*, iii, 66) were three Anglo-Scottish magnates who were among those captured at Lewes on King Henry's side (*SAEC*, 380); cf. *Melrose* (125), which mentions both Bruce and Comyn, but states that they were imprisoned at Dover rather than London. King Alexander had sent help to his father-in-law: there is no record of Scottish magnates helping the baronial opposition in England.

## Chapter 20 pp.353-7

The initial basis of this chapter is *Fordun* (302-3, the remainder of annal 58); but the treatment of this source is very different from the simple copying of c.19 above; ll.1-37 are based on *Fordun*, but are in all about double the length of the original; the interspersed additions supply some extra information from unidentified sources (especially information on dating), but are mainly developments for literary effect; ll.64-71 follow the *Fordun* text all-but word for word. Between these two passages Bower introduces ll.38-63 on Robin Hood (see discussion below); ll.72-74 concern Inchcolm Abbey. *Pluscarden* (102-3) has a fairly brief summary of the chapter with some changes of emphasis, starting with the wrong date 1266 (for 1265) and just touching on Robin Hood; *Extracta* (107) concentrates on Robin Hood.

1. *comet*: mentioned also by other chroniclers e.g. *Annales Monastici* (RS, 36), iv, 176, where it is dated July-Aug. 1265; cf. *Willelmi Rishanger ... Chronica et Annales* (RS, 28), 39, where it is dated 1265 and said to have lasted for three months, but is then confusingly said to have disappeared on the day when Pope Urban IV died (i.e. 2 Oct. 1264 [sic]); Bower is presumably himself following an English source here in this addition to *Fordun*.

4. *escaped ... Day*: Edward escaped from Hereford Castle on 28 May (Prestwich, *Edward I*, 49); the reference to [the Nativity of] St John Baptist (24 June) which Bower has inserted is inaccurate.

5. *Gloucester*: Gilbert de Clare, earl of Gloucester 1263-95 (*CP*, v, 702-8; *DNB*, x, 378-82).

6-12. *for he abased ... mind*: a literary embellishment added by Bower which does not fit the facts of Edward's manner of escape.

6-7. *abased ... humbled*: cf. Philippians 2:7-8.

10-11. *... associate*: noted from this and other sources in Walther, *Initia*, no.3227; these lines are certainly not by Sallust, but their origin is unknown.

15. *Evesham WOR*: Bower supplies the correct date for this battle.

17-19. *eighty-seven ... footsoldiers*: Bower offers variants on *Fordun*'s figures here.

20-21. *from motives of sheer goodwill*: *Fordun* is emphasizing that Alexander had no duty to send troops to help the English king.

21. *three men from each hide*: an unusual example of the traditional royal right to forinsec or common army service from all landholders in Scotland



(cf. Duncan, *Kingdom*, 380-1); the hide was not a usual measure of land in Scotland as opposed to England; but here it is presumably the equivalent of the terms carrucate, ploughgate and davach which were customary terms in different parts of the country for the variable extent of land considered adequate for the support of a sizable family with its dependents, and which could be tilled by one plough-team (cf. Barrow, *Kingdom*, c.9); it was then used as a measure of public burdens; perhaps Fordun's mention of hides indicates that he was here using an English source rather than a Scottish one; Bower for his part finds it relevant to add a marginal note to MS C (below ll.25-27) to explain the meaning of this English term.

**24-25.** *the Scots ... home*: Bower here has altered the *Fordun* text, which has no suggestion that this expedition ever set out, but rather states that the Scottish people were glad to be rid of an unwelcome burden (which may well have been unprecedented).

**25-27.** *... year*: Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum* (RS, 74), 176.

**29.** *in the following year*: words added by Bower.

**31-37.** *The greater ... security*: Bower here adds to Fordun's list of miseries.

**38-63.** *... often*: see below c.21, ll.8-9. *Wyntoun* (v, 136-7) had already briefly mentioned Robin Hood and Little John, but in the context of 1284-5; perhaps Bower was here referring to the same source as Wyntoun had used (which would have been an early copy of the ballads about Robin Hood such as was beginning to appear ca 1400 and in this case probably kept at St Andrews), but chooses to associate this folk-hero with the disinherited followers of Simon de Montfort – a plausible suggestion for which there is no supporting evidence (cf. Powicke, *Henry III*, ii, 529-30); these two Scottish chronicles happen to be the earliest anywhere to touch on the Robin Hood legends (J.C.Holt, *Robin Hood* ([London, 1982], 40; R.B.Dobson and J.Taylor, *Rymes of Robyn Hood* [London, 1976], 4-5, 315; cf. *ibid.*, 40, for interest in Robin Hood in Scotland in 15c and 16c; see also in general D.Crook, 'The sheriff of Nottingham and Robin Hood: the genesis of a legend', in *Thirteenth Century England*, ii, ed. P.R.Coss and S.D.Lloyd [Woodbridge, 1988], 59-68). It is presumably a coincidence that one Robert <sup>o</sup>Hod received a pension and robe from the royal revenues of Aberdeen on King Alexander's instructions ca 1264 (*ER*, i, 12). It has been assumed that the story told here at ll.46-63 is a paraphrase of a now lost ballad (Dobson and Taylor, *Rymes*, 18); it fits with Bower's own enthusiasm for giving priority to hearing mass (see below XV cc.38-39).

**46.** *Barnsdale YOW*: a moorland area between Pontefract and Doncaster, which was one of the regions with which the Robin Hood stories were particularly associated (Dobson and Taylor, *ut cit.*, 18-24; Holt, *ut cit.*, 83-86).

**63.** *... often*: cited only from here in Walther, *Proverbia*, no.11,283.

**65.** *John de Vesci*: lord of Alnwick NTB and recently a supporter of Simon de Montfort; captured by Edward early in 1267 (*DNB*, lviii, 287; W.P.Hedley, *Northumberland Families*, i [Newcastle upon Tyne, 1968], 202; Prestwich, *Edward I*, 57); cf. *Melrose*, 134.

**66-71.** *Then ... happy*: only Fordun has noted this meeting; it is curious that the Melrose chronicler did not; *Lanercost* (81) mentions under 1266 (i.e. possibly 1266/7) a visit by Edward to his sister Queen Margaret at Haddington ELO rather than at Roxburgh (cf. *ES*, ii, 658-9 for 1264 x 1270 dating); and some historians have thought it possible that such a visit took place at this time (cf. *DNB*, xvii, 19; Prestwich, *Edward I*, 57-58); this alternative tradition of a meeting at Roxburgh is perhaps more probable; but see below c.25, ll.27-30 for another reported visit in summer 1268.

**72.** *In the same year*: the date is uncertain, but 1266 seems likely (as in *Extracta*).

*Dunkeld*: Bishop Richard de Inverkeithing 1251-72 (see above c.3, 1.42 and below c.30, 1.27); cf. Myln, *Vitae*, 11 for confirmation of this work at Inchcolm; it has been suggested that 'choir' here means the wooden choir-stalls within the structural choir of the abbey church (*RCAHM [FIF]*, 15); but it is more likely to have been a stone extension to the existing chancel, for Bishop Richard had plans for the reburial of three of his episcopal predecessors within the new structure (cf. *Inchcolm Abbey and Island*, official guidebook [Edinburgh, 1989], 10; see below c.22, ll.33-36).

**73.** *Inchcolm*: for this formal name 'Emonia' see above IX c.52, 1.42.

## Chapter 21 pp.357-9

Only ll.19-27 are taken from *Fordun* (303, first part of annal 59); note that the rubric to this chapter does not match the content here; the rest of the chapter consists of a miscellany of information on events in Scotland, England and overseas derived from no known sources, including some errors of fact. *Pluscarden* (103) selects only four topics for inclusion, giving most space to the Ottobono mission (largely re-written and including material from c.22 below); *Extracta* (107-8) also deals with four topics only, including the Ottobono mission.

**1.** *Fife*: Malcolm had been earl since 1230 (see above IX c.47, ll.26-28); his death is noted also in *Wyntoun*, v, 124-5.

**1-2.** *And ... to England*: Queen Eleanor had in fact returned on 29 Oct. 1265 (Powicke, *Henry III*, ii, 518); this sentence is curiously placed just here.

**2-4.** *The son ... Fife*: young Donald of Mar was to be knighted in 1270 (see below c.28, ll.11-12), and succeeded his father 1276 x 1281 (*HBC*, 513; *SP*, v, 577); his wife's name was Helen, and she was still receiving her dower from the Fife estates as late as 1293-4 (Stevenson, *Documents*, i, 410, 414), but her origin is uncertain (cf. above IX c.47, ll.26-28).

**6.** *Roger de Mortimer*: lord of Wigmore HRE (1247-82), who had helped Prince Edward to escape and was his loyal supporter (*DNB*, xxxix, 131-5; *CP*, ix, 276-81).

7. *John d'Eyville*: had been the mainstay of the baronial party in Yorkshire; now a leader of resistance to the king from autumn 1265 until he made his peace on 1 July 1267 (Powicke, *Henry III*, ii, 518, 546).

8. *Robert Hood*: see above c.20, ll.37-63.

12. *Kenilworth WAR*: this castle, a centre of remaining resistance by supporters of Simon de Montfort, was besieged from May to December 1266 (Powicke, *Henry III*, 506, 531, 538-9; Prestwich, *Edward I*, 56-57).

19. *Ottobono*: Cardinal Ottobono Fieschi, a nephew of Pope Innocent IV and later pope himself as Hadrian V for one month in 1276, was in England as papal legate from Oct. 1265 to July 1268 (Powicke and Cheney, *Councils*, ii, 725; *DBI*, i, 335-7; Bagliani, *Cardinali*, 358-79; *ODP*, 199-200); in terms of his letters of appointment dated 5 May 1265 (Theiner, *Monumenta*, 96-98, no.245) he was legate to Scotland as well as England; for an analysis of the Scottish aspects of his legation see Ferguson, *Papal Representatives*, 128-37).

23. *procurations*: Ottobono had in the usual way been authorised (Theiner, *Monumenta*, 98, no. 246) to raise the levy known as procurations from the benefices of the countries to which he was appointed to pay for the expenses of his legation, this time at up to one-tenth of their assessed value; the previous legate Otto in 1239 had probably raised a similar levy (*Dunfermline Registrum*, 137-8, no.221; cf. Ferguson, *Papal Representatives*, 108); the definition of the level of levy given here, which was like a blanket poll-tax, probably bore some relation to the way in which procurations paid locally by benefice-holders to bishops were by this time being commuted to standard money-payments (cf. Dowden, *Church*, 118-21); it may be compared with the procurations which Ottobono levied during each of the three years of his stay in England, when six marks were taken from senior churchmen and corporate communities (Lunt, *Financial Relations*, i, 550-1); and by 1307 at any rate there was a belief that he had also raised the levy on a scale of two pence per mark of assessed value from English parish churches (*ibid.*, 559); if this was the case, it is unlikely that a levy of four marks on parish benefices in Scotland (which was more than a tenth of the assessed annual value of many of them [cf. *Arbroath Liber*, i, 232-45]) was ever a practicable possibility.

24-27. *But ... action*: it is important to note how Bower has changed the *Fordun* text here; Fordun was presumably following his source when he stated that the king stopped the payment (l.25) only after 2000 marks had been collected from the clergy ('accepta a clero pecunia scilicet 2000 marcarum'); it is Bower who adds (protectively in the interests of the clerical order) that the king so acted on the advice of the clergy, and then moves the phrase 'accepta ... marcarum' to the next sentence with his own explanation of why it had been collected – 'to cover the cost of this course of action' (l.27); it seems likely that Bower is trying to make more sense of the puzzling text which he found in *Fordun*, than that he is recording a different tradition found in some separate source; but see also below c.22, ll.12-16 and 46-50.

28-29. ... *lands*: the fortress of Safad in Galilee (see above IX c.36, l.20), which had been re-occupied by the Templars since 1240 fell in July 1266 to

Baibars, the Mameluke sultan of Egypt (Runciman, *Crusades*, iii, 216, 320-1). The events summarized here are described at length in an entry in a 13c hand in the chronicle kept at Coupar Angus Abbey which Bower seems to have consulted (*Chron. Holyrood*, 173-7; cf. 45-49; cf. Macquarrie, *Crusades*, 53-55).

30. *Adam*: Adam de Maxton, monk and cellarer of Melrose ROX, abbot of Newbattle MLO 1260-1, abbot of Melrose since 1 Aug. 1261, was deposed by the general chapter of the whole Cistercian Order in 1267 (not 1266) for reasons more fully explained in *Melrose* (129; cf. 117, 118).

31. *John*: John de Ederham, master of the lay brethren at Melrose, not prior (*ibid.*, 129); abbot until 1269 (see below c.26, l.16); Bower apparently did not have access to *Melrose*.

33-36. ... *Inchcolm*: presumably Bower intends this piece of local Inchcolm information, which is a marginal addition to MS C, to be dated 1266, since it is marked for insertion before his first mention of 1267. Bishop Leicester had been buried in Inchcolm in 1214, Bishop Richard de Prebenda in 1210 (see above, IX c.27, ll.58-60), and Bishop Gilbert in 1236 (see above IX c.52, l.41).

37. *peace*: treaty of Montgomery, 29 Sept. 1267 (Powicke, *Henry III*, ii, 547).

39. *crowned his son*: Louis's heir Philip was made a knight with elaborate ceremony on 5 June 1267 (M.Labarge, *St Louis* [London, 1968], 231); but he was not then crowned or even anointed as had been the practice under the earlier Capetian kings (cf. R.Fawtier, *The Capetian Kings of France* [London, 1960], 57); he was to be crowned in the usual way in Aug. 1271 (see below c.27, l.14).

40. *took the cross*: Louis took the crusader's oath on 24 Mar. 1267, but did not leave France until 2 July 1270 (Setton, *Crusades*, ii, 509, 514).

41-42. *Edmund ... Leicester*: Prince Edmund, born 1245 (*DNB*, xxxii, 33-35) was created earl of Leicester on 26 Oct. 1265, and then earl of Lancaster in addition on 30 June 1267 (*CP*, vii, 379, 381).

43. *Simon*: young Simon crossed the Channel only in Feb. 1266, and remained overseas until his death in 1271 (Powicke, *Henry III*, ii, 519, 609).

44. *Hugh Gifford*: had succeeded to lordship of Yester ELO sometime after 2 Aug. 1247 (cf. Fraser, *Douglas*, iii, no.285; see *Yester Writs*, nos. 15-17); appointed with Alan Durward to the council in Sept. 1255 (Stones, *Documents*, 32; cf. *CDS*, i, 381, 388-9, nos. 1987, 2015, 2023). The Gifford family still held land in the vicinity of Haddington ELO when Bower was a boy there (cf. *SP*, viii, 422).

48. *Bo' Hall*: cf. the basement part of the surviving Yester Castle now called the Goblin Ha', which may date from the 13c (*RCAHM [ELO]*, 146-7).

49. *Meyners*: see above c.4, ll.43-47 note; a knight based in PER (cf. Theiner, *Monumenta*, 71, no.186), supporter of Walter Comyn earl of Menteith in 1244 (*CDS*, i, 551-2, nos. 2671-2), then chamberlain of Scotland in the Durward government at the beginning of the royal minority, at least in

1251 (*HBC*, 185), appointed with Durward again to the council in Sept. 1255 (Stones, *Documents*, 32; cf. *CDS*, i, 381, 388, nos. 1987, 2015), returned with Durward to the council by Nov. 1258 (Stones, *Documents*, 35, no. 11), sealed the treaty of Perth as a baron, 2 July 1266 (*APS*, i, 421). For the Meyners (later Menzies) family see Barrow, *Kingdom*, 332, 374-5.

**51. Robert:** Robert had become abbot of Arbroath 1258 x 1261 (*St Andrews Liber*, 286-7; cf. 309); a successor Abbot John is found in office by 15 Aug. 1268 (*Arbroath Liber*, i, 188, no. 248), for whom see below c. 28, l. 13; an Abbot Sabinus may possibly have held office before Abbot John in 1267, before 4 July (*Brechin Registrum*, i, 7, no. 3 [dating uncertain; cf. 7-8, no. 4]).

**53. Gamelin:** bishop of St Andrews 1255-71.

**55-60. ... years:** this appears to refer to the proceedings which led to the Dictum of Kenilworth of 31 Oct. 1266; the procedure for drawing up this settlement had been agreed at a parliament which met at Kenilworth 22-31 Aug. 1266 (Powicke, *Henry III*, ii, 532-3), when the legate was a key figure (*ibid.*, 530-1); the date here suggested is apparently 'ca 29 August' (i.e. the feast of the Decollation of St John the Baptist); but Bower places these events in the wrong year.

**57. Rouen:** Odo Rigaud, archbishop of Rouen, France 1248-75, was an old friend of Simon de Montfort (*ibid.*, i, 251; ii, 416, 481), and was called on to assist Montfort's government in Sept. 1264 after the battle of Lewes (*Cal. Pat.* 1258-66, 347, 369, 370); but he does not appear to be mentioned in England in 1266 (cf. biographical notes in *Gallia Christiana* [Paris, 1856-99], xi, cols. 66-72).

**60. three years:** the Dictum in fact laid down rules for three groups of supporters of de Montfort, who might redeem their lands at seven times, five times and twice their annual value respectively (Powicke, *Henry III*, ii, 536-7).

## Chapter 22

pp. 359-63

No sources have been traced for this chapter, which was subject to comparatively many changes in MS CA, and still appears to include errors of fact; ll. 27-42 are probably derived from a record kept at St Andrews, as may perhaps ll. 12-16 and 46-50. *Pluscarden* (103-4) covers ll. 12-16, but with different implications and added information, and summarizes the Dunmore case in considerably altered form; *Extracta* (108) summarizes the main items of the chapter without changes.

**1-2. ... Scotland:** this plague has not been traced in English chroniclers – in fact in *Chronicon Thomae Wykes* (RS, 36), 211, 1267 is said to be a year of great plenty.

**10. as ... clearly:** in MS CA Bower withdraws this statement.

**11. Reginald le Chen:** a knight and lord of Inverugie ABD (cf. *Aberdeen-Banff Illustrations*, iv, 599-600 notes); had been one of the Scottish magnates

who under Comyn leadership had concluded an alliance with Llywelyn and the magnates of Wales, 18 Mar. 1258 (*CDS*, i, 421, no. 2155); sheriff of Kincardine in mid-1260s (*ER*, i, 12, 20); see below c. 26, l. 34.

**12-16. ... account:** here Bower is apparently referring back above to c. 21, ll. 19-27, though now he is not following *Fordun*, but some other unknown source; this payment was presumably a compromise following the appeal to the pope in 1266; at sixpence in every mark of assessed value this appears to be the same level of procurations that the legate received in England, where it was defined as twopence in the mark for each three years (see above c. 21, l. 23 note); at least some of this money was certainly collected and paid over to the legate in England by May 1268 (see below c. 24, ll. 17-19 note); the money paid to the king in advance had been explained by Bower above (c. 21, ll. 26-27); but here the translation of 'de consensu regis' (text l. 13) is not clear – perhaps it means 'with the king's consent'.

The mention of payment at a lesser rate to Cardinal Hubert is puzzling; Hubert de Cocconato, cardinal of St Eustachius 1261-76, is not known to have ever been a legate in Britain (cf. *DBI*, xxvi, 538-41); Bower's source must surely have misled him here; a possible explanation is that the papal collector to Scotland who was to be appointed in 1274, Bagimond di Vezza, (see below c. 35, l. 22) had been a chaplain to this Cardinal Hubert (*ibid.*, 540), and Bower's source may have confused the chaplain with the master when reporting on procurations obtained by this papal collector; but note that in England at least collectors did not take up procurations on as wide a scale as legates (Lunt, *Financial Relations*, i, 545-7).

**17-45. ... follows:** for Bishop Gamelin's relations with his cathedral priory see Watt, *Graduates*, 213; they had together suffered at the hands of the Durward faction, though in this case the offender was a member of the Comyn faction with which Gamelin himself was associated (see above c. 4, l. 54; c. 8, ll. 42-49); this makes his stand in this case all the more noteworthy; Bower inserts this story under the year 1267, but it had probably been a long-running affair, though no other evidence about it is known; the framework of the story is presumably Bower's own.

**30. John de Dunmore:** also called Dundemore; had been one of the Comyn counsellors excluded from the royal council in Sept. 1255 (Stones, *Documents*, 31, and one of the magnates who under Comyn leadership had concluded an alliance with Llywelyn and the magnates of Wales, 18 Mar. 1258 (*CDS*, i, 421, no. 2155); envoy of King Alexander to Henry III, May 1259, May 1260 and May 1265 (*ibid.*, 422, 430, 473, 515, nos. 2157, 2191, 2381; cf. no. 2551); he had succeeded to the lands of Denmuir in Abdie parish FIF after June 1248 (*Lindores Chartulary*, 69-71; cf. 240, 256); see also *ibid.*, 148, *ER*, i, 31, and *St Andrews Liber*, 384-6, where it is clear that he had died by Feb. 1285/6.

**46-50. ... visitation:** see discussion in Ferguson, *Papal Representatives*, 133-4; the messenger this time may have been a Master Maurice, who certainly came on one mission from the legate to Scotland; one of the legate's messengers (whether he or another) met with threats to his life from some of the king's servants, and also with a royal instruction that no one was to obey him (cf. *EHR*, xv [1900], 87-120, especially nos. 4, 7, 34). It is likely that the

Scottish government had not joined with Henry III in asking for a legatine visit in the first place (cf. above c.21, l.19).

51. *Albin*: bishop of Brechin since 1246 (Watt, *Graduates*, 5-7); his year of death is given as 1269 in *Melrose* (144), which is normally regarded as the better authority (but see next note).

52-58. *in whose place ... consecration*: William de Crachin is found as dean of Brechin 1244 x 1266 (National Library of Scotland, Adv. MS 34.6.24, p.377; cf. Watt, *Fasti*, 42); if the story here is correct, he must have been elected in time for him to go to England and see the legate before Ottobono left that country in July 1268 (see above c.21, l.18 note); he would also have had to secure consecration at Rome before 29 Nov. 1268, when the death of Pope Clement IV led to a prolonged papal vacancy until March 1272, during which episcopal appointments were certainly held up (see below c.28, ll.29-34); it seems more likely that he was not elected until 1269 (see previous note) and that he died in 1274 without consecration (see below c.30, ll.63-64 and c.34, ll.4-5; cf. Watt, *Fasti*, 39).

## Chapter 23 pp.363-7

This chapter offers reflections on Bishop Gamelin as a model bishop in relation to royal authority; most of it is taken from Robert Holkot. *Pluscarden* (104) does not follow Bower here, but briefly states how a wise man should face up to his adversaries; nothing in *Extracta*.

1. *Gamelin*: bishop of St Andrews (see above c.22, ll.27-45).

4. *Herod ... John*: Herod put John the Baptist in prison (Luke 3:19-20).

7. *... kings*: Wisdom of Solomon 10:16. 'He' is Moses (as inspired by Wisdom).

8-84. *... sense*: MS C has 'Holkot' in the margin opposite the start of this long extract from *Robert Holkot super librum Sapientie* (Basel, 1506), c.X, lectio 132C, fo.124v. The quotation is a full one (the main variants are noted below), but incomplete, for after introducing Holkot's four qualities of a good prelate, Bower stops his extract before the end of the discussion of the third quality, and omits entirely the discussion of the fourth quality.

9. *sound doctrine*: Holkot has 'sacre doctrine' for 'sane doctrine' (text l.8).

13-16. *The subjective ... kings*: Bower displays in MSS C, D and R in schematic form what Holkot expresses thus: 'A parte quidem subjecti rectitudo consciencie quia "stetit", fortitudo resistencie quia "contra"; a parte vero objecti altitudo reverencie quia "reges", et magnitudo malivolencie quia "horendos".' He has changed Holkot's 'malivolencie' to 'benevolencie' (text l.16); clearly therefore Holkot's discussion of this fourth quality has to be dropped (see above), and Bower offers no substitute discussion of his own.

18-20. *... peace*: Ephesians 6:14-15.

28-29. *... palm-tree*: Song of Songs 7:7.

30. *tetragon*: Holkot cites Aristotle correctly – 'tetragonus sine vituperio' i.e. 'four-square beyond reproach' (*Ethica Nicomachea*, I, c.10, 1100b, l.22, trans. W.D.Ross [Oxford, 1925]). Bower ends this paragraph by omitting some twelve lines of the printed text of Holkot.

37-38. *... neighbours*: Psalm 79:7 (*Vulgate*); 80:6 (*NEB*).

40. *Elijah ... Ahab*: 3 Kings 18 (*Vulgate*); 1 Kings 18 (*NEB*).

47. *Alexander*: Alexander the Great of Macedon.

48. *Porus*: an Indian king (*OCD*, 866).

59. *army*: Holkot adds: 'Hanc cautelam narrat Johannes Beleth libro ii De officio ecclesie.' See *Johannes Beleth Summa de Ecclesiasticis Officiis* (Corpus Christianorum edn, 1976), c.137Ab, p.268. Cf. above II c.54.

67. *... church*: Matthew 16:18.

68. *them*: Holkot adds 'elephantes' after 'istos' (text l.61).

71. *who endowed churches*: added by Bower to the Holkot text.

78. *... ablaze*: Job 41:12 (*Vulgate*); 41:21 (*NEB*).

83-84. *... sense*: Proverbs 11:22. In MS CA Bower refers to the fuller title, the Proverbs of Solomon (*ODCC*, 1136-7).

He breaks off here from Holkot's discussion of the third quality of a good prelate some six lines of printed text before the end.

86. *Moses ... wonders*: Exodus 7-11.

## Chapter 24 pp.367-9

ll.14-25 and 28-37 are taken from *Fordun* (303, middle of annal 59); the source of the rest is unknown. *Pluscarden* (104) mentions only the crusaders and the abortive tax on the clergy, with the death of the under-king of Man; *Extracta* (108-9) touches on most of the chapter.

1. *Cheam*: bishop of Glasgow since 1259 (see above c.11, ll.51-57); he had sealed the treaty of Perth, 2 July 1266 (*APS*, i, 421); Bower continues his emphasis on his poor relations with his clergy (as above c.11); *Lanercost* (65) suggests that he went overseas intending to go to the papal court over his ambition to extend his diocese southwards at the expense of Carlisle diocese; see below c.25, l.34.

5. *deprived*: *Extracta* changes the meaning here to suggest that this unfriendly clerk had benefited from his patronage ('per eum beneficatus').

6. *... return*: not traced elsewhere.

9. *Edmund*: see above c.21, ll.41-42.

12. *John son of John Comyn*: see *SP*, i, 507-8; he was apparently not the eldest son.

**14. summoned:** probably Dec. 1267 (Powicke and Cheney, *Councils*, ii, 738); the council met in London 22-24 or 23-25 April 1268 (*ibid.*).

**18-21. the bishops ... them:** presumably the bishops decided on their course of action at a meeting of the provincial council of the Scottish church early in 1268; their representatives were Richard de Inverkeithing, bishop of Dunkeld (see above c.3, l.42) and Robert de Prebenda, an Englishman who had been bishop of Dunblane since 1259 (Watt, *Graduates*, 456-7; see above c.11, l.21 note); these two had been responsible for collecting in Scotland the agreed procurations for the legate (see above c.22, ll.12-16), and paid over some of the money at London, 1 May 1268 (*ibid.*, 281).

**21-22. And ... them:** it is not known how the lower clergy chose their representatives; perhaps they had come to be associated in some way with the provincial council to formulate responses to the legate's financial demands (see above c.21, ll.19-27; c.22, ll.12-16). Simon was the abbot of Dunfermline OSB (see below c.36, l.21); the prior of Lindores O.Tiron. was probably the John who held this office when promoted abbot in 1273 (see below c.33, l.60).

**22-25. The legate ... them:** Ottobono proclaimed 53 canons or statutes at this council which became 'the most important single collection of local law for the English church' (Powicke and Cheney, *Councils*, ii, 747-92; cf. 739); none of these were particularly concerned with the Scottish church; but since canon no.18 (regarding payment of procurations to archdeacons etc.) was copied into a register kept at Dunfermline Abbey (*Dunfermline Registrum*, 202, no.312), it may be assumed that at least the abbot of Dunfermline brought a copy of these canons back with him to Scotland. The word 'personis' (text l.21) is more likely to mean clergy in general than just parsons. Bower changes Fordun's 'episcopi Scocie facere recusarunt' to 'clerus Scocie observare recusarunt' (text l.22); cf. above c.21, text l.21); he is probably reflecting the 15c attitude of a monastic superior that such matters were not the concern of the bishops alone. It remains true that the canons of Ottobono did not achieve general currency in Scotland.

**25-27. However ... St John:** added by Bower to the *Fordun* text; Ottobono left England 11 x 20 July (Powicke and Cheney, *Councils*, ii, 725); perhaps the date in Bower's source was 24 June – the Nativity of St John the Baptist.

**29-31. For Louis ... crusaders:** Louis and his three sons had taken the oath on 24 Mar. 1267 (see above c.21, ll.39-40); Bower introduces an error into the *Fordun* text here when he calls the king's first-born son Louis (instead of Philip).

**31-32. Edward and Edmund:** they took the crusading oath together at Northampton, June 1268 (Powicke, *Henry III*, ii, 562).

**33-37. for whose ... to do:** this passage in *Fordun* is the only evidence for this letter of Pope Clement IV; it would have been dated between June 1268, when the English princes took the cross, and 29 Nov. 1268, when the pope died. Clement had already in 1266 failed to get King Alexander to agree to a tax of a tenth on the Scottish clergy to be paid to King Henry to help with his debts (Ferguson, *Papal Representatives*, 132); for the financial picture in England see Powicke, *Henry III*, ii, 562-5.

**37-39. because ... kingdom:** an explanation added by Bower to the *Fordun* text (see below c.25, ll.63-66). For Scottish interest in crusading at this time see Macquarrie, *Crusades*, 56-63.

**40. Atholl:** see below c.26, ll.54; c.27, l.10.  
*Carrick:* see below c.29, ll.15-16.

**45. Man:** Magnus Olafsson had been under-king of Man since 1252 (see above c.18, l.11).

*widow:* Mary, daughter of Ewen of Argyll (cf. *PSAS*, xc [1957], 211-13).

**46. Strathearn:** Earl Malise (1237 x 1244-1271) seems to have married Mary as his fourth wife in April 1268; she was to have two more husbands after him before dying 1304-5 (*SP*, viii, 246-7; see below c.29, l.10).

## Chapter 25 pp.369-73

Only ll.63-66 are taken from *Fordun* (303-4, end of annal 59); for ll.40-59 Bower (now that *Vincent* is no longer available for items of continental history) turns to *Martin*; the rest of the chapter comprises brief notes from some unknown source. Nothing from this chapter in *Pluscarden*; *Extracta* (109) touches on four topics only.

**3. assaults of rebels:** Magnus the under-king of Man had recently died; see above c.24, ll.45-47, of which this passage is a continuation.

**10. Mary ... d'Acre:** the king's mother Mary de Coucy had been married again early in 1257 to John d'Acre, a younger son of John de Brienne (cf. above IX c.33, l.54; c.38, ll.49, 58); he had been brought up in the family circle of King Louis IX in France; he and his wife visited Scotland in the summer of 1257, when already his wife's dower lands as widow of Alexander II were his main support; these lands were said by Matthew Paris to amount to one-third of the Scottish royal resources; but thereafter John's career lay mainly in France and Castile until his death in 1296 (see some details in Watt, 'Minority', 18-19).

**12. John ... peace:** Bishop John de Cheam was certainly at Tournai, now in Belgium, in June 1268 and was to die at Meaux in France a few months later (see below l.34); presumably he negotiated with John d'Acre in France; the estranged husband certainly did continue to receive an income from his wife's dower, presumably until her death in 1284 (see below c.39, ll.26-27; see also *APS*, i, 115; *CDS*, i, 554, no.2676).

**16. countess of Mar:** said to be called Elizabeth Comyn (*SP*, ii, 254; v, 576).

**18-21. ... legate:** the substance of this quarrel is not known; William held the earldom of Mar 1242 x 1244-1276 x 1281 (*HBC*, 513); Archibald was bishop of Moray 1253-98 (Watt, *Fasti*, 214; Dowden, *Bishops*, 150-1); the legate must have acted before he left England in July 1268 (see above c.24, ll.25-27).



**22-26.** ... *wounded*: the abbot of Melrose was probably still John de Ederham (see above c.21, l.31); Bishop Gamelin of St Andrews will have brought his charges against a religious house in another diocese (Glasgow) before the all-Scotland provincial council.

**24.** *Wedale*: the area around Stow MLO in the valley of the Gala Water, where the bishops of St Andrews had an estate (cf. Duncan, *Kingdom*, 420-1).

**27-30.** ... *sister*: cf. above c.20, ll.66-71; again this visit is not otherwise recorded; since the visit said to be to Haddington mentioned in *Lanercost* (81) supposedly followed Edward's taking of the cross (cf. above c.24, ll.31-32), it seems to fit the summer of 1268 rather than early 1267.

**30-33.** *Afterwards ... difficulties*: this meeting took place in Sept. 1268, when King Henry was in York (*CDS*, i, 491-6, nos. 2482-3, 2486, 2488-95).

**34.** *Glasgow*: John de Cheam had been abroad since 1267 (see above c.24, l.1); he died after 11 June 1268, when he was at Tournai, and presumably some time before 13 Oct. 1268 (Watt, *Fasti*, 146); cf. above l.12; the place of death and burial is reported in *Melrose* (141) as Meaux, dép. Seine-et-Marne, France.

**35.** *Moffat*: see above c.11, l.21; elected bishop of Glasgow for the second time on or after 13 Oct. 1268, when some of the canons made a pre-election compact (*Glasgow Registrum*, i, 174, no.213); see below c.27, l.45.

**39.** *Clement*: Pope Clement IV died 29 Nov. 1268 (see below).

**40-48.** ... *beheaded*: summarized from *Martin*, 441; Charles of Anjou, younger brother of King Louis IX, accepted a treaty with Pope Clement in April 1265 to come to Italy to seize the Sicilian throne from the Hohenstaufen King Manfred; after Manfred's death on 26 Feb. 1266 Conradin, son of King Conrad (died May 1254) and grandson of the Emperor Frederick II, came to Italy from Germany to claim his inheritance in Oct. 1267 at the age of 15, was defeated at the battle of Tagliacozzo on 23 Aug. 1268, and executed at Naples on 29 Oct. 1268 (*CMH*, vi, 183-9).

**49-59.** ... *suffering*: these lines are copied from *Martin*, ut cit.; for confirmation of the details of this pope's career see *ODP*, 196-7.

**50.** *same length*: the vacancy in fact lasted three years and four months.

**51.** *sons*: in fact his family comprised two daughters (ibid.).

**60.** *In 1269*: in MS CA Bower moved the rest of this chapter to the beginning of c.26 (as in G).

**63-66.** ... *account*: in *Fordun* this passage follows the material included above c.24, ll.28-37; cf. *CDS*, i, 507, no.2527 for one of King Henry's clerks going to Scotland in Mar. 1269 on undefined business.

## Chapter 26 pp.373-5

None of this chapter comes from *Fordun*. Though Scots were with Louis IX at his death at Tunis, the source of ll.40-70 is *Martin*. *Pluscarden* (104) has

only a very brief account of the deaths of the earl of Atholl and King Louis, introducing some different detail; *Extracta* (109) includes just three Scottish items.

**1.** *Atholl*: for David earl of Atholl see above c.18, l.45; this quarrel must have taken place before he set out on crusade (cf. below l.54).

**1-2.** *John Comyn*: had inherited the lordship of Badenoch in Strathspey INV (see above c.11, ll.40-50 note).

**2.** *Blair*: presumably Blair Atholl PER, which lay at the southern end of a mountain pass from Comyn's stronghold at Ruthven in Badenoch (near Kingussie); it is not known how John Comyn obtained rights in Atholl, where the earl's principal castle was at Moulin, near modern Pitlochry (cf. Duncan, *Kingdom*, 441); but his son John by 1289 had rights of some kind at Invervack and Invertilt, both near Blair (cf. *Coupar Angus Chrs.*, i, 134-6, no.62).

**5-8.** ... *dignity*: the vacancy lasted from 29 Nov. 1268 to 27 Mar. 1272 (*ODP*, 197).

**9.** *at the Roman court*: then at Viterbo, Italy (ibid.).

**11-15.** ... *being*: these remarks on Simon de Montfort's posthumous reputation are more sympathetic to his cause than Bower's earlier account of him above cc.19-20.

**11.** *Evesham WOR*: Simon's burial-place after the battle there in 1265 (Powicke, *Henry III*, ii, 502; cf. above c.20, ll.14-17).

**16.** *Melrose*: Abbot John de Ederham (see above c.21, l.31).

**17.** *Keldeleth*: see above c.4, ll.47-63; see *Melrose* (144; cf. p.lxx) for a similar entry regarding this change of abbot in 1269.

**20.** *Richard*: had been abbot of Cambuskenneth OSA STL since Nov. 1240 x Dec. 1253 (*Dunfermline Registrum*, 70, 49, nos.117, 82).

*Richard the Fat*: not otherwise known; another abbot was in office by Sept. 1287 (*Inchaffray Chrs.*, 111, no.118; cf. *Cambuskenneth Registrum*, p.li).

**23.** *Hugh*: prior of the Isle of May in the Firth of Forth (alternatively of their mainland property at Pittenweem FIF), a cell of Reading Abbey OSB BRK, since some date 1251 x 1260 (*Melrose*, 109; *St Andrews Liber*, 384; cf. ibid., 108 for a William who must have been prior before him in the period).

**24-33.** *William ... rights*: William de Gloucester had apparently taken up office by 25 Oct. 1270 (*APS*, i, 102; cf. *PSAS*, xc [1957], 70); for subsequent developments cf. *MRHS*, 59-60; the statement here in a marginal addition to MS C that William Wischard, bishop of St Andrews 1273-9 (see below c.28, ll.40-50), bought this priory from Reading Abbey is erroneous; the sale seems to have taken place under Bishop William Fraser (1280-97) in the late 1280s. The bishop's surname is not legible now on MS C, fo.216; it is just possible that it was 'Fraser' and was misread by subsequent scribes. Since this marginal addition was not copied into MS CA, Bower may not be responsible for it; presumably he drew on some St Andrews source for this topic.



33. *monastery of St Andrews*: the cathedral monastery OSA at St Andrews FIF.
34. *le Chen*: see above c.22, l.11.
35. *Sir Thomas*: his father Thomas son of Ranulf had died in 1262 (*Melrose*, 118); came to call himself Thomas Randolph by the 1270s; was to remain chamberlain until Aug. 1277 x May 1278 (*HBC*, 185; see *SP*, vi, 289-91; *Scottish Notes and Queries*, 3rd series, viii [1930], 2-3; *The Scottish Genealogist*, xxv [1978], 104-5).
- 37-70. ... *surrender*: this account of King Louis's second crusade is wrongly entered under 1269 instead of 1270.
- 40-70. ... *pagans*: from *Martin* (474), under date 1270; see also *Lanercost*, 86.
41. *overseas*: see above IX cc.62-63.  
*set out*: from Aigues-Mortes and Marseilles, southern France on 2 July 1270 (Setton, *Crusades*, ii, 514-15).
42. *sail*: Martin has 'recuperacione' here for 'navigacione' (text l.35).  
*two sons*: his heir Philip and John Tristan (*ibid.*, 516; see below c.27, ll.9, 13).
43. *king of Navarre*: Theobald II (1253-70), who was also count of Champagne in France, and was married to a daughter of King Louis (Isenberg, *Stammtafeln*, ii, table 43).
46. *Tunis*: Martin has 'Thunicii' for 'Tirnicii' (text l.37; cf. l.39).
51. *one of the sons*: John died on 3 Aug. 1270 (M.Labarge, *St Louis* [London, 1968], 242).
52. *Albano*: Radulf Grosparmi, cardinal bishop of Albano 1261-70; died 11 Aug. 1270 (Eubel, *Hierarchia*, i, 8).
- 52-53. *fnally ... himself*: Louis died on 25 Aug. 1270 (Setton, *Crusades*, ii, 516).
54. *Also ... August*: Bower inserts this Scottish information into the *Martin* text; see above c.18, l.45; cf. Macquarrie, *Crusades*, 57, where it is pointed out that Bower's information here is independent of *Melrose* (see below c.27, l.10).
55. *Tusculum*: Bower has omitted 'cardinali' before 'Tusculano' (text l.47) from the *Martin* text; Odo de Châteauroux was cardinal bishop of Tusculum 1244-73 (see above IX c.62, l.61).
- 58-59. ... *adversities*: other chroniclers identify this as a prayer of St Denis (e.g. John de Joinville, in Joinville and Villehardouin, *Chronicles of the Crusades* [Harmondsworth, 1963], 349).
- 60-61. ... *people*: Joinville calls this the prayer of St James the Apostle (*ibid.*).
- 62-64. ... *O Lord*: cf. Psalms 5:8 and 137:2 (*Vulgate*); 5:7 and 138:2 (*NEB*).
- 66-67. *Charles king of Sicily*: Louis's youngest brother (see above c.25, ll.40-48); he arrived at Tunis from Sicily just after Louis's death (Setton, *Crusades*, ii, 516).

68. *summoned*: Martin has 'mandaveret' for 'miserat' (text l.57).

71-72. *He ... surrender*: this conclusion to the chapter is added by Bower to his extract from the *Martin* text; Charles in fact negotiated a treaty which led to the crusaders evacuating Tunis (*ibid.*).

## Chapter 27 pp.377-9

ll.5-12 are developed from a shorter account in *Fordun* (304, start of annal 60), avoiding Fordun's error of including Adam earl of Carrick among the dead at Tunis; Bower claims to be quoting from other *Lives* of St Louis, which have not been identified, and then returns to a miscellany of ecclesiastical appointments in Scotland. *Pluscarden* (104) mentions only the burning of Elgin; *Extracta* (109-10) concentrates on the Scottish church appointments.

2-4. ... *poor*: quotation not traced.

5-12. ... *Scotland*: this account now based on *Fordun* repeats what has already been said in c.26 above, but only in a very general way. *Fordun* places it under 1271, Bower under 1269, while 1270 is correct.

6. *island called Barbary*: false geographical information which Fordun has found and Bower has accepted.

9. *John Tristan*: his second name was given to him by his mother at the time of his birth in Egypt in 1250 during his father's first crusade there, reflecting the grim news of Louis' capture, which the queen received just before she gave birth (A.Foulet, 'Jehan Tristan, son of St Louis in history and legend', *Romance Philology*, xii [1958-9], 235-40). John in fact died on the way to Tunis.

10-12. *David ... Scotland*: different information on Earl David's death from that already inserted above c.26, l.54; the return of his body to Scotland is not mentioned in *Melrose* (144).

11-12. *bought ... death*: a characteristic Bower elaboration for MS CA of the simple language of MS C.

14. *crowned*: King Philip III was in fact crowned on 15 Aug. 1271 (Ch.-V. Langlois, *La Règne de Philippe le Hardi* [Paris, 1887], 55), i.e. on the feast of the Ascension of the Virgin, not her Purification (2 Feb.).

15. *St Denis*: the royal abbey near Paris; the coronation was in fact held in Rheims cathedral as usual (*ibid.*).

18. *large sum of money*: by the treaty mentioned above c.26, ll.71-72 note.

20. *senator*: Charles of Anjou held office as senator of the city of Rome by papal influence three times – 1264-7, 1268-78, 1281-5 (*CMH*, vi, 183, 187, 189, 196, 197); the statement here about this office is misleading.

21. *famous works*: St Louis was not himself an author; 'opera' (text l.18) presumably means buildings.

22-23. *as I have found ... Edinburgh*: a useful indication in MS CA of the whereabouts in the 15c of a *Life* of St Louis which Bower used; several *Lives*, including two by Dominicans, have been printed in *RHF*, xx, but none correspond exactly with the paragraph which follows here. For the Edinburgh house of the Dominican friars see *MRHS*, 118.

29-31. ... *sin*: see M. Labarge, *St Louis* (London, 1968), 24.

37. *royal statute*: no such formal edict is known, though the incident is reported by the king's biographers (cf. *RHF*, xx, 19).

45. *Moffat*: see above c.25, l.35; cf. the praise for his character there with the criticism which follows here; see also *Lanercost*, 53.

48. *Wischard*: archdeacon of St Andrews since 1254 and chancellor probably since 1257 (Watt, *Graduates*, 590-4); see below c.28, ll.40-54.

53-55. *Roger ... elected*: nothing more is known of these superiors of the abbey of Crossraguel OSB AYR; this house had been founded as a dependency of the Cluniac abbey of Paisley RNF apparently some decades earlier (*MRHS*, 63-64); Roger and Nicholas are the first known abbots, and it is curious that they were both drawn from the traditional Benedictine community at Dunfermline FIF (where Bower presumably found his information) rather than from Paisley; an abbot called Patrick is found in office 1286 x 1292 (*Paisley Registrum*, 129).

56. *Baltrodi*: had been bishop of Caithness since 1262 (Watt, *Graduates*, 25-26).

58. *Robert*: had been abbot of Scone PER since the early 1240s (*Inchaffray Chrs.*, 64, no.72); Scone was an Augustinian house presumably well known to Bower.

62. *Nicholas*: his election as bishop must have been after 31 July 1272 (*Scone Liber*, 84, no.119); it was not confirmed (see below c.33, ll.41-42).

63-64. *the abbot ... Caithness*: the abbot of Scone was a canon of the cathedral chapter of Caithness at Dornoch, holding as his prebend the church of Kildonan SUT, which had been appropriated to Scone Abbey (*Bannatyne Misc.*, iii, 19; Watt, *Fasti*, 62; Cowan, *Parishes*, 99).

## Chapter 28 pp.379-83

ll.1-5 are derived from *Fordun* (305-6, part of annal 61); Bower's other source is unknown, but was probably some lost chronicle. Nothing is taken into *Pluscarden: Extracta* (110) selects five items only.

1-5. ... *earldom*: Fordun had mentioned this embassy as taking place 'in ultimis pene diebus' of Henry III; Bower places it here (see below c.36, ll.47-58).

1. *Dunfermline*: for Abbot Simon see below c.36, l.23.

*Mar*: for Earl William see above c.25, ll.18-21.

2. *Huntingdon*: Alexander II had done homage to Henry III for his honours in England in 1217 (see above IX c.31, ll.44-46), at a time when the earldom of Huntingdon was held by his Uncle David (see above IX c.1, l.24); the lands of this earldom had been divided among heiresses in 1237 on the death of David's son Earl John, and the earldom itself suppressed (*CP*, vi, 647; cf. iii, 169-70; W. Farrer, *Honors and Knights' Fees* [London, 1923-5], ii, 296-301). Alexander III had a grant of the honour of Huntingdon on 2 Sept. 1256 (*SAEC*, 375), but this is thought to have amounted to little or nothing in financial terms (cf. Duncan, *Kingdom*, 569); clearly there was no intention of reviving the earldom now.

6. *Potton*: bishop since 1257 (see above c.11, l.12); in Aberdeen tradition his date of death was later recorded as 26 Apr. 1272 (*Aberdeen Registrum*, ii, 247), but Bower's year-date is probably the correct one (cf. Boece, *Vitae*, 14 for contradictory dates).

7. *Benham*: see is said to have been vacant in 1271 (see below ll.29-31); he was eventually consecrated at the Roman court 27 Mar. x 23 July 1272, and held this see until 1281 x 1282 (Watt, *Graduates*, 39-40).

8. *Fife*: for Earl Colban see above c.18, ll.45-46, and *Wyntoun*, v, 124-5; his son Duncan came of age in 1284 (see below c.39, ll.42-44), and lived until 1288 (*SP*, iv, 11; see below XI c.11).

*Alexander*: the king's heir was eight years old then also (see above c.18, ll.1-2); the revenues of the earldom were presumably now used to support the expenses of his upbringing.

11. *Donald*: was to succeed his father as earl of Mar by July 1281 (*SP*, v, 577).

13. *John*: had been abbot since 1267 x 1268 (see above c.21, l.51).

14. *Inverlunan*: served as abbot of Arbroath until 1275 (see below c.35, l.18).

15. *Adam*: had succeeded another Adam as abbot of Balmerino O.Cist. FIF in 1260 (*Melrose*, 117).

*Perisby*: abbot until 1281 (see below c.37, ll.44-50); perhaps connected with a Hugh de Perisby found as sheriff of Roxburgh 1279-86 (Raine, *North Durham*, no.138; *Kelso Liber*, i, 180, no.220).

17. *William Ferrers*: a younger son of Margaret, eldest daughter of Roger de Quincy, wife of William earl of Ferrers or Derby (d.1254), who was to live until Mar. 1281; his older brother Robert had forfeited the family earldom in 1266 for supporting Simon de Montfort (cf. *CP*, iv, 198-200); Roger de Quincy earl of Winchester had died in 1264 as constable of Scotland (see above c.18, ll.38-40); William was to live until shortly before Dec. 1287 (*CP*, v, 340-2).

19. *widow*: the widow of Colban earl of Fife was called Anne; she was the daughter of Sir Hugh le Despenser, who had served as justiciar of England during the period of Baronial Reform, and had died at Evesham (*ibid.*, iv, 261); cf. *SP*, iv, 10-11 where it is suggested without evidence that she was a daughter of Alan Durward.

20. *Buchan*: this leading member of the Comyn family had married Eliz-

abeth (or Isabel) the second of Roger de Quincy's three heiress daughters (*CP*, xii, pt.2, 752-3); if he did now give up the office of constable – and he did not claim the title in Feb. 1273 (*Aberdeen Registrum*, i, 30) – he obtained it again by 20 May 1275 (*RMS*, ii, no.962), and Countess Margaret in fact resigned her right in the constableness in favour of the earl of Buchan at some date, perhaps in 1274 or 1275 (cf. Duncan, *Kingdom*, 586).

**26-28.** ... *hands*: see Prestwich, *Edward I*, 78; cf. longer account in *Melrose*, 147-8.

**30-31.** *Glasgow* ... *St Andrews*: see of Glasgow was vacant 1270-Jan. 1273; Brechin 1269-1275 x 1276; Aberdeen 1270-Mar. x July 1272; Caithness 1270-Jan. x Sept. 1275; and St Andrews Apr. 1271-Oct.1273 (Watt, *Fasti*, 146, 39, 2, 58, 293); cf. below c.30, ll.20-21, 55-64.

**31.** *held* ... *hand*: the king had a regalian right to the revenues from the temporal property of vacant episcopal sees.

**34.** *vacant*: the papal see was vacant Nov. 1268-Mar. 1272.

**36.** *Gamelin*: died 29 Apr. 1271 (see above VI c.43; cf. *Wyntoun*, v, 124-7); see Watt, *Graduates*, 209-14.

*Inchmurdo*: a house belonging to the bishops of St Andrews near Boarhills FIF, perhaps on the site of Lower Kenly Farm (*Discovery and Excavation in Scotland* 1983 [Council of British Archaeology (Scotland), 1983], 9).

**37-38.** *buried* ... *north*: cf. D.McRoberts, *The Medieval Church of St Andrews* (Glasgow, 1976), 87-88.

**39.** *defender* ... *church*: see above cc.22-23.

**40-54.** *In his place* ... *grows*: for Wischard see above c.27, l.48; his election was on 3 June 1271 (see above VI c.43); under canon law this was a 'postulation' or conditional election, since he had already been elected to another see and so could not technically be a candidate (cf. *DDC*, vi, col.1093); special papal permission was required for his translation to St Andrews (cf. below cc.31-33 for delays over his confirmation and consecration).

**46.** *twenty-two [churches]*: only three of these can certainly be identified (Watt, *Graduates*, 591); Bower is probably repeating an exaggerated tradition, of which there is no hint in *Wyntoun* (v, 124-7); it is not clear whether or not the critical comments here were in his source; it is likely that it was Bower who added the quotations that follow.

**49-50.** *St Andrews*: MS CA adds:

O si scirent ambiciosi quanto onere pregravarentur, cum adepti fuerint quod tam anhelio desiderio concupierant. 'Multi', inquit Bernardus, 'non tanta fiducia et alacritate currebant ad honores, si et se sentirent et onere. Gravari metuerent; nec cum tanto labore et periculo quarumlibet affectarent infulas dignitatum. Nunc vero quia sola attenditur gloria et non pena, purum esse clericum erubescitur in ecclesia, sese viles estimant et ingloriosiores, qui quocumque loco eminenciori non fuerint sublimati.'

The quotation is from St Bernard, *Opera*, vii, 'Epistolae', i, ed. J.Leclercq

and H.Rochais (Rome, 1974), no.42, VII, 25, p.121, ll.16-21, where there are some textual variants e.g. 'esse' for 'et se' (l.3), 'onera' for 'onere' (l.4), add 'profecto' after 'Gravari' (l.4), 'seque' for 'sese' (l.6), 'inglorios' for 'ingloriosiores' (l.7), and add 'in' before 'loco' (l.7).

**52-54.** ... *grows*: ll.52-53 come from Juvenal, *Satires*, xii, ll.50-51 (Loeb edn, p.238); l.54 is from the same source, xiv, l.139 (Loeb edn, p.274); cf. Walther, *Proverbia*, nos. 18,298 and 3731, where this occurrence of these lines is not noted.

**55-58.** ... *Evesham*: this happened on 13 Mar. 1271 (Powicke, *Henry III*, ii, 606-9). This Henry is usually known as Henry of Almain (*DNB*, xxvi, 96-100). Viterbo is north of Rome, Italy.

**58.** *Evesham*: see above c.20, ll.14-17; Simon's sons were Simon and Guy de Montfort.

## Chapter 29 pp.383-5

The source of ll.1-14 is probably the same lost chronicle as above c.28; but ll.15-41 and 49-53 come from *Fordun* (304-5, most of annal 60). *Pluscarden* (104-6) has the Carrick-Bruce material divided into three parts in shortened and re-written form, mentioning that King Robert I was buried in Dunfermline Abbey and that David earl of Huntingdon was the founder of Lindores Abbey; its MSS give two different dates for King Robert's birth. *Extracta* (110-11) covers Robert Wishart and the Carrick-Bruce material, including the verse.

1. *William de Soules*: see above c.18, ll.41-43.

2. *Haddington ELO*.

**4-9.** ... *chancellor*: for the origin of Robert Wishart and his relationship to William Wischard (see above c.28, ll.40-54), see Watt, *Graduates*, 585; as a traditional national hero his surname is here spelled in its customary modern form rather than as he and his contemporaries spelled it; he had become archdeacon of Lothian in St Andrews diocese May x Nov. 1267 (cf. Watt, *Fasti*, 310); must have been elected to see of Glasgow sometime after the postulation of William Wischard to see of St Andrews on 3 June 1271; he would have been concerned to negotiate both appointments at the papal court once Gregory X had taken up office in Mar. 1272.

**10.** *Strathearn*: see above c.24, l.46; Malise had held this earldom since 1237 x 1244, and died sometime before 23 Nov. 1271 (*SP*, viii, 245-7); he was a benefactor of the Augustinian abbey of Inchaffray PER (ibid.).

**12.** *Dunblane*: the earls of Strathearn had for a century or more been patrons and benefactors of the see of Dunblane (Dowden, *Church*, 10).

**13-14.** ... *place*: this appears to be a misplaced entry in Bower's source; the bishop who died was probably the Robert who held the see of Ross 1215-49, and who developed his cathedral church at Fortrose in Rosemarkie

parish ROS; the Robert who had been archdeacon was certainly consecrated bishop June 1249 x June 1250, and is likely to have died late in 1271 or early 1272 (as here), for Ross is not included above c.28, ll.30-31 among the five Scottish sees which were said to be vacant in 1271; see discussion in Watt, *Fasti*, 266-7. On the buildings at Fortrose see J. Close-Brooks, *Exploring Scotland's Heritage: The Highlands* [Edinburgh, 1986], 116, no.54).

**15-17. Adam ... earldom:** Adam, lord of Kilconquhar FIF, held the earldom of Carrick by right of marriage before Oct. 1266 to Marjorie (not Martha), the heiress of Neil earl of Carrick, who is said to have died in 1256 (*HBC*, 504; *SP*, ii, 426; cf. Barrow, *Bruce*, 331, n.25); *Melrose* (146) records Adam's death at Acre in the Holy Land under 1270; but it is more likely to have been 1271 (as here) when Prince Edward and his brother Edmund from England were there (Macquarrie, *Crusades*, 58); Bower corrects Fordun in stating that Adam died in the Holy Land rather than Tunis (see above c.27, introduction), but follows Fordun's error (despite the correct account in *Melrose*) in stating that he left a daughter as heiress, when in fact it was his wife Marjorie (not Martha) who was to carry the earldom title to her second husband; Bower is confused further in MS CA when he corrects Adam's name to Neil, the name of the previous earl of Carrick, Marjorie's father.

**17-40. One day ... lordship:** *Melrose* (146) records contemporaneously the bald fact of the marriage without comment; *Fordun* is the earliest source of this romantic tale, which may well have little substance to it, but which Bower repeats with little alteration.

**20-22. Robert ... England:** both father and son had been on crusade in the Holy Land at the same time as Adam earl of Carrick (Macquarrie, *Crusades*, 58-59); for Robert de Bruce 'The Competitor', lord of Annandale DMF and Cleveland YON (ca 1220-95) see Barrow, *Bruce*, 23-25; for his son, the husband of Marjorie, see *ibid.*, ad indicem (cf. *DNB*, vii, 115-16, 116-17; *SP*, ii, 430-5).

**27. Turnberry AYR.**

**29. married:** the date of this marriage has been variously estimated as ca 1272 (Barrow, *Bruce*, 25), and the summer or autumn of 1273 (Macquarrie, *Crusades*, 59); from ll.47-53 below it appears that Bower thought that the marriage took place before 11 July 1272.

**40. son:** Robert Bruce, later King Robert I.

**42-48. indeed ... afterwards:** Bower here expands Fordun's text, introducing the genealogy of young Bruce back to Earl David, the brother of King William I, to prove his royal pedigree.

**52. feast ... Benedict:** it is Fordun who supplies this date, though the style of the verse is more characteristic of Bower's work.

## Chapter 30 pp.385-9

Only ll.44-50 are derived from *Fordun* (305, start of annal 61), but have been re-written to an unusual extent; the rest of the chapter appears to come from a lost chronicle as in cc.28-29 above; in MS C it is divided into an unusually large number of small paragraphs. *Pluscarden* (105-6) covers several items in re-written form – the freak weather, the battle of Christians and Saracens, the misleading entry about the Council of Lyons (followed later by a correctly dated entry on the same topic), and the succession of Edward I; *Extracta* (111) covers the first three of these items briefly, and then the entries on the bishops of Dunkeld and abbots of Coupar.

**1-12. ... danger:** this whole entry appears to relate to a year beginning in January; cf. *Melrose* (123; cf. p.lxiv), where the winter of '1271' is said to have been a bitter one.

**7. Arbroath:** O.Tiron. abbey ANG; this fire is said to have destroyed the bells and the towers in which they hung (*Arbroath Abbey*, official guidebook [Edinburgh, 1982], 24); a marginal note in MS C refers to another fire at Arbroath Abbey in 1380 mentioned below XIV c.40 (correctly 43).

**10-12. Treasure ... danger:** 'pilgrims' here presumably means crusaders; the clerics were those seeking confirmation as bishops (see above cc.28-29), though Bower's amendment to 'foot-sloggers' in MS CA is not so clear; perhaps he inserted this sentence among the items taken from his source, since it reflects a 15c view.

**13. Coucy:** Ingeram IV de Coucy, brother of the queen-mother Mary (see above c.25, l.10), held the family lordship 1250-1311 (*DBF*, ix, cols.870-1).

**17. battle:** no battle has been identified at this date, which was in fact a time of peace negotiations in the Holy Land (cf. Setton, *Crusades*, ii, 582-3).

**20-21. ... wanted:** see above c.28, ll.29-35, and below ll.55-64.

**22. Gregory X:** elected pope 1 Sept. 1271 when in the Holy Land; consecrated 27 Mar. 1272; died 10 Jan. 1276 (*ODP*, 197-8).

*summons:* the first intimation about the assembly which was to be the Second Council of Lyons (then in the Empire rather than France) was issued on 31 Mar. 1272 for a meeting on 1 May 1274 (Holstein, *Lyon II*, 138); Bower makes a slip here over the year of the meeting, which in fact was known to him (see below c.34, l.8).

**27. Inverkeithing:** bishop of Dunkeld since 1250-1; he was serving as chamberlain of Scotland at the time of his appointment as bishop; he later served as chancellor 1255-7; Bower's sketch of his character here (and above c.3, ll.42-45) and the details of his burial are in line with Dunkeld traditions about him (cf. Myn, *Vitae*, 11); *Lanercost* (97) under the wrong year 1275 reports a story that he had been poisoned, and that he and the bishop of Dunblane disposed of their goods before their deaths to prevent the king getting them by regalian right.

**32-33. monastery ... Inchcolm:** i.e. Bower's own monastery on the island

of Inchcolm FIF; Richard had been responsible for some building work there (see above c.20, ll.72-73).

33. *Stuteville*: see above c.8, ll.38-41 for his abortive election to the see of St Andrews in 1253; he had by now been dean of Dunkeld for more than twenty years; consecrated as bishop May x Nov. 1273, and served until his death probably after 9 Oct. 1282 (Watt, *Graduates*, 527-8).

37. *William*: had served as abbot of Coupar Angus O.Cist. PER since 1258 (*Melrose*, 116).

38. *Buchan*: was to serve as abbot until 17 Dec. 1296, when provided to see of Caithness (cf. Watt, *Fasti*, 59; see *Coupar Angus Chrs.*, ii, 269-70).

39. *Richard*: Richard earl of Cornwall and claimant to throne of Germany died 2 Apr. 1272 (*CP*, iii, 431).

40. *Henry*: Henry of Almain had been killed in Mar. 1271 (see above c.28, ll.55-58); here this name is an error for Edmund, the surviving son of Richard, who was knighted and invested with the earldom of Cornwall at Westminster on 13 Oct. 1272 (*CP*, iii, 433).

42-43. ... *coffers*: Hugh de Benham was consecrated to the see of Aberdeen at the Roman court 27 Mar. x 23 July 1272 (see above c.28, l.7); the reference is to his promotion expenses.

44. *Henry*: died 16 Nov. 1272 (*HBC*, 37), in his sixty-sixth year, and the fifty-seventh year of his reign; it was the twenty-fourth year of Alexander's reign.

48-49. *swore loyalty*: at an assembly in Jan. 1273 (Powicke, *Henry III*, ii, 593).

52-54. *crossed ... pope*: Edward left the Holy Land on 22 Sept. 1272, reached Rome on 5 Feb. 1273, and met with the pope at Orvieto on 14 Feb. (cf. *ibid.*, 603, 606; Prestwich, *Edward I*, 79, 83).

55. *confirmed*: the official bull of confirmation had presumably been obtained by Wishart from Pope Gregory X (cf. above c.29, ll.7-9), but it has not survived (cf. *ES*, ii, 676-7).

57. *Dunblane, Aberdeen and Moray*: Robert de Prebenda of Dunblane (see above c.24, l.19), Hugh de Benham of Aberdeen (see above ll.42-43), and Archibald of Moray, 1253-98 (Dowden, *Bishops*, 150-1).

59. *chancellor*: his relative William Wischard (see above c.29, ll.4-6).

61. *Ross*: Matthew (not Machabeus) had presumably been elected 1271-2 (cf. above c.29, ll.13-14); consecrated by the pope on or just before 28 Dec. 1272 (Watt, *Fasti*, 267).

63. *Brechin and Caithness*: probably William de Crachin, who had been elected to the see of Brechin when dean of Brechin in 1269 (see above c.22, ll.52-58, and below c.34, ll.4-5), and Nicholas abbot of Scone, who had been elected to see of Caithness after 31 July 1272 (see above c.27, l.62); for both men cf. above c.28, ll.30-31 and this chapter ll.20-21; neither was to be confirmed (Watt, *Fasti*, 39, 58).

## Chapter 31 pp.389-91

Bower takes the opportunity presented by the story of the debated postulation of William Wischard to the see of St Andrews to introduce *exempla* on the evil of holding more than one benefice from Brabantinus i.e. Cantimpré, *De Apibus* in this and the two following chapters – ll.13-29 from bk.I, c.xix, para.7; ll.30-60 and 64-75 from para 8. *Pluscarden* (106) has a brief cross-reference to this chronicle for this material; *Extracta* does not mention it.

1-6. ...*while*: see above c.28, ll.40-50, and below c.33, ll.26-32.

7. *council of Lyons*: see below c.34, ll.8-48.

9. *conclusion*: see below c.34, ll.28-30.

13-29. ... *Amiens*: this *exemplum* is printed also (from the 1627 printed edition of *De Apibus*) with explanatory notes in H.Denifle and E.Chatelain, *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, i (Paris, 1889), 157-8, no.108.

14. *Paris*: William de Auvergne, bishop of Paris 1228-49 (*NCE*, xiv, 921; Glorieux, *Répertoire*, no.141).

21. *Hugh*: Hugh de St Cher OP, the first Dominican friar to become a cardinal 1244-63 (Bagliani, *Cardinali*, 256-72; Glorieux, *Répertoire*, no.2).

22. *Guéric*: Guéric de St Quentin OP (*ibid.*, no.4).

*Geoffrey*: Geoffrey de Bléneau OP (*ibid.*, no.5).

23. *La Rochelle*: John de La Rochelle OFM (*ibid.*, no.302).

28. *Philip*: chancellor of the cathedral and university of Paris 1218-36 (*ibid.*, no.119; *NCE*, xi, 274-5).

29. *Arnulf*: Arnulf or Arnold de la Pierre, bishop of Amiens, France, 1236-47 (Eubel, *Hierarchia*, i, 85; cf. Glorieux, *Répertoire*, no.134).

39-45. *The holy ... man*: these lines are here elaborated to about double the length of the original passage as in the 1516 edition of *De Apibus*.

61-63. ... *God*: Bower intrudes this comment, based on an unidentified source, in the margin of MS C.

## Chapter 32 pp.393-5

Most of this chapter continues with further *exempla* from Cantimpré, *De Apibus* (see above c.31) – ll.1-21 from bk.I, c.xix, para.9; ll.22-39 from para.10; ll.40-45 from the first part of para.11; ll.49-67 from para 12; the chapter is completed with a quotation from Jerome.

1. *certain cleric*: unidentified.

2. *me*: i.e. Thomas de Cantimpré.

3. *Paris*: see above c.31, ll.15, 26.

22. *Vitry*: see above IX c.25, l.37.  
 25. *Courson*: see above IX c.18, l.59.  
 26. *first siege of Damietta*: see above IX c.33, l.66.  
 28. *Peter*: known as Peter Cantor from his office as precentor, died 1197 (NCE, xi, 213).  
 29. *Cambrai*: Guiard de Laon, bishop of Cambrai, France, 1238-47 (Eubel, *Hierarchia*, i, 160; cf. Glorieux, *Répertoire*, no.133).  
 34. *Bernard*: Bernard Teuto OP, served Pope Gregory IX (1227-41) in the office of the papal administration concerned with matters of penance, dispensations, etc. (J. Quetif and J. Echard, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum* [Paris, 1719-23, and reprinted], i, 155-6; cf. Cantimpré, bk.II, c.vii).  
 43. *Augustine*: quotation untraced.  
 49. *episcopal city*: Cantimpré lived at Liège, now in Belgium, between the ages of five and sixteen (BNB, xxv, col.28).  
 69. *Jerome*: quotation untraced.

### Chapter 33 pp.395-9

Bower starts this chapter (ll.1-12) in continuation of the theme of cc.31-32 with one *exemplum* of his own; then at ll.13-25 comes another *exemplum* on a different theme, which he has found in his reading, but which is not included in the Cantimpré collection; in MS CA he goes further with his moralising on the basis of a quotation supposedly taken from St Augustine; thereafter he returns to material probably drawn from one or more lost chronicles. *Pluscarden* has nothing from this chapter; *Extracta* (111-12) includes most of the miscellaneous items.

1. *I*: i.e. Bower.  
 8-9. ... *land*: a quotation made up from Zechariah 5: 8 and 6.  
 13. *Blanche*: Blanche of Castile, widow of King Louis VIII of France after 1226, and queen-mother under Louis IX until her death in 1252.  
 19-20. *William de Auvergne*: see above c.31, l.14.  
 25. *used to it*: MS CA adds:

Sic in proposito. Unde Augustinus in epistola ad comitem: 'Avarus vir inferno similis est; infernus autem quantoscumque devoraverit, numquam dicit satis esse. Sic etsi omnes thesauri confluerint in avarum.' Propterea qui supra de verbis Domini. Que est ista aviditas concupiscencie, cum et ipse belue habeant modum; tunc enim rapiunt quando esuriunt, parant vero prede cum senserint sacietatem. Insa-ciabilis est sola avaricia divitum, ambicio clericorum. Semper rapit dives et numquam saciatur, nec Deum timet, nec hominem reveretur, nec patri parcat, nec matrem cognoscit, nec fratri obtemperat, nec amico

fidem servat; viduam opprimit, pupillum invadit, liberos in servitium revocat, testimonium falsum profert; res mortui occupantur quam etiam faciunt quasi non moriantur. Que est illa insania admittere aurum et perdere celum? Ad propositum unde digressi sumus revertamus.

The quotation supposedly from Augustine has not been identified, and so it is not certain how far it runs in the extract above.

28-30. *He ... Land*: King Edward I was with the pope at Orvieto (not Rome) in Feb. 1273 (see above c.30, ll.52-54). This action by King Edward on behalf of his brother-in-law's chancellor (cf. above c.31, ll.1-5) is reported also in *Lanercost* (92).

31. *consented*: the bull of confirmation is dated 15 Mar. 1273 (Theiner, *Monumenta*, 103, no.256).

35. *Fraser*: had probably been dean since 1270 x 1271 (Watt, *Graduates*, 203); held the chancellorship at least until 1279 (see above VI c.44; cf. *HBC*, 181).

37. *Robert*: Robert de Keldeleth had been abbot of Melrose O.Cist. ROX since 1269 (see above c.26, l.17); see below ll.56-58 for a duplicate entry on this change of abbot.

*Patrick*: Patrick de Selkirk held this abbacy until after Aug. 1296 (Stevenson, *Documents*, ii, 70); for his surname see *Melrose*, 124.

39-40. ... *elevated*: this change of abbot at Newbattle O.Cist. MLO is entered under 1269 in *Melrose* (144). Guy had been abbot since 1261 (*ibid.*, 118); Waltheof in 1269 was described as a monk and cellarer of Melrose (cf. *ibid.*, 255, ad indicem, where he is taken to have been cellarer of Newbattle); his death is noted in *Melrose* (p.lxiii) on 3 Feb. 1275 in his third year as abbot, which has been thought to be an error for 1272 (*ibid.*); but if Bower's source is correct here about the year of his appointment, this note could be accurate; and since it is thought that the annals for 1269 in *Melrose* were collected only after 1285 from written materials (*ibid.*, p.xxi), the entry about Newbattle may well have been wrongly placed under that year.

41. *Nicholas*: see above c.27, ll.62-65; his election was quashed because of his intolerable lack of learning.

42-44. *Archibald ... election*: the papal mandate ordering a new election was issued on 4 June 1273 (*CPL*, i, 446), but Archibald Herok (who had been archdeacon of Moray at least since 1258) did not secure a papal mandate for his confirmation until 1 Nov. 1274 (Watt, *Fasti*, 58-59, 238).

45-48. ... *heir*: for the Menteith dispute see above c.11, ll.40-50 and c.14, ll. 1-19; William Comyn of Kirkintilloch, son of John Comyn of Badenoch (who was apparently still alive in 1273), had married Isabella Russell, the daughter of the Countess Isabella, who had been deprived of her right to the earldom and is thought to have been dead by this time (*SP*, i, 507; vi, 129); the suggestion here that this dispute was conducted at York may well be an error in the light of the proceedings attempted there in 1263; in fact Walter Steward *Bailloch* retained the earldom until compelled in parliament in 1285 to share it with William Comyn (*Wyntoun*, v, 138-9; *SP*, vi, 131); by then John Comyn had died 1273 x 1278 (cf. *Inchaffray Chrs.*, 99, no.108).



**49-53.** ... *church*: the initial summons of 31 Mar. 1272 to a council (see above c.30, l.22) had been followed by more detailed instructions to Scotland in particular on 13 Apr. 1273 (*Registres de Grégoire X et Jean XXI* [Paris, 1892-1960], 118, nos.307-8); this council at Perth would therefore have been held in the later months of 1273. Robert de Stuteville was bishop of Dunkeld, and Archibald was bishop of Moray (see above c.30, ll.33, 57); see below c.34, ll.2-3, 8-48.

**54-55.** ... *Culdees*: Abernethy PER had a long tradition as a religious centre (see above IV c.12); there was still some kind of community there in the 1230s headed by a 'prior of the Culdees' (*MRHS*, 46); like some other similar communities (such as Loch Leven and Monymusk, and St Andrews to some extent) it now adopted the rule of the Augustinian canons (*ibid.*, 89; cf. 93, 96); Bower's source does not suggest who arranged this change; it was probably Hugh de Abernethy (*SP*, vii, 399-401) as holder of the lordship of Abernethy and patron of this church, as his descendants in the 14c were to act again in changing this community into a collegiate church for secular clergy (*MRHS*, 215); this is how Bower describes it above IV c.12, l.31.

**56-58.** ... *Melrose*: a repeat of ll.37-38 above, with some different details, perhaps indicating that this item was taken unthinkingly from a different source.

**59.** *Thomas*: had been abbot of Lindores O.Tiron. FIF at least since 1259 (*Lindores Chartulary*, 303-4).

**60.** *John*: died in 1274 (see below c.34, l.52).

## Chapter 34 pp.399-401

The main bulk of this chapter is derived from a detailed account of the Second Council of Lyons and its decrees, which must have been available to Bower, probably in the form of a written report brought back by the Scottish bishops who attended; there are also a few chronicle items. *Plu-scarden* (106) covers the birth of Bruce and the council in much shortened and re-worded form; *Extracta* (112-13) has a full summary of this chapter.

**1.** *Bruce*: the birth of the later Robert I had already been noted above c.29, ll.49-53 from *Fordun*, with the date 11 July 1274; this entry probably comes from some other chronicle which Bower was following here.

**2.** *all the bishops*: five Scottish bishops sealed an act of the council about future papal elections on 13 July 1274 – Laurence de Ergadia bishop of Argyll, Robert de Prebenda of Dunblane, Robert Wishart of Glasgow, Richard (de Nafferton?) of the Isles and William Wischard of St Andrews (*Innes Review*, xvi [1965], 138-9); Matthew of Ross was also at the council when he died (see below ll.49-50); the see of Brechin was vacant (see below l.4), as was that of Caithness (see above c.33, ll.41-44); Hugh de Benham of Aberdeen and Henry of Galloway were probably at the council as well, for the list of bishops sealing the act of 13 July appears to have been selective

and representative rather than comprehensive (cf. K.Kaltenbrunner, *Mitteilungen aus dem Vatikanischen Archiv*, i [Vienna, 1889], 58-60). Some non-episcopal clergy from Scotland were also present, but their names are not known (Alberigo, *Decreta*, 313).

**3.** *Dunkeld and Moray*: see above c.33, ll.51-53.

**4.** *Brechin*: see above c.22, ll.51-58 and c.30, ll.63-64.

**5.** *William*: as 'lector' or theology teacher in the Dominican house at Perth, with alternative surnames Comyn and de Kilconath, was in fact to be confirmed as bishop of Brechin on 24 May 1275 and consecrated before 29 Apr. 1276 (Watt, *Graduates*, 107-8); if he did despise this elevation for financial reasons (which seems unlikely in a friar), he must have changed his mind (see below c.36, ll.29-30). Bower's source here is suspect.

**8.** *council of Lyons*: it in fact met 7 May-17 July 1274 (Holstein, *Lyons II*, 292-3).

**9-11.** *two ... mentioned*: for discussion of the number of participants, see *ibid.*, 173.

**12.** *fifth year*: an error for third year.

**14.** *This pope*: for Gregory X see *ODP*, 197-8.

**18-20.** *The Greeks ... council*: the representatives of the Greek church chanted the Latin creed (including the disputed word 'Filioque') on 29 June (Holstein, *Lyons II*, 178).

**20.** *envoys of the Tartars*: sixteen envoys from Abaga the Great Khan of the Tartars or Mongols (who came seeking an alliance against the Islamic powers) arrived on 4 July, and three of their party were baptised on 16 July (*ibid.*, 180, 186; cf. Setton, *Crusades*, ii, 722).

**23.** *unity*: the reunion of the Greek and Latin churches under the Pope was proclaimed on 6 July (Holstein, *Lyons II*, 180).

**24-26.** *decreed ... exceptions*: see canon 1b of this council (Alberigo, *Decreta*, 310).

**27-28.** *procurations ... person*: see canon 24 (*ibid.*, 327) where archdeacons are not specifically mentioned.

**29-30.** *rector ... permanenty*: see canons 13, 18 (*ibid.*, 321-4), where the topic is not in fact dealt with quite so simply – for example rectors are not mentioned and non-residence is envisioned with episcopal licence.

**30-33.** *Also ... them*: see canon 23, where the phrase concerning the Carmelites and Austin friars is: 'in suo statu manere concedimus, donec de ipsis fuerit aliter ordinatum.' (*ibid.*, 326-7).

**31.** *Minors and Preachers*: i.e. Franciscan and Dominican friars.

**33-48.** *So ... condemned*: the version of Gregory's decree which was inserted into the canon law by Pope Boniface VIII (1295-1303) has this last phrase as follows: 'in solido statu volumus permanere' (*Sext*, bk.iii, title 17, c.1, 'De religiosis domibus' [Friedberg, ii, cols. 1054-5]). Bower is presumably here recounting a controversy current in his own day (cf. Holstein, *Lyons II*, 205-7); of the two orders in question only the Carmelites were active in Scotland in the 1440s (*MRHS*, 134-41; cf. above c.14, ll.47-50).

**49-50.** *Matthew*: bishop of Ross since 1272 (see above c.30, ll.61-63).

**51.** *Fyvin*: Robert (not Thomas) de Fyvin, archdeacon of Ross, received a mandate for his confirmation after election to see of Ross, 8 Apr. 1275, and held the see until 1292 x 1295 (Watt, *Graduates*, 208).

**52.** *John*: abbot of Lindores since 1273 (see above c.33, l.60); Kelso ROX was the senior house of the O.Tiron. in Scotland.

**53.** *Nicholas*: remained abbot until 1281 x 1289 (*Lindores Chartulary*, 304).

**54.** *Nicholas*: see above c.33, ll.41-42 and below c.35, ll.20-21; *Rome* here presumably means the Roman court at Lyons; Bower continues to chronicle the movements of this infamous (in his view) abbot of his own Augustinian Order.

### Chapter 35 pp.401-5

Two separate passages here are taken from Fordun – ll.1-13 from *Fordun* (305, middle of annal 61), into which Bower has made two substantial insertions; and ll.22-34 from *Fordun* (306, first half of annal 62), re-arranged and again with an insertion; in between these extracts Bower places three chronicle-type items from a lost source; then the second half of the chapter is devoted to two *exempla* about the greed of legates. *Pluscarden* (106-7) takes only a brief account from this chapter; *Extracta* (113) summarizes the main items; neither touches on the stories about legates.

**1-5.** ... *Virgin*: Bower takes from Fordun the wrong date (15 Aug.) of the coronation – in fact it was at Westminster on 19 Aug. 1274 (*SAEC*, 381; cf. *CDS*, ii, 5, no.19 for evidence that King Alexander was in England for five weeks about this time); but it is from some other source that Bower inserts the information here about the earlier planned date and postponement; Pope Gregory had asked for a change of date, 1 Dec. 1273 (*Registres de Grégoire X et Jean XXI* [Paris, 1892-1960], 126, no.327); in the event Edward did not land in England until 2 Aug. 1274 (Prestwich, *Edward I*, 89).

**7-9.** *enjoying ... coronations*: another addition to the *Fordun* text; the protestation would have been about the independence of the Scottish kingdom; it seems to be wishful thinking on Bower's part, for there was no usual practice regarding the actions of Scottish kings at English coronations.

**10.** *Margaret*: see above c.4, ll.37-39 for her marriage to Alexander III in 1251; her death and burial are noted in *Wyntoun*, v, 126-9 without an exact date; cf. *SAEC*, 381 and *Lanercost*, 97.

**12.** *Cupar FIF*: there was a royal castle here at the centre of the sheriffdom of Fife.

**13.** *Dunfermline FIF*: the Benedictine abbey here had several royal tombs besides that of David I.

**14.** *Durward*: had been the beneficiary of a grant by Edward I regarding lands in England as late as 11 Oct. 1274 (*CDS*, ii, 7, no.26; cf. 5, no.18), and

appears to have been dead before 10 Nov. 1275 (*Cal. Fine Rolls*, i, 56); and so cannot have died as early as 1268 as suggested in *Lanercost* (84); cf. *DNB*, xvi, 266-8. He was a benefactor of Coupar Angus monastery O.Cist. PER (*Coupar Angus Chrs.*, ad indicem).

**16-17.** *lands ... daughters*: his son Thomas, who was old enough to be a knight in 1256 (*Arbroath Liber*, i, 228, no.295), must either have predeceased him, or been illegitimate and perhaps the same as a Sir Thomas Durward of Angus sheriffdom who swore fealty to Edward I in 1296 (*CDS*, ii, 195, 202; cf. *Coupar Angus Chrs.*, i, 133-4, no.61).

**18.** *Adam*: Adam de Inverlunan had been abbot of Arbroath ANG since 1270 (see above c.28, l.13-14).

*Henry*: Henry de Lambeden had been abbot of Kelso ROX since 1260 (*Melrose*, 117).

**20.** *Nicholas*: see above c.33, ll.41-42 and c.34, ll.54-55.

**22.** Bohemond di Vezza was commissioned as papal collector in Scotland for the six-year tax of a tenth (levied for the crusade by the pope at the recent council of Lyons [see above c.34, ll.24-26]) on 20 Sept. 1274 (Theiner, *Monumenta*, 104, no.258), and was to remain in this employment until his death, probably in Scotland, Sept. 1289 x Sept. 1291 (*CDS*, ii, 96, no.382; *Rot. Scot.*, i, 5). He took his surname (Latin: Vicia) from a village near the cathedral city of Asti in Piedmont, Italy, where he held a canonry; his first name is spelled by Bower in the form in which it became customary in Scottish tradition. For his background as a chaplain with Cardinal Ottobono on his visit to England 1267-8, and in 1274 with Cardinal Hubert de Cocconato, see Bagliani, *Cardinali*, 369 and *DBI*, xxvi, 540 (cf. above c.22, ll.12-16). Extensive accounts of his transactions in Scotland have survived, and are of exceptional interest because of their rarity value (Theiner, *Monumenta*, 109-16, no.264; *EHR*, xxxii [1917], 59-61; *SHS Misc.*, v, 87-106; vi, 25-77; x, 7-9; *Innes Review*, xxii [1971], 9-10); for a general account of Bagimond's mission to Scotland see Ferguson, *Papal Representatives*, 138-43. Cf. below c.42, ll.28-33 for activities in Scotland under Alexander III of 'Lombards', who may have included merchant-bankers from Asti.

**25.** *oath*: this was the oath sworn by benefice-holders about the value of their property.

**26-27.** *The Cistercian ... order*: a sentence added by Bower to the *Fordun* text. The whole Cistercian order was declared exempt from this tax, but at the price of making a special payment as an order, which was collected by its own methods within the order. The sum was noted in other sources as 'not exceeding 100,000 pounds of Tours' (Lunt, *Financial Relations*, i, 312-13). *Pluscarden* is probably just making an error when it changes the figure here from 50,000 to 40,000 silver marks.

**29.** *prelates and clergy*: this is Bower's phrase for the participants at this Perth council; Fordun had referred to them alternatively as the 'bishops and clergy' or the 'bishops and abbots'. The sederunt was probably similar to that at the provincial council of the Scottish church (cf. above c.24, ll.18-21).

**30.** *not ... successful*: added by Bower to the *Fordun* text; these words may

well reflect his own suspicions about the mercenary ways of papal agents rather than be derived from a source unknown to Fordun; ll.33-36 are also added by Bower, with a similar emphasis.

**33-34.** *he returned ... matter:* this tax (as Fordun knew) was to be levied for six years after a new 'real' assessment of ecclesiastical goods and revenues according to a complex formula laid down for the whole church (Lunt, *Financial Relations*, i, 314-17); it was intended that this would raise more money than would come in by using existing out-dated assessments; *Pluscarden* alters Bower's text to suggest that Bagimond himself, after seeing the poverty of the kingdom, decided to ask the pope simply to allow the old assessment to be used; this is hardly convincing; yet it was highly unusual for a papal collector to be willing to try to obtain a carefully defined variation of the rules for one province of the church, and royal backing of the Scottish clergy may be assumed (cf. above c.21, ll.21-27, and c.24, ll.33-39); but the Scottish bishops had been at Lyons when this tax was agreed, and it is not surprising that this request for special treatment was denied.

**36.** *entertained:* the word here 'procurari' (text l.29) has echoes of earlier disputes over the payment of procurations in money to papal agents (see above c.21, l.20 and c.22, ll.11-14).

**37-67.** *... go:* the source of these two stories criticising legates is unknown; they are not included among the *exempla* in Cantimpré, *De Apibus*. Bower's attitude to legates was presumably coloured by his experience of the visit of Anthony bishop of Urbino in 1436-7 (see below XVI c.26, ll.25-30).

## Chapter 36 pp.405-9

Bower starts this chapter with two more anti-legate stories of unknown origin (ll.1-22); ll.47-58 and 62-65 come from *Fordun* (305-6, end of annal 61, and 306, part of annal 62); the source of the various other items, which are not all dated correctly, and some of which are misleading, is unknown. *Pluscarden* (107) includes several items from this chapter, briefly following Fordun rather than Bower at ll.55-56 below; *Extracta* (113-14) selects only a few items.

**1-22.** *... clutches:* it is an open question whether Bower has found a collection of anti-legate stories which he is copying, or whether he has himself collected these stories for his own interest. The first story here appears to come from a French-speaking country.

**23.** *Simon:* had succeeded to the abbacy of Dunfermline by 1 June 1267 (*Kelso Liber*, ii, 311, no.398; cf. above c.10, l.8); this Dunfermline tradition about him would have been available to Bower at nearby Inchcolm.

**25.** *Grenlaw:* certainly in office by 7 Jan. 1276 (*Dunfermline Registrum*, 216, no.320), and remained as abbot until after 28 Aug. 1296 (*CDS*, ii, 196).

**28.** *Archibald:* Archibald Herok (see above c.33, ll.42-44) was consecrated

10 Jan. x 22 Sept. 1275, and appears to have died before 9 Dec. 1278 (Watt, *Fasti*, 58-59).

**29.** *William:* see above c.34, l.5; served as bishop of Brechin until 1291 x 1297 (*ibid.*, 39).

**31.** *Nicholas:* had been abbot of Jedburgh OSA ROX since 1249 (*Melrose*, 108).

**33.** *John Morel:* abbot until his retirement 28 Aug. x 14 Sept. 1296 (*CDS*, ii, 196, 221).

**34-42.** *... told:* this paragraph contains much undated and confused information; Pope Gregory had issued his call to crusade at Lyons in May 1274 (Alberigo, *Decreta*, 309-14); King Philip III of France (1270-85) and Queen Mary took the cross in response on 25 June 1275 (Ch.-V. Langlois, *Le Règne de Philippe le Hardi* [Paris, 1887], 82-83); but Edward I of England did not take the cross again until 1287 (Lunt, *Financial Relations*, i, 338), and no clerical tax of one-twentieth was authorised then (*ibid.*, 608); he had not responded positively to Gregory X (*ibid.*, 334-5); and though he borrowed some papal tax money to help with his Welsh expedition of 1283, he paid it all back (*ibid.*, 336; cf. Prestwich, *Edward I*, 327). Bower's source here is unknown; but see below c.38, ll.31-46 notes, and c.39, ll.4-10.

**43.** *Innocent V:* pope 21 Jan.-22 June 1276 (*ODP*, 198-9).

**44.** *Ottobono:* see above c.21, l.19; pope as Hadrian V 11 July-18 Aug. 1276 (*ibid.*, 199-200).

**45.** *John:* now numbered as XXI rather than XXII; pope 8 Sept. 1276-20 May 1277 (*ibid.*, 200-1).

**47-49.** *In this ... father:* after four years of negotiations Alexander was to go to England to perform homage to Edward at Westminster on 28 Oct. 1278; see Stones, *Documents* (38-41, no.12) for two versions of what happened then; cf. Duncan, *Kingdom*, 590-1; Fordun's information here about a pilgrimage by Alexander in 1276 to the shrine of St Thomas Becket at Canterbury is false, though his mother Queen Mary did get safe-conducts to go there then (*CDS*, ii, 17, 20-21, nos. 67, 80; cf. 84); Alexander had done homage to Henry III in Dec. 1251 (*SAEC*, 365-6; cf. above c.4, where homage is not mentioned).

**49-52.** *for the lands ... Scotland:* Bower omits from the *Fordun* text after 'dignitatibus' (text l.38), the words 'pro terris suis in Anglia videlicet'; as a result this description of what was done in 1278 is rather more imprecise. Since Queen Margaret's dowry had originally been in cash (*SAEC*, 363-4, n.4), the lands which she held in England at the time of her death were probably part of her dower rather than her dowry (cf. *CDS*, ii, 11, no.44); lands in Penrith CMB had certainly been held by Alexander II from as early as 1242 (*CDS*, i, 286-7, nos.1575, 1577), and did not come with Margaret's dowry.

**52-58.** *He did homage ... it:* in changing Fordun's text here by removing details regarding the mission to England about the earldom of Huntingdon which he had chosen to insert under 1270 above (see c.28, ll.1-5), Bower leaves an ambiguous text; it must have been King Edward who refused to

restore Huntingdon to Alexander now, as Henry III had refused to do in 1270. *Pluscarden* misreads *Fordun* here by suggesting that the mission regarding Huntingdon was sent now rather than in Henry III's time.

**56.** *From early times:* Huntingdon had been brought to the Scottish monarchy by David I (cf. Duncan, *Kingdom*, 134-5).

**59-61.** ... *king:* Edward decided to march against Llywelyn in Nov. 1276, peace was negotiated at Conway in Nov. 1277, and Llywelyn did homage at Westminster at Christmas 1277 (Powicke, *Thirteenth Century*, 408-12).

**62-65.** ... *kingdoms:* Robert of Holy Island, bishop of Durham 1274-83 (Le Neve, *Fasti 1066-1300*, ii, 32), had raised with Edward complaints about Scottish infiltration south of the river Tweed at Tweedmouth by Oct. 1276 (*CDS*, ii, 21, no.82); see below c.37, ll.1-9.

**66-67.** ... *Galloway:* Sweetheart Abbey O.Cist. KCB was in fact founded in 1273 (*MRHS*, 78); for Dervorguilla see above IX c.48, ll.32-33, 44 notes.

## Chapter 37 pp.409-11

Most of this chapter consists of passages selected from *Fordun*, though re-arranged – ll.1-9 from *Fordun* 306, end of annal 62; ll.22-23 from 307, middle of annal 63; ll.28-39 from 306-7, first part of annal 63; ll.40-57 from 307-8, first part of annal 64; interspersed are four or five items from other sources, including two concerning Wales. *Pluscarden* (107-8) covers the main Scottish items, but alters the story of the meeting on the Tweed, misdates the marriage of Prince Alexander to 1279, suggests that the name of the Norwegian king should be Henry rather than Eric, and that his queen died before completing puberty (she was aged 22 at her death and a mother); *Extracta* (114) also covers the Scottish items, but gives the date 1279 for Prince David's death. *Wyntoun* (v, 128-35) covers the main topics of this chapter, probably following the same source which *Fordun* used, but with some extra and some different details.

**1-9.** ... *home:* see above c.36, ll.62-65; the date here in *Fordun* must mean Mar. 1278/9, for it was on 4 Feb. 1279 that the English envoys (including William bishop of Norwich) were commissioned for this meeting in mid-Lent and the sheriff of Northumberland was instructed to help them (*Foedera*, I, ii, 565); the bishops of St Andrews and Dunblane had been envoys from Alexander to Edward at Birkenhead CHE on 1 Aug. 1277, when a meeting of this kind on this matter was suggested (*Cal.Pat.1272-81*, 225); the same two bishops were commissioned by Alexander on 10 Apr. 1279, apparently to take the matter further (*CDS*, ii, 48, no.157; cf. 47, no.154).

**2.** *bishops:* William Wischard of St Andrews (Watt, *Graduates*, 593); Robert Wishart of Glasgow (*ibid.*, 586), and Robert de Prebenda of Dunblane (cf. *ibid.*, 456-7).

**5.** *bishops:* William de Middleton of Norwich 1278-88 (Emden, *BRUO*, ii,

1278-9); Robert of Holy Island of Durham 1274-83 (as above c.36, ll.62-65).

**10-11.** ... *Worcester:* Llywelyn ap Gruffydd married Eleanor, daughter of the late Simon de Montfort, at Worcester, 13 Oct. 1278 (Powicke, *Henry III*, ii, 651).

**12-18.** ... *back:* for Roger Mortimer lord of Wigmore HRE, who died in Oct. 1282, see above c.21, l.6; this Round Table was held from 28 Sept. 1279 onwards (*Annales Monastici* [RS 36], iv, 281-2); the account here is drawn from the Wigmore Chronicle (W.Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vi, part i [London, 1846], 350), which is the only one to preserve all the details which Bower includes; this chronicle was compiled at the Augustinian abbey of Wigmore HRE (whose patrons were the Mortimer family) towards the end of the 14c as part of the claim of the Mortimers to the throne as heirs of Richard II (M.E.Griffin, 'Cadwalader, Arthur and Brutus in the Wigmore Manuscript', *Speculum*, xvi [1941], 109-20).

**13.** *Round Table:* this expression with its romantic associations with the legendary King Arthur is found in Spain and the Low Countries as well as England in the 13c (M.Keen, *Chivalry* [New Haven and London, 1984], 93); it has been defined as 'a social occasion accompanied by various games, of which jousting with blunted weapons was one', and argued that it should not be confused with a tournament (N.Denholm-Young, 'The tournament in the thirteenth century', in *Studies in Medieval History presented to F.M.Powicke*, ed. R.W.Hunt and others [Oxford, 1948], 240-68, especially 253-4); but more recent comment prefers not to make such a fine distinction (J.R.V.Barker, 'The Tournament in England 1100-1400' (Woodbridge, 1986), 88-95).

*Kenilworth WAR;* the castle at this date was held by Edmund earl of Leicester and Lancaster, the brother of King Edward (see above c.21, ll.41-42).

**16.** *Roger, William, Geoffrey:* these were the younger sons of this family (*DNB*, xxxix, 134); this Roger was to become lord of Chirk DEN (*ibid.*, 135-6; *CP*, ix, 251-4).

**17-18.** *on the fourth day ... back:* a golden lion of some kind was the prize on this occasion, as is clearer in the Wigmore Chronicle (as above): 'quarta die leonem aureum triumphae signam sibi adjudicatum dictamque comitivam suisque expensis ad Warwyk advexit.'

**19.** *Martin IV:* pope 1281-5, consecrated 23 Mar. 1281 (cf. *ODP*, 202-4).

**20.** *Wischard:* died at Morebattle ROX and was buried at St Andrews on 2 June 1279 (see above VI c.43); see *Wyntoun* (v, 127-9) for his work on the buildings of his cathedral, and Watt, *Graduates*, (590-4) for his biography.

**21.** *Fraser:* see above c.33, l.35; he went to the Roman court for his consecration on 19 May 1280, and held this see until 1297 (Watt, *Fasti*, 293).

**22-23.** ... *Dunfermline:* David had been born 20 Mar. 1273 (*Melrose*, 118); Bower omits the date of his death which *Fordun* had included, namely the end of June 1281; but *Wyntoun* (v, 128-9) follows a source which gives the date as 1280, and Bower appears to be deliberately following the same source in preference to *Fordun*.

**24-27.** ... *Hawarden*: in fact the assault on Hawarden castle FLI by David (see *DNB*, xiv, 202-5) took place overnight 21/22 Mar. 1282, when the latter was the date of Palm Sunday (Powicke, *Thirteenth Century*, 419; Prestwich, *Edward I*, 182).

**27.** *Clifford*: an English baron who lived until c.1285 (*DNB*, xi, 72-74).

**28.** *Alexander the son*: see above c.18, l.1.

**28-29.** *married ... Flanders*: Alexander's bride was Margaret, daughter of Guy de Dampierre, count of Flanders 1278-1305 (*BNB*, xxx, cols.424-46), in terms of agreements reached in Dec. 1281 (Simpson, *Handlist*, nos. 134-6; cf. nos. 141-3; see *Great Cause*, ii, 188-90); Bower follows Fordun in describing this marriage before that of Alexander's sister Margaret (see below), though in fact the latter marriage was arranged first; Margaret was granted a safe-conduct to travel through England to Scotland on 11 Aug. 1282 until 1 Nov. (*Cal.Pat.*1281-92, 33); cf. *Wyntoun* (v, 134-5), where the date of Alexander's marriage is given as 12 Nov. (year uncertain).

**37.** *Lindores FIF*.

**39.** *on ... Agnes*: Bower here adds the exact day of death, where *Fordun* has just '1283'; this makes it likely that the year was 1283/4, though the statement taken from Fordun that he was in his twentieth year no longer fits; this exact date of death is not given by *Wyntoun* (v, 134-5); *Lanercost* (111) agrees with Bower in naming the day of death (i.e. the feast of St Agnes *Secundo*), but claims to report from the evidence of eye-witnesses how it took place at Cupar FIF (rather than Lindores), so that this cannot be Bower's source.

**40.** *Margaret*: see above c.14, ll.20-21).

**41-42.** *married ... Eric*: this marriage was agreed at Roxburgh, 25 July 1281 (*APS*, i, 421-4); the king of Norway was Eric II Magnusson 1280-99, then aged 13; the name-form 'Hanigow' ('Hango' in *Fordun*) is unexplained; it was the only name given by Fordun; but Bower is able to add correctly the alternative name 'Eric'; he adds also a more precise date in August for the journey to Norway; *Wyntoun* (v, 128-31) probably had access to the same source that Bower used (cf. *Lanercost*, 104-5 under 1280). For an analysis of the sources from the Norwegian side see K. Helle, *Kong og gode menn* (Bergen, etc., 1972), 173-4, where it is made clear that Margaret's arrival and coronation at Bergen in Aug. 1281 were the occasion of political controversy involving the king's mother and the archbishop (see below).

**43.** *Menteith and his countess*: see above c.11, ll.40-50, and c.33, ll.45-48.

**44.** *Balmerino*: probably Abbot William de Perisby (see above c.28, l.15).

*Mowat*: he and his brother William were members of a family holding lands in Angus; both had served Henry III in Gascony in 1254, and both had been associated with the Comyns in their alliance with the Welsh magnates in 1258 (*CDS*, i, 437, 421, nos.2226, 2155).

**45-48.** *and on ... mother*: added by Bower to the *Fordun* text from an unknown source.

**47.** *archbishop*: John archbishop of Trondheim 1268-82 (*Diplom.Norv.*, xviiB, 204).

**48.** *king's mother*: Queen Ingeborg of Denmark, widow of King Magnus Haakonson, who lived until 1287 (Isenberg, *Stammtafeln*, ii, table 76).

*marriage*: this took place on 31 Aug. 1281 (*ibid.*, source unknown).

**56-57.** *Margaret ... maturity*: she died at the age of seven (see below XI, c.1).

## Chapter 38

pp.411-14

The whole of this chapter (except for a marginal addition to MS C at ll.25-27) is based on *Fordun*, though re-arranged and with a tailpiece compiled by Bower; ll.2-15 are from *Fordun* 307, end of annal 63; ll.16-24 from 308, end of annal 64; ll.28-31 and 46-60 from 308-9, annal 65, with ll.30-45 inserted as an alternative to the central part of this annal, which is moved to c.39 below; ll.60-67 offer a moral about the deceitfulness of the English. *Pluscarden* (108-10) has a long chapter mostly based on Bower, but with considerable re-writing and a new and lengthy anti-English diatribe ending with the verses here at ll.65-67. *Extracta* has nothing from this chapter. *Wyntoun* (v, 130-5) has partly followed the same source as Bower has used for the Welsh war (see p.131, ll.3425-8, 3435-40; p.133, ll.3453-6), but is not Bower's source for such material; cf. below XV c.26, introduction, for Bower's possible source for items of Welsh history; and see notes below on ll.30-46.

**6-7.** ... *them*: not identified.

**8-15.** ... *gifts*: no date is known for Margaret's return to Flanders (cf. *CDS*, ii, 73, no.247, for an undated request to Edward I for a safe-conduct for her through England); but on 18 Sept. 1285 she was home at Bruges making arrangements regarding her widow's dower (*Laing Chrs.*, 4, no.12), and by Apr.-May 1286 she was preparing to be married for the second time to Reginald count of Guelders, when as part of her father's arrangements for another dowry for her she sold to him all her rights to dower in Scotland, namely 1500 marks at Berwick annually and two hundred marks annually from the royal manor of Linlithgow WLO (Stevenson, *Documents*, i, 5-17, nos.4, 5, 8); she was married on 3 July 1286 (Isenberg, *Stammtafeln*, ii, table 2; cf. Stevenson, *Documents*, i, 4, no.9; *Laing Chrs.*, 17-20, no.13), and lived until 1331 (Isenberg, *ut cit.*, table 10).

**16-24.** ... *kinds*: it appears from a claim made by King Eric in June 1292 to Edward I as lord superior of Scotland (Stevenson, *Documents*, i, 312-17, no.252) that Margaret's dowry had consisted of 7000 marks in cash and 700 marks by way of revenues from specified lands in Scotland to be paid annually to the couple and their heirs; after his wife's death the baby Margaret had been recognized as heir presumptive to the Scottish throne on 5 Feb. 1284 (*APS*, i, 424), and Alexander had continued to pay over to Eric the revenues as agreed; it was only during the interregnum after 1286 that payments stopped; King Eric was successful in 1292 in obtaining an



order from King Edward that payments should be resumed for his lifetime (see R. Nicholson, 'The Franco-Scottish and Franco-Norwegian treaties of 1295', *SHR*, xxxviii [1959], 114-32, especially 122-5).

**24. kinds:** the scribe of MS C repeats here two items already included above c.37, ll.19-21, at what would have been the wrong year-date had they not then been excised. It is not a simple copying error.

**25. 1281:** this was originally Fordun's erroneous date for Edward's attack on Wales.

**25-26. Alexander Steward:** he had succeeded his father Walter son of Alan in 1241 (cf. above c.16, l.2); this note about his death in 1281 is a marginal entry in MS C; it is probably accurate if it means the year to Mar. 1281/2; since neither he nor his heir James was listed among the leading magnates who sponsored the marriage of Prince Alexander to Margaret of Flanders in Dec. 1281 (*Great Cause*, ii, 188-90), it has been suggested that Alexander was then a sick man; and it has been noted that James was styled Steward by 4 Oct. 1282 (G.W.S. Barrow and A. Ryan, 'James Fifth Stewart of Scotland, 1260(?)–1309', in Stringer, *Essays*, 184, n.38).

**26. Walter:** see below XII c.23; cf. *SP*, i, 13-14.

**28. Edward ... made his way:** Edward's attack began in Aug. 1282 (Powicke, *Thirteenth Century*, 423).

**30-31. prince ... killed:** Llywelyn was killed in a skirmish on 11 Dec. 1282 (*ibid.*, 427-8); the Guisborough chronicler in Yorkshire preserved a story that his death was due to treachery by the Mortimers, though this is not now thought to be correct (*Chron. Guisborough*, 220-1; L.B. Smith, 'The death of Llywelyn ap Gruffydd: the narratives reconsidered', *The Welsh History Review*, xi [1982], 200-13; cf. Prestwich, *Edward I*, 193-4); the interest of this report is that Guisborough was an Augustinian canon under the patronage of the Bruce family (*Chron. Guisborough*, p.xi: Gransden, *Historical Writing*, i, 474-5); his information on Welsh affairs at this time may well have been derived from Robert Bruce earl of Carrick (see above c.29, l.20), who served with Edward I on the campaign of 1282-3 in Wales (Prestwich, *Edward I*, 196), and it is not unlikely that Bower came to have contacts with this house of his own Augustinian order; see below l.46.

**31-46. And there ... captured:** Bower chooses to defer some material in *Fordun* here to c.39 below, and inserts instead a passage demonstrating his satisfaction at English losses in the Welsh war and a story about Edward's callousness. Perhaps some of this information had been brought back to Scotland by the earl of Carrick.

**39-42. Regarding ... Penven:** this reference to XV c.27 below is matched there by a reference back here; both cross-references are marginal additions to MS C; and here Bower goes on to offer a further explanation of events in his revised text for MS CA – this was possible only after Book XV had been written.

**46. captured:** in fact on 21 June 1283 (probably as a result of Welsh treachery), not 22 Sept. as here (Prestwich, *Edward I*, 195-6, where it is pointed out that the Guisborough chronicler suggests 21 Sept.

[*Chron. Guisborough*, 221], which again offers at least an indirect clue to Bower's source here).

*sentence passed:* at a parliament at Shrewsbury (not London) on 2 Oct. (Powicke, *Thirteenth Century*, 429).

**47-51. that he ... London:** Bower omits 'ut viscera sua comburentur' from the *Fordun* text after 'decapitaretur' (text ll.39-40, and in a marginal addition to MS C supplies the sentence about David's head).

**51-56. Also ... limb:** this edict revives the old identification of the Welsh with the Britons of the time of Arthur and Merlin; it applied particularly to the new boroughs founded by Edward in Wales where the burgesses were all English colonists (Powicke, *Thirteenth Century*, 432-3; Prestwich, *Edward I*, 216-17).

**57-60. ... serfdom:** here is Fordun's motive for introducing the story of the Edwardian conquest of Wales.

**60-67. Because ... lions:** Bower adds his own anti-English comments.

## Chapter 39 pp.415-17

Bower starts this chapter with ll.1-10 drawn from *Fordun* (308, middle of annal 65), and then reflects on the Edwardian conquest of Wales in terms of a quotation from St Augustine; there follow five items probably from a lost chronicle kept at St Andrews; then ll.45-50 are again from *Fordun* (309, annal 66), with Bower's own ending. *Pluscarden* (111) summarizes the main themes of the chapter; *Extracta* (114-15) selects only the item on the mint at St Andrews.

**3-4. Round Table ... in Snowdonia:** cf. above c.37, l.13; this event took place by the sea at Nefyn CRN in July 1289 (Powicke, *Thirteenth Century*, 429).

**4-10. And this ... Land:** see above c.36, ll.37-42; Bower does not include Fordun's further assertion that some of the church's money was used for castle-building in Wales.

**15-25. ... emperor:** Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, bk.iv, c.4 (*Corpus Christianorum* edn, xlvii, 101-2).

**26-27. ... abroad:** see above c.25, ll.10-15; c.30, ll.13-16; cf. *CDS*, ii, 17, 20-21, nos.67, 80, 84 for safe-conducts for Mary's travels through England 1275-6.

The dating of this entry presumably follows from the last date which Bower has given above, namely 1283 at c.38, l.45; in this and the following items the year from 25 Mar. to 24 Mar. appears to be indicated.

**28-35. ... enfeoffment:** this St Andrews item echoes the language of a legal document; *Wyntoun* (v, 136-7) makes use of the same source here (cf. *ibid.*, i, 91, note on ll.3499-3518), and also for Earl Duncan of Fife below; the king is confirming an apparently long-held right to mint coins, though it



has been argued that as late as 1250 coining in Scotland was still concentrated on Berwick and Roxburgh (I. Stewart, 'Scottish Mints', in *Mints, Dies and Currency*, ed. R.A.G. Carson [London, 1971], 165-289, especially 219-20).

**36-37.** ... *Caernarfon*: Edward, later prince of Wales and king of England as Edward II, was born on 25 Apr. 1284 (*HBC*, 39).

**38.** *Charles*: Charles of Anjou, brother of King Louis IX of France, died on 7 Jan. 1285 (*DBF*, viii, cols.544-6); see above c.25, ll.40-48; c.26, ll.66-67; he claimed authority over mainland South Italy, Sicily, and the North African coast.

**42-44.** ...*right*: Duncan's father Colban had died in 1270 when he was aged eight (see above c.28, l.8).

**45.** *death of the queen*: Queen Margaret had died on 26 Feb. 1275 (see above c.35, l.10).

**46.** *advice*: anxiety to have a more secure succession to their forty-three-year-old king is likely to have been uppermost in magnate thinking; it has been said that the lady selected was the daughter of a Gascon vassal of Edward I (Duncan, *Kingdom*, 593; cf. below ll.51-53).

**47.** *Charteris*: had succeeded as chancellor at some date after Sept. 1282, and was to remain in office until 11 June 1291 (Watt, *Graduates*, 85-86, s.v. 'Carnoto').

**47-48.** *Patrick de Graham*: see *SP*, vi, 205-8; he and Sinclair had attended as barons the assembly at Scone on 4 Feb. 1285 which had recognized the baby Margaret as the heir presumptive (*APS*, i, 424).

**48.** *William de Sinclair*: see *SP*, vi, 564-5, where a tradition is mentioned that his mother had been a member of the comital family of Dreux in France with whom negotiations were now planned; it is true that a daughter of Robert II count of Dreux (d.1218) and his wife Yolanda de Coucy (d.1224) married a Robert de Sinclair (Mas Latrie, *Trésor*, cols.1590, 1593; *DBF*, xi, 746); there is no proof that this Robert was related to William de Sinclair; but see R.W.Saint-Clair, *The Saint-Clairs of the Isles* (Auckland, New Zealand, 1898), 278-80 for a study of the possible implications.

\* *John de Soules*: his brother William de Soules (see above c.29, l.1) had been at the Scone assembly as justiciar of Lothian; John can be traced as an adult from ca 1280, and was later to become guardian of Scotland for the exiled King John (T.McMichael, 'The feudal family of Soulis', *TDGAS*, 3rd series, xxvi (1949), 174-81). These three are all listed as barons at the assembly at Birgham ROX in Mar. 1290 which agreed to the plans for a marriage between the young Margaret and Edward I's heir (*APS*, i, 441).

**51-53.** *Joleta* ... *Dreux*: Yolanda's father Robert IV count of Dreux (west of Paris) had died in 1281, and her brother John was count at the time of these negotiations (cf. *DBF*, xi, col.747); after the death of her husband King Alexander, she was in 1294 to marry Arthur duke of Brittany (1305-12), by whom she had six children; she died in 1322 (Mas Latrie, *Trésor*, cols.1593, 1573).

## Chapter 40 pp.419-21

Bower makes use of *Fordun* (309-10, all of annal 67) by scattering sentences from this annal throughout cc.40-42; here ll.1-7, the date on l.34, and ll.42-45 come from this source, and the rest of the chapter has apparently been composed by Bower himself. *Pluscarden* (111-12) scarcely touches on the royal wedding, and then follows in outline the same story of the king's death as here, but with some elaboration; *Extracta* (115) covers both events, following MS CA for some details not included in MS C. *Wyntoun* (v, 138-41) probably follows the same source as Fordun for the wedding and death, but offers little detail.

**2-3.** *on ... martyr*: i.e. 14 October; *Lanercost* (114) has the date 1 November for the wedding, which could just as well be correct.

**8.** *I cannot recall*: though the Latin construction is impersonal, Bower here offers a comment of his own on the information derived from *Fordun*.

**13.** *Jedwood*: i.e. the abbey, castle and burgh at the place now called Jedburgh ROX; Bower's name-form does not conform to general medieval practice; the name was originally Jed-worth, meaning 'enclosure by the river Jed' (cf. W.F.H. Nicolaisen, *Scottish Place-Names* [London, 1976], 77); the '-worth' or '-wrd' form is regularly found in 13c entries in *Melrose* (69, 108, 115, 123), and was still current in Bower's own day (e.g. *ER*, iv, 391; *APS*, ii, 93); but Bower's scribe for MS C regularly uses the form 'Jedwod' (e.g. see above c.18, text l.2; c.36, text l.24; below XV, c.21, text l.1); hence Bower's explanation of the word here; this change from '-worth' to '-wood' is known in at least five cases across the Border in Northumberland (Nicolaisen, *ut cit.*).

**16-18.** ... *them*: presumably Bower's own lines.

**19-30.** *While ... unexpectedly*: this appears to be a traditional story which had come to be attached to this event in the same way as prophecies were sometimes 'fathered' on other major disasters as if to anticipate them.

**34-41.** ... *expired*: Bower here elaborates on a simple sentence about the king's death which he found in *Fordun*; he does not display acquaintance with the more detailed account in *Lanercost* (115-17), which had been written within a dozen years of the event (cf. Gransden, *Historical Writing*, i, 495).

**34.** *19 March*: there is agreement about this date in *Fordun*, *Lanercost*, and *Chron.Holyrood* (172-3).

**35.** [*South*] *Queensferry* WLO.

**36.** *Inverkeithing* FIF: this was probably his landing place on the north side of the Firth of Forth.

**38.** *Kinghorn Regis* FIF: *Pluscarden* adds correctly that the king had a royal manor here (cf. *RMS*, i, app.I, no.84).

**41.** *monument*: the present monument to the dead king on the coast road to the west of Kinghorn was erected 1886-7 (J.Gifford, *The Buildings of Scotland: Fife* [London, 1988], 272).

43. *buried*: for an illustration of the king's funeral see below c.44 at end.  
 49-50. ... *thus*: these lines are listed in Walther, *Proverbia*, no.15,169 from here and other MSS; Bower uses them again below XII c.8.

58. *heart ... Perth*: this is the only evidence for the separate burial of the king's heart.

59. *kingdom*: MS CA has three further lines:

Corpus predicti regis sine prole relict,  
 post annis fere septem Scoti doluere  
 quod regem vere tot aristis non habuere.

The reference to almost seven years of mourning appears to look forward to the coronation of King John on 30 Nov. 1292 (see below XI c.14).

## Chapter 41 pp.421-5

ll.1-4, 11-14, 21-28 are based on *Fordun* (309-10, annal 67) with some alterations; cf. c.40 above; most of this chapter is therefore Bower's own composition. *Pluscarden* (112-13) has a summary of this chapter with some substantial changes of meaning e.g. regarding the daily stint of digging, or the limits on horse-ownership; nothing in *Extracta Wyntoun* (v, 140-5) touches on some of the same themes, but includes also some others not mentioned here.

4-11. *He was ... things*: Bower's authority for these descriptive details about Alexander III is unknown.

12-13. *and ... justice*: a phrase added by Bower to the *Fordun* text.

14. *Isidore*: *Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi Etymologiarum sive Originum*, ed. W.M.Lindsay [Oxford, 1911], bk.I, c.29, para.3.

19-20. ... *either*: cited in Walther, *Proverbia*, no. 9608 from here only.

25-26. *enemies ... English*: Bower is anachronistic to list the English among King Alexander's enemies.

29-31. ... *rest*: Isaiah 32:18; the tense of the verb has been changed from future to imperfect.

32-49. *And so ... over*: this description of a royal progress is so detailed as to suggest accuracy; perhaps it reflects the procedure known to Bower in the days of James I e.g. during that king's progress to Inverness in 1428 (cf. A.A.M.Duncan, *James I 1424-1437* [Glasgow, 1976], 16); but King Alexander also certainly moved around the country – see the place-dates of his charters listed in Simpson, *Handlist*, passim; and *ER*, i, p.liii.

36. *justiciar*: for this officer see Barrow, *Kingdom*, c.3; in the later 13c there were normally three such officers for Scotia, Lothian and Galloway respectively; but they usually exercised their jurisdiction on justice-ayres conducted independently of the king.

40. *shire*: some thanages or shires were very small units of local administration, and some were the basis of later sheriffdoms (cf. *ibid.*, c.1, especially p.38); here the words 'shire' and 'comitatus' (text l.33) are used interchangeably.

51-53. *It was enacted ... every day*: no such 'statute' is known from the time of Alexander III; but this possible law is clearly echoed by one passed by James I in March 1425 (*APS*, ii, 8, c.20) that every man of simple estate must plough with his ox or dig an area seven feet square each day. Was James here (as in some other matters) reviving an old law?

57-60. *He also ... poor*: again not otherwise known as an act of Alexander; cf. legislation of James I which has some similarities (*ibid.*, 3, c.5).

## Chapter 42 pp.425-7

Only ll.39-44 are taken from *Fordun* (310, end of annal 67); in Goodall's edition they form the beginning of c.43 below. *Pluscarden* (113-14) summarizes the substance of this chapter with considerable changes; *Extracta* (116) has a brief reference to Alexander's commercial policy.

1-18. ... *king*: Bower's source here is unknown; he appears to refer to a formal royal act regulating trade (l.6) which is not now known; the consequences of this act were presumably reported in some chronicle available to him, but now lost.

1-27. ... *justice*: in MS CA this passage has been moved to follow after the end of c.43 below.

11-12. *And ... business*: this privilege of burgesses in royal burghs was already of long standing, and was to receive a general confirmation from King David II in 1364 (*RRS*, vi, 348, no.316; cf. Duncan, *Kingdom*, 484; Nicholson, *Later Middle Ages*, 16-17); by the early 14c restrictions were going to be placed on the activities of foreign merchants in Scotland (cf. *RRS*, v, 28-29).

21-27. ... *justice*: adapted from 2 Paralipomenon 9:5-8 (*Vulgate*); 2 Chronicles 9:5-8 (*NEB*).

29. *Lombards*: there is no other evidence of the presence of merchants from Lombardy (North Italy) in particular in Scotland in the late 13c, though they were known in Bower's own time (see below XVI c.14); but they may well have been among the foreign merchants mentioned above in this chapter; men from small towns such as Asti, Chieri and Novara in North Italy are known to have been active at this time in France, the Low Countries and England, where they were generally known as 'Lombards'; they were bankers as well as merchants, specialising in loans and exchange business (Y.Renouard, *Les hommes d'affaires italiens du moyen age*, new edn, ed. B.Guillemain [Paris, 1968], 89-90; cf. *Cambridge Economic History*, iii [Cambridge, 1963], 71-72, 136, 359, 451); cf. above c.35, l.22 for a papal collector in Scotland from 1275 onwards who came from Asti.

31. *cities for the king*: the meaning is not clear; if these Lombards were primarily bankers, they may have been offering loans for urban developments in Scotland; if they were merchants, they could have been interested in establishing privileged trading colonies with royal favour; the constricted nature of at least one of the sites mentioned points to the latter suggestion.

32. *hill at Queensferry*: there is no obvious eminence at South Queensferry WLO, though perhaps the rising ground now known as Mons Hill to the east in Dalmeny Park is meant; alternatively perhaps the crag at North Queensferry FIF is meant.

*Cramond Island*: this island in the Firth of Forth at the mouth of the river Almond off Cramond MLO was known as Leverith in 1208, according to a copy of a papal bull of that date made in 1423 when Bower himself was abbot of Inchcolm (*Inchcolm Chrs.*, 8, no.9; cf. nos.6 and 45); since this island belonged to Inchcolm Abbey, this tradition of Lombard interest in it had presumably been preserved there.

34-35. *certain people ... realm*: it has been suggested that the objectors were merchants of Edinburgh, who traded through their port at Leith (cf. Nicholson, *Later Middle Ages*, 15); it is anachronistic of Bower to use the term 'estates' for an assembly that was probably a parliament (Duncan, *Kingdom*, 609).

#### Chapter 43 pp.427-9

Nothing here from *Fordun*. *Pluscarden* (114) covers the same themes, but has been largely re-written; *Extracta* (116) has a brief account of the prophecy of Thomas de Earlstoun

3-6. ... *sun*: these lines are listed only from here in Walther, *Proverbia*, no.12,447.

22-23. *Thomas de Earlstoun*: a man of this name (also known as Thomas de Erceldune or the Rhymer) is known to have held land at Earlstoun BWK in the later 13c and may have died in 1297; from ca 1310 he is mentioned repeatedly by a series of writers as a prophet, and (like Merlin in an earlier age) prophecies came to be attached to his name, and from ca 1400 some written works also; Bower here gives the first known version of his prophecy about the death of Alexander III (*DNB*, xvii, 385-8; *The Romance and Prophecies of Thomas of Erceldoune*, ed. J.A.H.Murray [Early English Text Society, 1875], introduction; cf. E.B.Lyle, 'Thomas of Erceldoune: the prophet and the prophesied', *Folklore*, lxxix [1968], 111-21).

23. *earl of March*: Patrick earl of Dunbar ELO (rather than of March at this date) 1248-89 (see above c.9, l.10).

29-30. *stroke of twelve*: this must mean midday (see below l.39); on this evidence Bower (or his source) thought that the earl's household at this date had adopted time-keeping with the use of a mechanical clock, and so counted the hours in two series of twelve from midnight and noon respectively as

today, as opposed to the earlier custom of counting from sunset and sunrise (cf. C.R.Cheney, *Handbook of Dates* [London, 1948], 9); but in fact it is very unlikely that there would be a mechanical clock in Dunbar Castle as early as 1286, since such instruments first appeared probably in northern Italy only towards the end of the 13c, with the first known English one at St Paul's in London in 1286 (*Chambers's Encyclopaedia*, new revised edn [1967], vii, 222); the mention here of a clock therefore points to the composition of this story in its present form at some date later than 1286.

48. *credible*: MS CA adds here:

O quam et tu, Scocia, invite et involuntarie caruisses tanto rege, qui eciam dum viveret providere solitus erat calamitosis casibus et cum maxima cautela providenciam regno exhibere.

MS FF has 'quanta' for 'quam'.

#### Chapter 44 pp.429-33

Bower offers pious reflections on the transitory nature of human life. *Pluscarden* (114) does the same in one sentence; *Extracta* (116-18) copies the whole poem from ll.27-78.

3-4. ... *wind*: Job 7:7

5-6. ... *cloud*: Job 30:15.

7-9. ... *sun*: Wisdom 2:3 (*Vulgate*); 2:4 (*NEB*).

14-16. ... *withered*: Psalm 89:6 (*Vulgate*); 90:5-6 (*NEB*).

17. *three periods*: Bower is stretching his text as a model for three periods rather than two.

24. *dust*: MS CA adds: 'Unde quidam: "Flos homo aret, funus homo pendet, cineris vas olet, olla territur faville. Cur arrogat ideo?"'

27-78. These verses are listed in Walther, *Initia*, no.16,633 only from here and from a 12c Jesus College, Oxford, MS 47, which formerly belonged to Pershore Abbey OSB WOR. Dr B.C.Barker-Benfield of the Bodleian Library (where this MS is now kept) advises that this version of the poem occupies the whole of the last leaf (fo.96v) of the part of this tripartite MS which was written in hands of the first half of the 12c; it cannot be definitely established that the MS was already at Pershore when the poem was inserted, though it may well have been; the various parts of the whole MS were probably put into their present binding in the late 13c, and the Pershore *ex libris* inscription is late 15c.

Whether Bower found this Pershore copy of this poem or another copy now lost, he adapted the fifth stanza (text ll.40-43) to turn it into a dirge for King Alexander. The original stanza was as follows:

Cesar mundum edomuit nec tamen idem valuit  
extrema preterire.

Nil miser Codrus habuit et tamen hunc oportuit  
finalia subire.

Codrus was a king of Athens who sacrificed his life to give his countrymen victory (*OLD*, s.v.).

Other variants in this Pershore version of the poem are:

- 1.26: for *inevitabiles* read *insuperabiles*
- 1.34: for *ime* read *uni*
- 1.44: for *periunt* read *pereunt*
- 1.45: for *obimus* read *perimus*
- 1.46: for *veniunt* read *veneunt*  
for *periunt* read *transeunt*
- 1.50: for *calibea* read *capitea*
- 1.52: for *Romelea* read *Romulea*
- 1.55: for *ex toto* read *numquid non*
- 1.64: for *Quero* read *Fereus* [?]
- 1.66: for *ludimus* read *ludimur*
- 1.70: for *scincere* read *sincere*

78. *eternal*: after this end to c.44, the scribe of MS C continued without a break (in the middle of fo.223v) in the normal way with a c.45 introduced with the following rubric and text:

*Quomodo reguli Hibernie insinuaverunt pape injustam vexacionem possessionem sive intrusionem Anglorum in eorum regno illatam*

Circa idem tempus Hibernienses supra modum angariati depressi et servitute Anglorum subacti lamentabilem querimoniam penes dominum apostolicum deposuerunt supplican' de remedio sicut patet in eorum scripto ipsi pape transmissio cuius tenor sequitur et est talis.

The chapter continues with the start of the text of the letter of the Irish leaders to Pope John XXII which was to be inserted in MS C under the year 1318 in XII c.26 below, continuing without a break to include the first two sentences of c.27; this c.45 then ends:

Ut autem beatissime pater sciatis quam favorabiliter papa Adrianus hanc materiam pro parte Anglorum tractavit copiam eius bulle cum presentibus duximus transmittendum que talis est.

MS C then continues, again without a break (middle of fo.224) with a c.46 under the rubric: *Copia bulle domini pape Adriani Anglis in favorem misse cum continuacione litere predictae*; the text of this chapter consists of the bull *Laudabiliter* of Pope Adrian IV which was later inserted in MS C as XII c.33 below (without the final sentence now found in that chapter); this c.46 ends with three lines at the top of fo.224v; a c.47 was then immediately begun with the rubric: *Continuacio litere Hibernicorum*, with as text the third sentence only of XII c.27 below, in continuation from c.45; the text then stops abruptly, leaving five-sixths of c.224v blank.

The two cc.45-46 in MS C have subsequently been scored through with 'Vacat' written in the margins, and with a side-note of explanation on fo.223: 'Istud vacat quia non situatur in ordine'; and the three cc.45-47 have not

been included in the list of rubrics at the beginning of Book X above; but they have apparently been written by the scribe before he went on to insert the list of rubrics for Book XI on fo.225 (which is part of the same quire).

The implications of this major error by the scribe of MS C must be studied along with his other errors. The mistake was not carried forward into MS CA; but it was copied exactly into MS R (including the marginal instructions about deletion), even though like MS C it contains this material also in its proper place in Book XII. These erroneous chapters were not, however, copied by the scribes of MSS D, H, B or E.

In MS C fo.225 contains only the rubrics for Book XI; fo.225v has been left blank, and then in the bottom half an illustration of the funeral of King Alexander III has been added (see above before p.289); it relates to the text of c.40 above rather than to that of Book XI c.1 which comes opposite to it in the manuscript.

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